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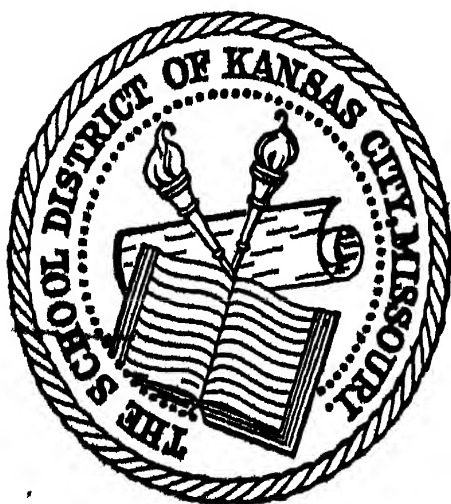


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FAMOUS AMERICANS

FAMOUS AMERICANS

SECOND SERIES

Edited by
WARREN HUFF
and
EDNA LENORE WEBB HUFF
Joint Editor of
FAMOUS LIVING AMERICANS
[First Series]

PUBLISHED BY
CHARLES WEBB AND COMPANY
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

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PREFACE

FAMOUS AMERICANS, SECOND SERIES, comprises fifty interpretative life-sketches of prominent Americans and covers approximately the Herbert Hoover and the first two Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations.

The volume is similar in general plan to the first series, **FAMOUS LIVING AMERICANS**, published in 1914, which is in use in thousands of public libraries, colleges, and secondary schools.

FAMOUS AMERICANS, SECOND SERIES, containing an entirely different list of distinguished people, is presented in response to a need voiced by many librarians and teachers now using **FAMOUS LIVING AMERICANS**.

Biography since the first World War has become increasingly popular—especially through the works of such outstanding biographers as Strachey, Maurois, Ludwig, Nicolson, Bradford, Sandburg, Beveridge, and others. Now, when the world is again aflame with war, it is important to have—what this book gives—a vivid picture of the social and intellectual life of present-day America through biographical essays on American leaders.

Most of the writers have known the characters about whom they have written both as friends and through their work. Thus, as one reads these sketches he feels that he is in intimate association with these famous people.

Teachers will find helpful the introductory monograph, "The Reading of Biography," by Harold E. B. Speight (formerly professor of biography at Dartmouth College), in using **FAMOUS AMERICANS** in their classes. The sections on "Biographies of Contemporaries" and "How to Use Biography," accompanied by stimulating questions, are especially valuable.

Three main purposes have been kept in view in preparing this work:

First, to supply the general reader in compact form fifty biographical sketches of outstanding contemporary Americans.

Second, to provide inspirational and authoritative source material for use as the basis of papers, speeches, and reference work. Material for further reading on particular phases of the lives of the characters is cited in the Selected References, in addition to works mentioned in the articles.

Third, to give a picture of America itself. Through reading these personal histories the reader will have a deeper understanding of America and democracy. This volume, published at a time when it is vital to understand the ideals for which America stands, helps to clarify and interpret the meaning of democracy in our modern world.

FAMOUS AMERICANS is dedicated to American democracy.

We wish to express our grateful appreciation to the following persons for their help in the making of this book: The writers for their fine coöperation; Charles Webb and Mary Griffin Webb for originating this undertaking; Dr. Glenn James of the University of California at Los Angeles, for his untiring help and practical suggestions; Mrs. Glenn James, Van Nuys, California, for reading the proof of the entire book; Mr. Charles F. Woods, librarian of the Riverside, California, Public Library, Miss Eleanor Stephens of the Los Angeles County Library, and the librarians of the Los Angeles Public Library for their advice and service; Mr. George K. Roth and Mr. Charles Daggett, Los Angeles, for much valuable assistance; and Mr. Wallace E. Rankin, Glendale, California, for painstaking help on the Selected References.

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WARREN AND LENORE HUFF

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	5
THE READING OF BIOGRAPHY	15
HAROLD E. B. SPEIGHT, A.M., D.D.	
Formerly Professor of Biography, Dartmouth College. Author, <i>Life and Writings of John Bunyan</i>	
<hr/>	
CHARACTERS AND WRITERS	
GRACE ABBOTT	33
GEORGE W. HUNTER, PH.D.	
Author, <i>A New Civic Biology</i>	
MARTHA BERRY	41
FRANCIS WARREN POWELL, A.M.	
Department of English, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas and	
ROBERT EMORY PARK, A.M., LITT.D.	
Head of Department of Rhetoric and English, University of Georgia	
WILLIAM E. BORAH	55
ERIK MCKINLEY ERIKSSON, PH.D.	
Professor of History, University of Southern California. Author, <i>Federal Civil Service under President Jackson</i> and	
DAVID N. ROWE, PH.D.	
Lecturer, Far Eastern Affairs, Princeton University. Joint Author, <i>American Constitutional History</i>	
GAMALIEL BRADFORD	69
GERTRUDE RANDOLPH BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.	
Author, <i>Florentine Merchants under the Medici</i>	
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER	81
SAMUEL MCKEE JR., A.M.	
History Department, Columbia University. Joint Author, <i>A History of United States, 1492-1865</i>	
RICHARD E. BYRD	97
GERTRUDE RANDOLPH BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.	
Author, <i>Florentine Merchants under the Medici</i>	
GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER	111
MONROE N. WORK, A.M.	
Records and Research Department, Tuskegee Institute. Editor, <i>Negro Year Book</i>	

WILLA CATHER	121
EDWARD EVERETT HALE JR., PH.D., LITT.D. Author, <i>Dramatists of Today</i>	
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT	133
FREDRIC P. WOELLNER, PH.D. Professor of Education, University of California at Los Angeles. Author, <i>The Highlands of the Mind</i>	
CHARLES G. DAWES	145
BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE, PH.D. Associate Professor of History, University of Chicago. Author, <i>A History of Chicago</i>	
JOHN DEWEY	153
ERNEST CARROLL MOORE, PH.D. Professor of Philosophy and Education, University of California at Los Angeles. Author, <i>What is Education?</i>	
SHERWOOD EDDY	167
WILLIAM L. STIDGER, PH.B., LITT.D. Department of Homiletics, Boston University School of Theology. Author, <i>Edwin Markham—a Biography</i>	
DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS SR.	179
FREDRIC P. WOELLNER, PH.D. Professor of Education, University of California at Los Angeles. Author, <i>The Highlands of the Mind</i>	
HENRY FORD	191
WILLIAM L. STIDGER, PH.B., LITT.D. Department of Homiletics, Boston University School of Theology. Author, <i>Edwin Markham—a Biography</i>	
HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK	207
ALLAN A. HUNTER, A.M. Pastor of Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, Los Angeles, California. Author, <i>Three Trumpets Sound</i>	
WILLIAM GREEN	219
THOMAS LE GRAND HARRIS, PH.D. Emeritus Professor of History, Baker University. Author, "Ben B. Lindsey" in <i>Famous Living Americans</i>	
EDGAR A. GUEST	231
WILLIAM L. STIDGER, PH.B., LITT.D. Department of Homiletics, Boston University School of Theology. Author, <i>Edwin Markham—a Biography</i>	
WALTER HAMPDEN	241
HARRY B. GOUGH, A.M. Associate Professor of English, Berea College. Joint Author, <i>Effective Speech</i>	
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES	251
THEODORE O. WEDEL, PH.D. Formerly Professor of Biography, Carleton College. Author, <i>The Medieval Attitude Toward Astrology</i>	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

11

HERBERT HOOVER	265
ERIK MCKINLEY ERIKSSON, PH.D.	
Professor of History, University of Southern California.	
Author, <i>Federal Civil Service under President Jackson</i>	
CHARLES EVANS HUGHES	277
ROSCOE LEWIS ASHLEY, A.M.	
Author, <i>The New Civics</i>	
CORDELL HULL	291
OSGOOD HARDY, PH.D.	
Chairman of History and Political Science Department,	
Occidental College. Joint Author, <i>March of Industry</i>	
FRANK B. KELLOGG	305
DAVID BRYN-JONES, D.D.	
Professor of International Relations, Carleton College.	
Author, <i>Frank B. Kellogg—a Biography</i>	
FIGORELLO LA GUARDIA	319
ALBERT BRITT, A.B., LITT.D.	
Formerly President of Knox College.	
Author, <i>The Great Biographers</i>	
JOHN L. LEWIS	329
ROWLAND HILL HARVEY, PH.D.	
Associate Professor of History, University of California at Los	
Angeles. Author, <i>Samuel Gompers</i>	
CHARLES A. LINDBERGH	345
TO 1932	
PAUL FREDERICK BLOOMHARDT, PH.D.	
Professor of Biography, Wittenberg College.	
Author, <i>Frederick A. Kahler</i>	
1932-1941	
OSGOOD HARDY, PH.D.	
Chairman of History and Political Science Department,	
Occidental College. Joint Author, <i>March of Industry</i>	
FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL	359
WILLIAM WARREN SWEET, PH.D.	
Professor of History of American Christianity, University of	
Chicago. Author, <i>Makers of Christianity</i>	
WILLIAM J. MAYO AND CHARLES H. MAYO	369
WILLIAM AUGUSTUS EVANS, M.D., LL.D.	
Formerly Editor of Health Department, Chicago <i>Tribune</i> .	
Author, <i>Mrs. Abraham Lincoln</i>	
ROBERT A. MILLIKAN	381
ERIC T. BELL, PH.D.	
Professor of Mathematics, California Institute of Technology.	
Author, <i>Men of Mathematics</i>	
GEORGE W. NORRIS	395
WALLACE E. RANKIN, A.M.	
History Department, High School, Glendale, California	

FRANCES PERKINS	411
DUDLEY C. GORDON, A.M., ED.M.	
English Department, Los Angeles City College.	
Joint Editor, <i>Today and Its Problems</i>	
MICHAEL I. PUPIN	419
ALFRED D. FLINN, ENG.D.	
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON	429
CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, PH.D.	
Director, Indiana State Library. Author, <i>Constantine the Great</i>	
JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER JR.	441
THEODORE O. WEDEL, PH.D.	
Formerly Professor of Biography, Carleton College.	
Author, <i>The Medieval Attitude Toward Astrology</i>	
WILL ROGERS	451
WILLIAM ALLEN HUGGARD, PH.D.	
Professor of English, DePauw University. Author, Magazine	
Articles on Emerson	
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT	463
BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE, PH.D.	
Associate Professor of History, University of Chicago.	
Author, <i>A History of Chicago</i>	
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT	471
TO 1933	
DEXTER PERKINS, PH.D.	
Head of History Department, University of Rochester.	
Author, <i>Monroe Doctrine</i>	
1933-1941	
WALTER SYLVESTER HERTZOG, A.B., LITT.D.	
Author, <i>History of the Los Angeles Public Schools</i>	
JOHN A. RYAN	489
ARTHUR DUNNING SPEARMAN, S.J., A.M., S.T.L.	
Assistant Professor of English and Religion, Librarian,	
Loyola University at Los Angeles	
CARL SANDBURG	507
DUDLEY C. GORDON, A.M., ED.M.	
English Department, Los Angeles City College.	
Joint Editor, <i>Today and Its Problems</i>	
ERNESTINE SCHUMANN-HEINK	517
CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS, A.M.	
Supervisor of Academic Studies, New England Conservatory of	
Music. Author, <i>Walt Whitman's Workshop</i>	
and	
WALLACE GOODRICH, MUS. DOC.	
Director, New England Conservatory of Music	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

13

CHARLES M. SCHWAB	531
RICHARD J. PURCELL, PH.D. Head of History Department, The Catholic University of America. Author, <i>American Nation</i>	
MILLARD SHEETS	545
ARTHUR MILLIER Art Critic, <i>Los Angeles Times</i> . Art Correspondent, <i>Christian Science Monitor</i>	
ALFRED E. SMITH	553
DEXTER PERKINS, PH.D. Head of History Department, University of Rochester. Author, <i>The Monroe Doctrine</i>	
IDA B. WISE SMITH	567
ETTA MAE WALLACE Journalist and Columnist, <i>San Diego Union</i> . Author, Column, "Come to the Table"	
WILLIS A. SUTTON	575
JOY ELMER MORGAN, A.B., B.L.S. Editor, <i>Journal of the National Education Association</i> . Author, <i>Horace Mann at Antioch</i>	
NORMAN THOMAS	589
CECIL CLARE NORTH, PH.D. Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University. Author, <i>Social Problems and Social Planning</i>	
HENRY A. WALLACE	601
JOHN LEONARD CONGER, PH.D. Head of Department of History and Government, Knox College. Joint Author, <i>History of the Illinois River Valley</i>	
WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE	611
E. P. CLARKE, A.M., LL.D. Formerly Editor, <i>Riverside (California) Daily Press</i> . Author, <i>What One Editor Thinks</i> and	
WALLACE E. RANKIN, A.M. History Department, High School, Glendale, California	
STEPHEN S. WISE	623
JOSEPH RABINOWITCH Journalist and Poet	
OWEN D. YOUNG	633
PAUL FREDERICK BLOOMHARDT, PH.D. Professor of Biography, Wittenberg College. Author, <i>Frederick A. Kahler</i>	

THE READING OF BIOGRAPHY

by

HAROLD E. B. SPEIGHT

BIOGRAPHY is today enjoying an unprecedented popularity. A few great biographies written in recent years, and many which make up in novelty what they lack in greatness, have aroused a new interest in the branch of literature which is concerned with life-histories. The reading public seems to endorse the judgment of Samuel Johnson, who said that "there has rarely passed a life of which a judicious and faithful narrative would not be useful." It is, of course, unfortunate that the modern reader's taste for biography has been exploited by writers who have hastily written in journalistic style with an exaggerated emphasis upon the sensational features of the lives treated and who have sometimes shown a deplorable disregard for fact. It is comforting to discover that ours is not the first age in which heads have been shaken over scandal-mongering biographies. "Biography," wrote a critic in 1788, "is every day descending from its dignity . . . it is becoming an instrument to the mere gratification of an impertinent, not to say malignant, curiosity." The abuse of a great art, however, does not impair the value of its finest productions. Modern biographical writing is rendering a service which is not seriously endangered by the ephemeral output of insignificant books.

OUR DEBT TO BIOGRAPHY

Our debt to biography is proportionate to our interest in human life. We are constitutionally disposed to be interested in our neighbors, and by the art of printing, not to mention other agencies that have broken down barriers of space and time, we have been led to see that men and women of all times and types are our neighbors. Through biography we discern how, in spite of obstacles which we can appreciate even if we have not experienced them, men and women have lived significant, creative, and serviceable lives. We can see how they found happiness and inner satisfactions, or why they failed to find contentment. "Biography," said Phillips Brooks, "is always bathing the special in the universal, and so renewing its vitality and freshness." He meant, of course, that we who fall so easily into a routine of habitual action and become content with our limited environment benefit by any experience which breaks down our satisfaction with merely local standards and arbitrary fashions. We

are the better for any reading which compels us to contemplate the richer life of those whose minds have been stirred by great ambitions, hopes, or ideals. As we read the life of a man of great achievement in action or in thought, we remind ourselves that, while he was greater than we are, he was nevertheless of the same human stuff as ourselves. "All that any man in any time has done in some true sense belongs to us."

In the same *Rambler* essay already quoted, Dr. Johnson claimed that biography derives its interest from the "uniformity in the state of man." Human beings are distinguished by "adventitious and separable decorations and disguises," but beneath these we are so much alike that "there is no possibility of good or ill but is common to humankind." So, he added:

The eye is not very heedful or quick, which can not discover the same causes still terminating their influence in the same effects . . . We are all prompted by the same motives, all deceived by the same fallacies, all animated by hope, obstructed by danger, entangled by desire, and seduced by pleasure.

It may, of course, be argued that the charm of biography is to be accounted for on entirely different grounds. It may be said that it is the individual's distinctiveness that gives him his value to his own and succeeding ages, that whatever fundamental patterns may testify to our common humanity the pattern is significantly varied in all individual lives which have any importance. On this view the skill of the biographer lies in capturing and expressing the unique. The truth, perhaps, lies between the two views. Biography interests us because it suggests the deep similarities which make men intelligible and agreeable to each other and at the same time reveals those varieties of opinion, belief, taste, and method of life which enable men to make distinctive contributions to the common life and supplement one another's excellencies. It is in the discovery of this paradox that biography excels as material on which to exercise young minds. If a student is inclined to generalize overmuch and allow important distinctions to escape his attention, biography will compel him to question his sweeping assertions. He may say, from narrow observation, "scientists are not reverent, nor are they men of deep emotional experience." But if he reads the *Life of Pasteur* he will discover that he was wrong in at least one notable case. If the student is naturally inclined to value novelty of opinion, rebellious self-expression, or extreme assertions of individuality, biography will show him that even heroes and heretics belong to families and communities and have to find some way of living happily with other people.

One recent writer on biography offers an interesting suggestion to

account for the great interest in this branch of literature in our day. He says that biography is naturally the "solace of an age of doubt." He means that in ages of certainty men can live in confident submission to inherited folkways, relying for guidance in faith and conduct on institutions, content to conform uncritically. At such times the individual feels himself to be on firm ground. He finds his mood reflected in such literature as glorifies either the past or the present and throws over the accepted ways of life the radiance of romance. But there are times when, as a result of the mingling of varied cultures, or following the discovery of mechanisms which modify every-day life, or because of the innovations introduced into our thinking by rebellious individuals, the sense of security disappears. Criticism and self-assertion then lead to a period of scepticism, groping experiment, and rebel individualism. In such an age men want to know how others have lived, how age-old problems of desire and duty have been solved by men and women who have been equipped with unusual insight or capacity. At such times biography is eagerly read. It is undoubtedly true that we live in such an age; many are turning to the records of significant lives in the hope that they will find their own problems solved.

BIOGRAPHY AND EDUCATION

It is not surprising that a type of literature so generally popular should have recently received the attention of educators. It is surprising, rather, that biography has not been more widely used in schools and colleges in the past. The life-stories of individuals who have been pioneers in thought, in action, in invention, or in social leadership and political development naturally arouse the interest of young minds at a time when ambitions are being formed. No formulas which sum up human duty are as interesting as the struggles actual men have had to find and do their duty. And while Carlyle may have exaggerated in saying that "the history of the world is the biography of great men," the teacher of ancient history knows how dull is the analysis of the causes of the Peloponnesian War compared with the story of Alcibiades, and that the brilliant traitor's life can not be told without the reasons for the conflict becoming both interesting and clear. The teacher of philosophy knows that beginners will become interested in Plato's vast intellectual structure the more readily if they have first read Plato's story of the trial and death of Socrates.

Education has for its aim, not only the acquisition of exact and comprehensive knowledge in one or more fields as a basis for later study or

vocational training, but also the training of the student in independent thinking. Biography can contribute effectively to this aspect of education by making the student familiar with standards or principles which properly apply in various human concerns. Biography can suggest to his mind areas of common concern in which, sooner or later—if he is to be a good citizen—he must reach conclusions for himself on which to base his own life, his vote, his influence in affairs. Biography can bring before the young mind varieties of temperament, conviction, experience, and behavior, and offer these to him as materials on which to exercise his critical faculties, by which to test his provincial ideas, and through which to recognize the challenge of great enterprises to his adventurous mind and will.

Among the values of biography in education that have been experimentally verified one deserves special mention. The tendency to specialization in our time has resulted in subdivision of school and college curricula into a large number of "subjects" which are independently studied. In the multiplicity of these subdivided areas of study many a young mind loses the sense of direction, or even the sense of reality, without which education is an irksome routine. For a fixed number of minutes the student works at history and then passes, let us say, to literature. What is to unify the successive efforts in his mind? It is not enough that in the mind of those who made the curriculum history and literature are closely and clearly related if no sense of this relationship comes to the student. But if teachers of both history and literature remember that they are helping the young to study life, they will not be so insistent upon sharp lines of demarcation between studies so closely allied. And if they present history through lives that have been significant, if they show literature to be the creative work of men who have been distinctive in their feelings, choices, and ways of life, if they go even further and show how men of action have provided the theme of much in our literature, and how men of letters have provided many of the ideas on which great action has been based, a new sense of reality will sustain the student and vastly increase the effective results of his work. The picture comes to mind of Charlemagne listening during meals to the reading of Saint Augustine's *City of God* and going into his chamber to talk with the learned Alcuin about the books Alcuin had read in the great library at York, most particularly his beloved Virgil, who had idealized and glorified Rome's imperial sway. What light is thrown by these details drawn from biography on the coronation of Charlemagne in Rome, Christmas Day, 800 A.D., as "Emperor and

Augustus," and on all the consequences which follow that event in European history! The same point could as well be made by indicating how the values of scientific discipline and the nature of scientific methods may be interpreted to students through the lives of men of great achievement in one or another of the fields of scientific work. Darwin counting under the microscope twenty thousand seeds of *Lythrum salicaria* in order to make secure one link in a long chain of reasoning, is a picture that stays longer in a student's mind than the proposition that "patient observation is the basis of good theory."

We shall return later to the question how biography may be used in the school and college program. It is enough at the outset to make the claim, substantiated by experiment, that for arousing interest, the source of the most valuable kind of effort, and for coördinating studies which might otherwise seem unrelated, biography offers the alert teacher an almost unlimited wealth of material. Biography is fascinating to the student because it necessarily keeps close to life and even when used as a supplement to history reveals the timeless problems of men. It is refreshing to the teacher because he can be forever utilizing fresh material, experimenting in his selections, adding to the range of his understanding of life.

We have referred to the value of biography as an aid in making all other studies vital, but there is a value in the study of biography as a branch of literature interesting in itself. Just as a study of poetic forms and a critical analysis of a number of illustrative examples of lyric, epic, narrative, and dramatic poetry is capable of intensifying the appreciation of poetry (though this is, of course, not necessarily the result), so all biographies become much more interesting and illuminating for those who, having studied biography, can now read critically, that is, with a perception of the biographer's skill in the use of various devices, with an understanding of the difficulties a biographer has to face, with some understanding of the questions which arise when we ask what motives have influenced a man, what satisfactions he has found, or what he owes to environment and background.

DEVELOPMENT OF BIOGRAPHY

At the end of this essay will be found a list of discussions of biography from various points of view. It has been made clear by the authorities on the subject that there are various kinds of biographical writing and that these have succeeded one another in a definite historical develop-

ment. A rapid glance at such development is afforded by Wilbur L. Cross's *An Outline of Biography from Plutarch to Strachey*, but forty small pages hardly allow space for more than a suggestion of the problems involved in tracing the history of biography. Limiting himself to English biography, Harold Nicolson has surveyed the development from 500 A.D. to the present day in a series of lectures embodying his own very definite judgments and interpretations. In the course of such historical treatments it becomes clear that we must include under the general title, Biography, many productions which have little in common except that they purport to offer us the history of individual lives. It is a fascinating study, however, to pass from the medieval lives of the saints and the royal chronicles, in which men were portrayed under conventional forms with little if any individual characterization, to lives which show the influence of the Renaissance, such as Roper's *Sir Thomas More* and Cavendish's *Wolsey*, in which vivid reminiscence and a sense of dramatic values combine to give us clear pictures of their subjects; from these to Izaak Walton's *Lives*, with their use of anecdote, wit, carefully collected facts, and their revelation of the biographer's personality; thence to the eighteenth century, culminating in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* and Boswell's *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, works which represent biography as a self-conscious art; to the nineteenth century, during which the scientific spirit influenced biography in the direction of laborious assembly and recording of facts but had to contend with the Victorian priggishness of those who insisted that no flaw in the great man's character must be publicly admitted; and finally to the modern period, in which a group of brilliant writers have introduced into biography features which make for interest and dramatic power, though sometimes at the cost of truth.

TYPES OF BIOGRAPHIES

While such a historical study of development in the biographical art is difficult to fit into the school or college program, it is still profitable to study a succession of types of biographical writing. We have, for example, the kind of biography which records in chronological order the events in the subject's life. His character is gradually made clear by displaying him in action, meeting obstacles, training his powers, making decisions, carrying on his life-work, working with or against other people, achieving results, and at last facing the inevitable end of his active days. Such a life is Vallery-Radot's *Life of Pasteur*. It is as if an inexperienced photographer, content to use his camera in a mechan-

ical way, pointed it at a person standing stolidly before him and took the picture without any thought of the setting. The result, assuming that the exposure and focussing were correct, would be a faithful picture of the person as seen by the photographic plate. Details would be there; unpleasant peculiarities would be as prominent as those more attractive. Anyone acquainted with the subject would recognize his picture, but no one would think it worth keeping; it would be merely a weak image of the individual. The picture would be "true" but it would lack "character."

There is, by contrast, a kind of biography more like a portrait made in a studio. The subject is posed, the lighting is carefully planned, and the surroundings are chosen to bring prominently into the minds of those who see the portrait some particular interest or trait; the scholar, for example, is given a background suggestive of his intellectual interests, the athlete is dressed in a mode that enchances the suggestions of strength and balance. The result is a portrait in which few will see the man as they have commonly seen him but all will see a distinctive individual. It is not a photographic plate which has recorded the impressions but a living mind; the artist's subjective bias has entered into the finished product, rendering the result more vivid, probably oversimplifying, or at least exaggerating some features at the expense of others. Such a life is that of Shelley, by Maurois, entitled *Ariel*. Of that book Maurois has said he wrote it because Shelley had undergone an experience similar to his own, so that to write the poet's story was a "deliverance" for the author. He wanted at the moment to kill within himself all that was romantic, so he wrote scoffingly of Shelley's romanticism. He admits that he does not now like the book! The artistic presentation of Shelley's life in terms of two "motifs" arbitrarily selected by the author gave us a portrait determined not so much by the facts of Shelley's life as by the moods and needs of the artist-biographer.

THE NEW BIOGRAPHY

The distinction just made serves to indicate that in recent times we have been offered a different kind of biography, one in which concern for faithful statement of fact is subordinated to an artistic attempt to portray and interpret the character. Let us consider some of the features of this "new biography."

1. *The modern biographer is detached.* Detachment has not always been a virtue of biographers. When Izaak Walton wrote, between

1640 and 1678, lives of eminent clergymen of his time, he was finding an outlet for his own desire for a life of genteel comfort and learned leisure; his own personality is clearly revealed both in his selection of characters and in his treatment of them. When Lucy Hutchinson in the seventeenth century wrote the *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, she was glorifying the part played by her pious husband in the struggle between Cavaliers and Roundheads. When Lockhart wrote the monumental *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, he was both Scott's biographer and his son-in-law. Detachment means, of course, that the author writes without the bias of preference for any particular sort of facts; he can deal frankly and fully with whatever is pertinent to his task. Dr. Johnson said that the biographer should pass lightly over performances and incidents which produce the subject's fame, and instead "lead the thoughts into domestic privacies, and display the minute details of daily life," because if we see a man in such intimacy we can better judge his true character. Obviously only one who is "detached" can be trusted to discuss, without distortion or concealment, the private life of his subject. Those who have a personal interest in the fame of the hero are "tempted to conceal, if not to invent." For there are "many who think it an act of piety to hide the faults or failings of their friends, even when they can no longer suffer by their detection." Rejecting as unworthy examples of biography those books which are thus biased, Johnson expressed an important principle when he said, "If we owe regard to the memory of the dead, there is yet more respect to be paid to knowledge, to virtue, to truth." Walt Whitman was sensitive to the danger and gave his biographer express instructions: "Be sure to write about me honest: whatever you do, do not prettify me." Carlyle placed in the hands of his friend Froude records and correspondence which reflected on his own disposition, if not on his character, and apparently intended that Froude should make full use of all the facts.

We see a striking example of the detachment of the modern biographer in Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*. It is clear that Mr. Strachey chose for discussion persons whom he did not admire, as if he could thus ensure his independence of judgment. Those who study these essays carefully will be inclined to say that there is as great a danger of distortion in selecting characters one dislikes as in writing of people one admires. It has been well said that Strachey selected Queen Victoria as a subject for the same reason, but that as the book progressed the essential qualities of the Queen so impressed themselves upon the author's mind that he could not avoid conveying to his readers, in the later portions of the book, something like admiration.

2. A second feature of modern biography is in *the conscious artistry of the biographer*. He may protest that he declines to use material whose truth there is any reason to doubt and that he is as concerned about veracity as any of his forerunners; but the modern biographer, in the person especially of Ludwig, Maurois, or Strachey, is anxious that his narrative shall be "shapely," that is, that its form shall be artistic. In the case of Ludwig this preoccupation is easily understood when we remember that he was a dramatist years before he wrote biographies. He has told us that since he was sixteen he has conceived all his writings in three or five acts. Another indication of the same underlying motive is seen in the tendency to regard individuals as illustrations of types. Ludwig himself admits that in each individual he is "seeking the universal." When he wrote the *Life of Napoleon* he was depicting the typical usurper; in his "Rembrandt" he portrays the worldly minded artist who is beaten by the world; in his *Bismarck* the drama is of a genius dependent on a king; in *Lincoln* his interest is in the tragedy of the people's friend; in *Kaiser Wilhelm* he sees typified the disaster which overtakes inherited power which is uncontrolled. In a similar way Maurois has told us why he wrote the life of *Disraeli*. Disraeli's ambition and his youthful foibles did not attract Maurois, but he felt profound sympathy for the Disraeli who suffered bitter opposition, but never accepted defeat, and especially for the old Disraeli whose heart was still young. This author has a fondness for symbols and in his *Disraeli* makes much of the primrose, a spring flower of the English countryside, because it was Disraeli's favorite flower and fittingly expressed the youthful spirit he kept to the end. Gamaliel Bradford's dedication of his *Daughters of Eve* to Lytton Strachey expresses the admiration of one modern biographer for the artistic skill of another:

TO LYTTON STRACHEY
WHO MAKES BIOGRAPHY
NOT ONLY A CURIOUS SCIENCE
BUT AN EXQUISITE ART

To find an excellent illustration of an artistic device used in the interest of the biographer, the reader may turn to the closing paragraph of Strachey's *Queen Victoria*. The dying Queen is pictured, quite imaginatively but with psychological truth, passing in review a number of events and personalities important in her life, till at last her mind rests on childhood memories. This gives the author an opportunity to recall, with great dramatic effect, the kind of event and person most important in the Queen's life and thus, in his closing words, to reinforce the whole effect of his interpretation of her character. It

would be foolish to ask whether he had any evidence for such a dying reverie. He has merely endeavored to do what Ludwig tells us he conceives it his responsibility to do, to imagine himself in the place of the historical figure so as to present him from within.

In the hands of skillful workers who are willing to discipline the muscles which are to use such delicate tools, the artistic methods, of which only one or two have been mentioned here, are capable of producing significant results. The danger is that what is an artistic "portrait" may be taken as definitive biography, as when some readers thought that Ludwig's *Son of Man* was a new biography of Jesus Christ. A greater danger is that poor imitators of the brilliant group so far named may suppose that the method is an easy one and proceed to give us "biographies" which are nothing more than impressionistic interpretations.

3. A third feature of modern biography is *psychological interpretation*. It is suggested by a term adopted by Gamaliel Bradford, one of its best exponents. He calls it "psychography," the portrayal of the soul. Plutarch, the greatest biographer of antiquity, refers in one of his *Lives of Illustrious Greeks and Romans* to what he aptly calls the "marks and indications of the souls of men." He finds these not in the great events which history records, the battles won or deeds of recognized heroism, but in what many would suppose to be insignificant expressions and jests. This comment of the ancient writer was undoubtedly in Dr. Johnson's mind when he said that "more knowledge can be gained of a man's real character, by a short conversation with one of his servants, than from a formal and studied narrative, begun with his pedigree, and ended with his funeral." And it was these considerations, of course, which seemed to Boswell to justify him in reproducing so minutely the conversation and describing so comprehensively the personal idiosyncrasies of his great hero. Strachey in our own times tells us that in his attempt to depict an epoch he tries to focus the searching light of insight upon details hitherto ignored.

The modern biographer, however, has gone further than Plutarch and Boswell. He does not merely record revealing details but he interprets on psychological principles the minute particulars on which he has drawn for a revelation of the subject's character. He is anxious to get at what a man thought of himself, of his fellows, and of the world he lived in, because only when that is known is it possible to determine why he behaved as he did, whence he drew the inspiration of his ambitions, or what his ambitions really were.

At this point the biographer has to bring to bear on the individual life he is describing and interpreting all the light that can be thrown on human nature by scientific study of the mind and its workings. The psychologist is not interested in the individual, except as an illustration of the general principles he has reached by observing many individuals; the biographer, on the other hand, is interested not in men studied statistically but in specific individuals taken one at a time. Their interests might seem to keep biographer and psychologist apart. But the biographer is certainly indebted to the psychologist, whose principles help him to understand the development, the patterns, and the expressions of personality.

One of the most important contributions made by psychology is found in the modern emphasis upon growth. The psychologist has shown us how early the foundations of personality are laid both in the physical equipment of the individual and in his mental habits. But he is equally emphatic in pointing out that growth continues as the various habits and impulses of the child are built up into a system more or less consistent. In the process of development there are conflicts as one set of traits comes to dominate the personality, for development in one direction necessarily involves repudiation, more or less conscious, of other possibilities. The question arises why the individual develops in one direction rather than another; to answer this we have to discover where his interest lay at given periods in his life; to determine this, in turn, we have to find out to what he was attending most frequently or most eagerly, and towards what goals he was consciously directing his effort.

Some psychologists have gone so far as to reduce human beings to a simple classification of major types. One such grouping includes all men under one of the following heads: men of intellectual interests, who are seeking knowledge; men of the economic type, who are concerned with production and use of things; men of aesthetic interests, who create or enjoy things of beauty; men whose attitudes are primarily social and who live for others; men who seek power and control over others; and, finally, men of the religious type, who are seeking unity. If the theory were accepted without qualification, it would of course mean that any subject of biography could be placed in one or another of the classes indicated and the interpretation of his life thus greatly simplified. But the theory encounters the obvious objection that all of us exhibit attitudes in which several of these "types" are mingled, and indeed that the fully developed personality is precisely the one in which

several of these attitudes are harmonized in one life. The contribution made by this theory, however, is in the clear analysis of the various attitudes.

BIOGRAPHIES OF CONTEMPORARIES

This volume contains biographical essays relating to living men or to men who have very recently passed from the scene of their labors. There are at once advantages and limitations involved in the use of life-stories of men still living. The advantage is, first, that a judicious selection of contemporary figures will serve to bring very clearly before the student the issues of our age, the conditions prevailing in various occupations, the obstacles to be faced by men of ambition, whether their goal be material success or significant service to their fellows, and the satisfactions which may be expected in a wide variety of vocations. A second advantage, mechanical in character, is that it is not usually practicable to supply a large class of students with extended biographies such as are usually written about men of the past, whereas a collection of essays written with the student's needs in view can be placed in the hands of all.

The chief limitation is perhaps obvious, and the wise teacher will not merely accept it but make use of it as an aid in teaching. Of a living man, it has somewhere been said, you can not say that he is happy. The maker of the epigram probably meant, among other things, that so long as a man lives it is impossible either for him or for others to make a final judgment about his life. His last years may gloriously crown his life's work, as in the case of the late Mr. Justice Holmes, or his closing days may be overshadowed by the effects of some error of judgment, some foible which alienates his fellows, or some fundamental weakness which was concealed by conditions during his earlier life. There is always, therefore, a chance that a list of famous contemporaries may need revision in the light of later knowledge of the individuals. But we may reply that it would be foolish to refrain from making tentative judgments simply because final judgments are impossible; such a policy would mean inaction throughout life. More important is it to reply that the very possibility, while a man lives, of difference of opinion about his services to his fellows, his opinions and tastes, or his decisions, stimulates discussion; and discussion, as all teachers know, arouses and sustains interest.

HOW TO USE BIOGRAPHY

Our suggestions will be limited to the use of the materials in this volume. Where considerable time can be given to biography as an

independent field of study, as in the case of institutions offering courses in the subject, methods will be somewhat different.

Direct the student's reading by providing pertinent questions. Otherwise insignificant details may catch his attention to the neglect of the really important. The questions should vary with the different characters, partly because this maintains interest and partly because a question applicable to one person may seem forced when applied to another. The questions will, however, fall into a few well-defined groups.

- I (a) What did the subject owe to his early environment? (It is usually futile to attempt a clear separation between hereditary and environmental influences unless we have a great deal of reliable information at our disposal.)
- (b) How soon did traits appear which are recognizable in his later life?
- (c) What was the nature of his education? (Distinguish between his formal education and the informal education of contacts, travel, miscellaneous reading, friendly guidance, etc.)
- (d) How and why did he choose the career he followed?
- (e) How did he choose his friends?
- (f) What obstacles did he find in his way and how did he meet them? (Distinguish between the skill with which he overcame difficulties and the attitudes he adopted.)
- (g) What were the strong and what were the weak elements in his character?
- (h) What were the most real and enduring satisfactions the subject found in life?
- II Questions should also be suggested which carry the mind of the student beyond the individual to the social implications of his life. These will occur to the teacher as each essay is taken up, but one or two may be outlined:
 - (a) How is progress achieved by society—in its organization, political arrangement, institutional life, economic efficiency, manners, and customs? How are those who urge reform to persuade the more conservative among their contemporaries to open their minds to the need for change? How is the enthusiasm of reformers to be utilized in orderly development? What is the essence of revolutionary change? How does democratic, or parliamentary, reform differ from revolution?

- (b) How is progress made in education, culture, and intelligence? How far can individuals shape and modify institutions and conventional practices in the interest of a rational control of life? What sort of a character is most likely to render effective service in these fields?

III Towards the close of the course in which the volume is used it would be well to offer questions which can be answered only by comparing one essay with another:

- (a) Whose achievement do you consider greatest? Why?
- (b) Who had the greatest advantages?
- (c) Who faced the greatest obstacles?
- (d) Which character do you admire most?
- (e) From which essay have you learned most? (Enumerate whatever valuable information or insight has been contributed by the various essays.)

IV Finally, the student should be encouraged, in the case of each essay, to estimate the skill of the author.

- (a) What is the most notable quality of the writing? Vividness? Clarity? Sincerity? Psychological insight? Sense of dramatic values? Selection and use of detail? Are there other qualities to be noted?
- (b) Do you concur in the author's estimate of the subject's character? Is your reaction based upon information you have found in other sources? Or do you differ from the author in the conclusions to be drawn from the data he presents? Or have you simply a feeling that he is wrong? Analyze carefully your personal attitude to the author so far as it is based upon this essay. Does it make you wish to read other writings by the same person? Does it lead you to suppose that he has been closely associated with his subject? Does he keep himself sufficiently in the background?

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GRACE ABBOTT

by

GEORGE W. HUNTER

NEVER has the world stood in greater need of leadership than in this period of our history. The economic conditions, reflecting as they do uncertain waters of the commercial world, reflect also a picture of human conditions which will be handed down well into the next generation. No one has recognized this fact more than did Grace Abbott, former chief of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, who was of the finest type of new leader, sounding the clarion call for others to meet the present-day challenge. At a meeting of the American Child Health Association she made the following statement:

Of course you know, and I know, that everybody who is unemployed suffers during a period of unemployment, but we also know that those who suffer most are the children of the unemployed, because the gains which should be made this year can not be postponed until next year. What they do not get this year we can never make up to them. We can not feed children skimmed milk this year and make up by feeding them cream next year, and there are great numbers of children all over the country that are not getting even skimmed milk this year, for whom the milk ration was long ago stopped. In the files of the Children's Bureau we have record after record of that kind of family.

What does this privation do to children? I have said it sends them into manhood and womanhood more subject to tuberculosis, more subject to disease in general than they otherwise would be. It may profoundly affect their mental as well as their physical development. Children need not only food and a comfortable home, but equally important, they need security. There are many children tonight who have been without this sense of security for over a year. What this is doing to them I shall leave to our friends the psychiatrists to explain.

Grace Abbott was born of Puritan stock in the little prairie village of Grand Island, Nebraska, November 17, 1878. Her father, Othman Abbott, was a man of New England stock. He was an early settler of Illinois and as a young man moved to Grand Island when it was a hamlet and helped it to grow to the small, breezy city it later became. He was an active Republican and later in life served a term as lieutenant-governor of the state. It was largely due to his foresight that the splendid laws for the protection of women workers now stand on the statutes of the state of Nebraska.

Her mother, Elizabeth Griffin Abbott, was of Quaker extraction and was a pioneer worker for woman-suffrage. Susan B. Anthony and other early leaders in this movement were visitors at the Abbott home and Grace must have met them as a child. One of Grace's ancestors was the

twenty-third signer of the Mayflower Compact. Another helped colonize Connecticut in the early days of the colony. And still another pushed westward during the Gold Rush of '49 and became one of California's pioneers. It was not strange then that this child, reared in the little prairie town with its spirit of the Abolitionist and Populist party surrounding her, should become imbued with the adventuring spirit which later made her a real leader of the downtrodden.

She must have been a healthy, red-blooded youngster, full of determination and somewhat of a tomboy, and the splendid health and breezy personality of her mature years reflected the wholesome life that she led as a child in that little prairie community.

Her early training was that of the little red schoolhouse, then graduation from the Grand Island High School in 1895, and a bachelor of philosophy degree from the struggling Grand Island College in 1898. A teaching position in the Grand Island High School from 1899 to 1902 served as a stepping-stone to graduate work in the University of Nebraska for a year. We find her back in high-school teaching again from 1903 to 1907.

She was evidently convinced by this time that teaching was not her life-work. Her interests in sociological problems led her to graduate work in the University of Chicago, where she took the degree of master of philosophy in political science in 1909. During this period she studied at the University of Chicago Law School, getting the background that was to show later in her clear attack on the legal aspects of child labor problems.

In 1909 she became director of the Immigrants' Protective League and went to live at Hull House, that most famous of all American social settlements. Here, where the spirit of Jane Addams showed the best of democracy to the children of the thirty-odd nationalities that crowd this area, Grace Abbott must have come to the first realization of her life-work—that of helping children. Her interest was centered on the immigrants and their children, the medium through which these foreigners were to be changed into American citizens. She became particularly interested in the children of the immigrants because of the difficulties they had at home, troubles almost always brought about by the inability of the parents to understand their children's rapid adjustment to the new social environment of the school and the settlement. Here, in the direct contacts with these foreigners in their own squalid homes, she began to gather materials for her first book, *The Immigrant*

and the Country. As director of the Immigrants' Protective League and as executive secretary of the state Immigration Commissions of Massachusetts and Illinois, she organized and directed more than one comparative study with reference to the adjustment of the immigrant to his social environment, particularly with regard to the question of employment.

Miss Abbott lived for seven years, rich in experience, at Hull House, leaving there in 1915 for the wider experiences in social work in Massachusetts, and in 1917 she was appointed director of the Child Labor Division of the United States Children's Bureau. The chief job of this division was the enforcement of the first federal Child Labor Law, which was passed by Congress in 1917. This law established definite protective working standards for children. In particular was the section that read that no child under fourteen should be employed in a factory. Child labor, particularly in the mill towns of the South, had become firmly entrenched, and it became the problem of the Child Labor Division to coöperate with the different state labor departments in seeing that the conditions of the law were carried out. The law also forbade the interstate transportation of the products of child labor which were produced in violation of federal standards. This part of the law required very real coöperation with state officials in its enforcement and showed the great efficiency of the young director.

But political pressure was brought to bear, and before long the new law was declared unconstitutional, so that Miss Abbott was forced into other activities. Her genuine enthusiasm and leadership made her successively adviser on the War Labor Policies Board, secretary of the Child Welfare Conference with which the Children's Year campaign was concluded, and secretary of the Children's Commission of the first International Labor Conference. Her work in these various capacities so impressed official Washington and the many social workers that on the resignation of Miss Julia Lathrop, the first chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, in 1921, Miss Abbott was the logical successor. She held the position until she resigned in 1934.

The United States Children's Bureau was created by Act of Congress in 1912, with the task set by Congress to:

Investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people, and . . . especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth-rate, orphanages, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several states and territories.

At the time of the organization of the Bureau there were absolutely no United States statistics on infant mortality and no way of getting any. Miss Lathrop began the first investigation covering the subject of infant mortality and found in this initial study, based on the data concerning some twenty-three thousand babies, that the economic condition of the family was the outstanding factor in the baby's chance to live. For example, in the city of Baltimore only one baby out of twenty-seven died in the homes of the well-to-do, while one out of every seven died in the poorest homes. And the baby's chance to live depended very largely on the mother's knowledge concerning good care of the baby and on her ability to use this knowledge in a scientific way, factors which were largely absent in the poorer homes. The concern of the Bureau largely centered around four types of work: first, collection and analysis of facts about children gathered from source material and the field investigations; second, spreading this information where it would do the most good; third, coöperating with state agencies; and fourth, coöperating with private agencies to improve children's conditions.

Miss Abbott, with her keen analytical mind, and her knowledge of the values of statistical evidence, at once fitted into the new position. Under her direction the services of the Bureau to parents, to state child welfare departments, and to children's agencies and institutions were greatly extended. As a result of her leadership over two hundred child welfare studies in forty-five states were brought to a successful termination and the data incorporated in reports of the Bureau. She so completely identified herself with the welfare of the 43,000,000 children who were the constituents of the Bureau that every political or economic issue concluded by the Bureau was interpreted from the standpoint of value or harm to the child. Miss Abbott realized that dissemination of the facts about child care was most important if children's lives were to be saved, and so emphasis has been placed on four popular pamphlets on *Prenatal Care*, *Infant Care*, *Child Care* and *Child Management*, which have reached the tremendous combined circulation of millions of copies. The pamphlet, *Infant Care*, has been one of Uncle Sam's "best sellers."

One of the immediate results of the publication of the statistics on the high infant and maternal death-rate was the passage by Congress in 1921 of the federal Maternity and Infancy Act, known, because of its sponsors, as the Sheppard-Towner Act. The administration of this Act, effective from 1921 to 1929, with its annual appropriations of over \$1,200,000 a year, was entrusted to the Children's Bureau. Most of the money was apportioned among the forty-five states coöperating, to be used in

reaching the neglected mothers and children of the country. In the period in which funds provided by the Act were available, 124,000 child health conferences were held, attended by over one and a half million children; 750,000 expectant mothers were reached by conferences, lectures, and literature; and over three million home visits were made by nurses provided under the Act.

In the fall of 1922 Miss Abbott was appointed by the Secretary of State as the representative of the United States in a consultative capacity on the Commission for the Protection of Children and Young People of the League of Nations, and in 1923 she was elected to the presidency of the National Conference of Social Work, the fifth woman in fifty years to hold this honor. In August 1930 she was sent to Geneva by the Department of State to represent the United States at the meeting of the League of Nations Committee on the Extension of the Enquiry on Traffic in Women and Children in the East.

Miss Abbott was also a member of the Executive Committee of the American Child Health Association of which Herbert Hoover was honorary president. She was also an adviser on child health to the American Public Health Association, the Association of Health Officers and in the advisory council of the American Social Hygiene Association, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and many other organizations, as well as being secretary of the Executive Committee of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. All the above honors show how vitally she became associated with every movement that spells betterment of conditions of health and morals for the children of the world. In 1931 when it seemed that the office of Secretary of Labor was to be vacant, due to the election of Mr. James Davis to the Senate, demands came from all sides that Miss Abbott be appointed to this position. In view of her record and her personality, no one was more eminently fitted for this position, but politics ruled otherwise.

Miss Abbott was well equipped for the leadership she showed in her life-work. Keen, yet tactful, direct and efficient, yet withal charmingly feminine, she used and analyzed her statistics to direct her resources to the ends she had in view. One editorial-writer described her as a direct sort of person with a sense of humor, great efficiency, kindness, and human understanding of the people with whom she was associated. Another writer said that Miss Abbott was not a politician, either of labor or the party variety, but a trained expert whose heart was in her work. Her face showed culture and refinement as well as reflecting the decision,

resolution, and courage of the pioneering colonist who helped to mould the destiny of her prairie birthplace. This indomitable fighting spirit was often seen in her struggles against great odds. Twice were her constructive policies checked, first by the declaration of the unconstitutionality of the law and later by opposing legislation, and yet she remained serene and hopeful. In 1929 fire destroyed the inadequate frame building holding the priceless records of the Children's Bureau, but her undaunted spirit showed itself in the Bureau's patient attempts to replace the lost material.

We appreciate Miss Abbott's influence on our thinking when we look back over the years she was at work for mothers and children. In 1912 only two states had mothers' pension laws and one a bureau of child health. Today it is unusual not to find mothers and children so protected. Twenty-eight years ago only twenty-three states had juvenile courts; today we take them for granted. Society today demands the safeguarding of the lives of young children to such an extent as was hardly dreamed of when Grace Abbott was a girl. And much of the progress is due to her constructive thinking and her use of the statistical material. Someone has aptly said that Grace Abbott doted on statistics.

A glance at a list of some of Miss Abbott's articles shows that she had the faculty of popularizing her statistics and of talking to her audience in a matter-of-fact and yet dramatic way of the needs of her beloved clientele. Her popular writings are to be found in such magazines as the *Survey*, *The Christian Advocate*, *Outlook*, *Independent*, *North American Review*, New York Times magazine sections, *Parents Magazine*, *Congregational Digest*, and others.

Her more technical articles are distinguished by their correct use of statistical material as well as their direct human appeal, and have appeared in such journals as *Public Health Nurse*, *Child Health Bulletin*, *American Journal of Public Health*, *National Conference of Social Work*, *School and Society*, *Proceedings of the National Education Association*, *Social Science Review*, *Journal of Criminal Law*, *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, *Home Journal of Sociology*, and others. Her reports as chief of the Children's Bureau, which began with the fiscal year of 1921, the first of which were published in volume XVI of the United States *Catalogue of Public Documents* of the Sixty-seventh Congress, 1923, are models of what statistical reports should be, and her report entitled *The Children's Bureau*, 1928, gave a remarkably clear picture of the work that has been done since the organization of this division of the United States Department of Labor, while numerous

bulletins on maternal, infant, and child care, on juvenile employment, on the relation of the delinquent child to his environment, as well as folders, charts, and exhibits have been put out as part of the work of the Bureau.

In the publication of Grace Abbott's two-volume work, *The Child and the State*, in 1938, we have a survey of this great question from the eighteenth century to the present. The book was well received, although some critics thought the rural phase was somewhat slighted.

After looking over any of Miss Abbott's very readable articles, one is forced to the conclusion that she not only had a well-founded knowledge of the fundamental work of the Bureau, but she was also alive to the many new factors, such as unemployment or lack of favorable conditions in certain types of rural child labor, which unfavorably affect the lives of children. In an address before the White House Conference she showed very clearly the direct effect of unemployment on the next generation in terms of weakened bodies and minds. In her treatment of the rural child she showed clearly some of the handicaps that may beset him in areas where local responsibility is not strong. In her fight to improve the conditions of maternity, especially in the rural districts, she was a leader. To her far-sighted policies of education and nursing, the present rise in the curve of the span of life is in large measure undoubtedly due. She has certainly deserved a place among America's twelve most outstanding women, accorded her in 1931 by *Good Housekeeping Magazine* in a nation-wide poll.

Miss Abbott, on June 14, 1934, after issuing a statement about her pending resignation to take place on July 1, said that one of the deep satisfactions which came to her while in the service [under five presidents] was the appointment of her friend, Frances Perkins, as secretary of labor.

President Roosevelt, in a letter of regret accepting Miss Abbott's resignation, said that she would continue in an "advisory relationship" to the Children's Bureau.

For the position which she next undertook—professor of public welfare at the University of Chicago—Grace Abbott was well qualified. She also became editor of the *Social Service Review*.

As a member of the Advisory Council of the Committee on Economic Security Miss Abbott had a great part in its report to the President in January 1935. Two other notable events in her life took place in 1935:

she was a delegate to the Pan-American Congress at Mexico City; and *Parents Magazine* bestowed on her a gold medal for "outstanding service to children."

Miss Abbott headed the welfare workers' drive for the reelection of President Roosevelt in 1936. In 1937 as leader of the delegation to the International Labor Conference held at Geneva she worked for and secured the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment.

On June 19, 1939, Grace Abbott, "second mother of everybody's children," passed away. Her work will endure as long as America is interested in the proper care of her children.

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MARTHA BERRY

by

FRANCIS WARREN POWELL and ROBERT EMORY PARK



HE man or the woman who performs a task which involves the recreating and transforming of human life and character stands out as a true benefactor of mankind. Our attention is challenged by the achievement of a Southern woman who has renounced a life of ease and pleasure, and, despite determined opposition and innumerable difficulties, has succeeded so well in her task of bringing an education to the poor boys and girls of the rural South that today visitors come from the corners of the earth to see the school that she has established at Mount Berry near Rome, Georgia. Yet this school—with its campus of some twenty-five thousand acres, its array of imposing buildings, its student-body of more than a thousand boys and girls, who are being trained in the art of useful and gracious living—is less a marvel than the personality of Martha Berry herself, an extraordinary woman, whose abiding faith, never-ending industry, and radiant enthusiasm have made a dream come true in the hills of north Georgia.

Martha Berry, the daughter of Frances Rhea and Thomas Berry, a wealthy and aristocratic Southern planter, was born October 7, 1866, in Rome, Georgia. Here in the white-columned colonial mansion she was reared in an atmosphere of culture and elegance. Her early education she received in her home, where she was taught by a private governess; later she was sent for a year to a "finishing" school conducted by Madame Le Febre in Baltimore. In this manner she was equipped to lead the life of a conventional belle among the fashionable society which gathered at "Oak Hill," her father's home. But the whirl of gaiety failed to absorb the interest of Martha Berry, who preferred rather to slip away to a quiet retreat with a book under her arm or to ride with her father into the neighboring hills to visit the isolated homes of the tenant-farmers.

In order to have a quiet place in which to read and devote some time to writing, Martha Berry fitted up a den in an old log cabin which stood at the edge of a grove bordering the spacious lawn of her home. Here on a Sunday afternoon in the spring of 1900, as she sat alone in her study, she suddenly became aware of some little faces peering through the window. Her shy little visitors were three children

from the neighboring mountains who were wandering homeward through the woods. Coaxed inside by her friendly interest, they listened with eagerness as she told them stories from the Bible. So entranced were they that Miss Berry invited them to come back the following Sunday. This they did, bringing their brothers and sisters. In addition to the stories, there was now singing. While two of the boys held a feeble melodeon erect and a third kept the broken pedal in place, Miss Berry played the favorite old gospel hymns. The young people from the poor families of the neighborhood, fascinated by the new and interesting experience, continued week after week to assemble for the Sunday afternoon service. Soon the cabin was overflowing and the services had to be held out-of-doors. By autumn the children were bringing their elders, and there was a regular attendance of from thirty to forty persons.

The log cabin Sunday-school was famous throughout the Piedmont section. Such, in fact, was its reputation that the people up at Possum Trot, eight miles away, petitioned Martha Berry to establish a similar school in that community. Here in a partially dilapidated, ante-bellum house was located the second of the settlement schools for the underprivileged boys and girls of the Southern mountains. A little later two other schools were opened in still more isolated regions. With only one helper, her sister Frances, Martha Berry taught all the Sunday-schools, holding some in the morning, others in the afternoon, with only time enough between the services for the two workers to hurry from one place to another.

On week-days Martha Berry drove far up into the mountains to minister to the needs of these newly made friends. With her favorite horse, "Old Roanie," hitched to the buggy, and the little old melodeon strapped on behind, she circled the hills, up and down the steep narrow roads, visiting the lonely cabins nestled in the folds of the ridges. By her friendly interest and helpfulness she brought a new outlook to these neglected "Highlanders"; in return, she was given an opportunity to know at first hand something of the home life of her pupils. She was deeply impressed by the extreme poverty of these people who lived such a miserable existence in the crowded and insanitary cabins. She became aware of the deep-seated pride of these sturdy settlers, who refused to work in competition with the Negroes, yet were unwilling to accept charity. She learned, above all, to understand and appreciate the native worth of this pioneer American stock. The young people were eager and willing to be educated, but the parents were unable to support schools, even had the mountain roads not been impassable during part of



MARTHA BERRY

the year. Martha Berry saw in this situation a challenge that was irresistible. She decided to renounce the ease and pleasure of her social sphere and to consecrate her life to the task of driving ignorance and want beyond the ranges.

Inspired with new enthusiasm, Miss Berry proposed to begin secular teaching on week-days in connection with the Sunday-schools that were making such progress wherever they were situated. Greatly aided by the arrival of a new worker, Miss Elizabeth Brewster, who volunteered her services wherever they were most needed, the two sisters plunged into their new enterprise with characteristic vigor. The log cabin had become too small for the ever increasing number of eager pupils who clamored for entrance, so Martha Berry decided that another schoolhouse must be provided. With her own money she bought some rough lumber at the mill, and with the labor supplied by the men and boys of the Sunday-school, she erected a new building on a tract of land which her father had given her across the road from her home place. When completed it was whitewashed and fitted with rude desks improvised from dry-goods boxes. Time, effort, and financial support Martha Berry gave without stint to the school. She even supplied books to those who could not buy, in addition to furnishing wraps and umbrellas, in order that the children might come in bad weather. So successful was this new venture that within six months it was necessary to enlarge the building, by adding first one room and then another on either side of the original structure. From a distance of eight miles boys and girls were trooping down from the mountains to take advantage of their newly found opportunity. Farther back in the hills still other youngsters were receiving knowledge and inspiration through the teaching of Martha Berry.

Yet the work of the four day-schools, however well equipped and largely attended, could contribute comparatively little toward the permanent betterment of living conditions in these rural districts; and to accomplish this had been, from the first, Miss Berry's primary purpose. She now saw the necessity of lifting the pupils out of their backward environment if they were to be taught the dignity of labor and the individual responsibility of coöperative social service. That the children of the hill-country should learn to till the soil scientifically, to apply modern methods of dairying, to construct good roads, to prepare nourishing food, to value cleanliness, to cultivate the social graces, to appreciate the beauties of nature and the worth of Christian character; then to return to their own homes as missionaries and prophets of a more abundant life—this, in part, was the vision that stirred the heart of Martha

Berry. To make her dream come true she planned to establish an industrial boarding-school where boys too poor to go elsewhere could find a place to work for the modest tuition and at the same time to be trained in the fundamentals of a liberal education.

First she had a charter drawn up, in which she deeded to a board of trustees her schoolhouse, together with the surrounding acres. On this plot of ground she erected during the autumn of 1901, at a cost of one thousand dollars, a two-story dormitory of ten rooms. With odd pieces of furniture brought down from her own home, additional articles collected from the neighborhood, second-hand army-cots purchased at a bargain sale in Chattanooga, dry-goods boxes covered with calico to serve as bureaus, and a dining-room table made of rough boards, the new building was ready for the formal opening of the school January 13, 1902. Because they would be satisfied with plain fare, could endure with less discomfort the hardships of pioneering, and could give greater assistance in actually building the school, she decided to admit only boys. With five pupils selected from her day-schools and the surrounding country, two teachers, two buildings, and about eighty acres of forest land, the Boys' Industrial School began its remarkable career.

Here ambitious youngsters were given an opportunity to earn an education. Each student was required to give two hours' work each day, regardless of whether he paid his tuition or worked for it. Four hours a day were spent in the classroom. Since there was no hired help, the boys scrubbed, cleaned, cooked, washed, built fences, graded roads, and cleared land—all under the direction of Miss Berry, Miss Brewster, or a school-trained farmer, who had charge of the out-door work. In less than a month eleven country boys had been enrolled in the school; by the end of the first session the number of boarders had increased to eighteen, and many applicants had been turned away for lack of accommodations.

With the opening of the second term Miss Berry faced the problem of providing sufficient funds to operate the school. She had all but exhausted her own resources. To whom could she turn for help? In her extremity she decided to go to New York and make an effort to interest some people of wealth in the project to which she had dedicated her life. From one of her friends she learned the name of a prominent Brooklyn minister to whom she told her story. He in turn gave her the names of the members of his congregation who might be willing to help her. So thrilled was she over the prospects of winning new friends for her school, she sat up all night writing letters, which carried to the church people a glimpse of what she was doing in her school down South and a vision

of what she could accomplish if only she had the necessary funds. Soon the replies began to come in. Some of them contained checks; others brought messages of encouragement. She had obtained fifty dollars in this manner when one day she was summoned to the office of a Wall Street financier. She was asked to tell her story again. The banker, who seemed greatly impressed, asked her many questions; when she turned to go, he handed her a check for \$500 and promised another gift the following year. Thus her first real battle in raising money to finance her school had been won. She returned to Georgia a few days later with \$1000 to invest in the lives of her boys at Mount Berry.

But this was only the beginning of the long years of laborious effort in soliciting donations. Year in and year out this slender little woman of sensitive feelings and instinctive pride, unaccustomed to the stress and strain of the world of business, has traveled throughout the country, calling upon men in their offices and in their homes, telling her story so well that thousands have shared her vision and contributed liberally of their resources. As the funds became available, the school was enlarged to care for more pupils. By 1905 there was an enrollment of seventy-five boys; a faculty of five; several hundred acres of land, largely in cultivation; buildings valued at seven thousand dollars; a fine herd of live-stock; and an assortment of modern farm machinery. Three years later there were a hundred and fifty students; a dozen buildings, erected by the boys; macadam roads; a thousand acres of land; a large dairy barn and milk house; truck-gardens; orchards; a wood-work shop; a canning-factory; a steam-laundry; a library and a recreation-hall; besides the lecture rooms and dormitories. Indicative both of the quality of native material with which Miss Berry worked and of the thoroughness of the instruction in her school is the fact that in 1908 one of her boys was graduated with first honors at the University of Georgia, having served as editor of the college paper and president of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Those early years were, nevertheless, a period of disasters and disappointments. There was the time when the schoolhouse burned down and the commencement exercise had to be conducted in a leaky tent; when the entire student-body came down with the measles; when the well at the school went dry and water had to be hauled from "Oak Hill"; when the railroad threatened to run a line right through the campus. It was not without many battles lost and won that the little boarding-school emerged from the pioneer stage.

But Martha Berry continued to make plans for her school. She realized

that her purpose of transforming the home life of the mountain people could never be accomplished with only the boys trained in the new way of life. She must make some provision for the girls as well. Accordingly, she set out again on a journey to obtain funds. This time she went to the President of the United States. Theodore Roosevelt, who had heard of her school through some mutual friends, granted her an interview. As she told her story and showed him the scrap-book full of pictures of her school and her boys, he listened with keen interest. Diplomats and senators waited outside for two hours. Finally, when Miss Berry had finished, the President exclaimed: "This is the real thing!" Then he encouraged her to go ahead with plans for the girls' school. After explaining to her that he could not give her financial assistance but that he would introduce her to some influential men of affairs, he arranged a dinner at the White House the following evening, where he invited bankers, philanthropists, and other prominent people to meet Martha Berry and to hear of her great work. As a result of the glowing account of her accomplishments so far and of her plans for the future, practically every guest at that memorable dinner eventually became a loyal supporter of her now famous school.

When once Miss Berry saw the necessity for establishing a place where the girls from the rural districts could be trained in the art of home-making, she did not stop until her purpose was fulfilled. Accordingly, she set the boys to work to build a large log house, which she called "Sunshine Shanty"; and here on Thanksgiving day, 1909, she opened the Martha Berry School for Girls. At first there were only five pupils, but the number gradually increased until by the beginning of the second term the enrollment had reached thirty. Included in the curriculum were weaving, gardening, basket-making, practical nursing, laundry-work, cooking, sewing, and child care. More important still, the girls were trained in the social graces and in those fundamental virtues of cleanliness, thoroughness, and cheerfulness which were to mean so much in the years to come when they should set up homes of their own. Building after building was added to the campus to accommodate the increasing numbers who sought admittance, and the staff of teachers was enlarged in proportion.

During the next twenty years the material growth of the Berry Schools was in every way remarkable. At the tenth anniversary, 1912, the campus contained two thousand acres and the buildings were valued at two hundred thousand dollars. In the Boys' School there were two hundred students; in the Girls' School, seventy-five. During these ten

years a thousand boys and girls had gone from the campus back into the home communities to point the way to material and spiritual progress. In 1925 a college was established (at first a junior college), which necessitated new buildings and more teachers. The campus had at this time been enlarged to nearly ten thousand acres and the enrollment had reached seven hundred. In honor of the Berry boys who served in the World War, there had been constructed a new macadam road, known as the "Road of Remembrance," winding ten miles through the campus up to the summit of Lavender Mountain, where the students had built for Miss Berry a picturesque cottage, which she called the "House of Dreams."

With rapid expansion has come an enormous increase in the cost of maintaining the schools. Never have there been sufficient funds on hand to operate them for more than two or three months at a time. Some years there has been a deficit of over one hundred fifty thousand dollars, which Martha Berry has had to raise by means of letters, lectures, and personal appeals to friends throughout the country. More than 60 per cent of the donations are in sums of less than one hundred dollars.

Today there are three distinct schools, each with its own dormitories, classrooms, and teaching staff, all situated on the spacious campus of twenty-five thousand acres. From the "Gate of Opportunity" at the entrance a beautiful avenue of elms leads to the white-columned administration building. Only a short distance away are the imposing red-brick buildings of Georgian colonial architecture which comprise the college group; among them, the beautiful chapel copied from the church designed by Sir Christopher Wren at Alexandria, Virginia; a handsome library, costing a hundred thousand dollars; modern lecture-halls and dormitories. On the campus of the Girls' School are located a dozen or more picturesque cottages made of logs and hedged about with flowers and shrubs, besides the magnificent quadrangle of native stone in Gothic design, which Henry Ford erected for the school at a cost of five million dollars. Five miles back into the woods at the foot of Lavender Mountain is the Foundation School with its sturdy buildings of native field-stone and brick made by the boys in the school's own brick-plant.

Beyond the school campus proper extend thousands of acres of meadows, fields, and forests, all of which serves as a game-preserve. On the farms is raised a great variety of crops, which are cultivated by the most modern methods of agriculture. Each year visitors come from many sections of the country to observe the methods employed and the results obtained on the Berry farms. The state of Georgia, as well as other states, has

modeled its district agricultural schools after the one which Martha Berry has established.

Besides the work in the fields, there are many industries in which the students learn to employ the mind and hand together. The boys work in the dairy, in the printing-plant, in the shoe-shop, at the mill, at the wood-work and machine-shops, and on the roads. The girls are kept busy in the weaving-rooms of "Sunshine Shanty"; in the practice cottage, where they conduct model housekeeping; and in the gardens, where they attend to the vegetables. All this is, however, only supplementary to the more formal education which is taught in the classrooms. Here a student may begin at the first grade and go through the school step by step until he has become a full-fledged college graduate, taking one of three degrees: A.B., B.S., or B.S. in agriculture.

Yet the primary purpose of the school is not to train workers in the shop, on the farm, and in the classroom; rather it aims first to develop men and women of splendid physique, of fine personality, and of sterling character. Everything possible has been done to contribute to this three-fold purpose. There are, both at Berry College and the Boys' School, baseball, basketball, track, and gymnasium teams that engage in intramural contests. Excellent facilities for swimming and boating are provided by the two large lakes on the school property. Training in debate is offered by the literary societies. A band, an orchestra, and a choral club furnish good music and develop musical talent among the students. There is also a talking motion picture machine at the Girls' School. In addition, concert artists and lecturers frequently visit Berry to fill engagements. Martha Berry has filled her campus with beauty that the aesthetic nature of her girls and boys might be fed. She has so stressed the importance of cleanliness, courtesy, and unselfishness that these virtues have become characteristic of the Berry Schools. She has, above all, created a distinctly religious tone which pervades the entire campus and is exemplified in the lives of faculty and pupils alike.

But the schools are, after all, but a projection of the woman whose vision conceived them, and whose industry, faith, and self-sacrifice have developed them through the years. Martha Berry stands out as a unique character among the educators and philanthropists of today. Her charming manner, ready wit, and contagious enthusiasm are indicative of her magnetic personality. Her clearness of perception, her resourcefulness, and her tact mark her as an efficient executive. She is the gentlest and most feminine of persons; yet, in the face of great difficulties she has exhibited extraordinary strength and perseverance. That she would risk her all

in an educational venture hitherto untried shows something of her courage; and the marvelous success of her undertaking is proof that her judgment was correct. The most fundamental trait of character of this remarkable woman, however, is her religious zeal. From the first she has been fired with the belief that hers was a divine mission. Never once has her faith in this conviction waned; and it is largely because of this unquestioning confidence that she has marched steadily toward her goal. Still the range of her vision exceeds her grasp. Dream succeeds dream, as Martha Berry plans even greater things in the future for her boys and girls. Year after year she loses her life to find it again in the happiness she brings to others.

In recognition of her splendid services Martha Berry has repeatedly been rewarded with honors, and with much commendation from high places. Theodore Roosevelt, who visited the schools in 1910, characterized her endeavor as "the most practical work for American citizenship that has been done within this decade." Sir Wilfred Grenfell once said: "The world needs more schools like these at Mount Berry." In 1920 the University of Georgia awarded Martha Berry the honorary degree of doctor of pedagogy. Ten years later the University of North Carolina gave her the honorary degree of doctor of laws. Other honorary degrees given Miss Berry are as follows: Berry College, doctor of humanities, 1933; Bates College, doctor of laws, 1933; Duke University, doctor of laws, 1935; Oglethorpe University, doctor of public service, 1935; Oberlin College, doctor of literature, 1936; University of Wisconsin, doctor of laws, 1937.

The Georgia Legislature in 1924 voted her the title of "Distinguished Citizen of Georgia." The *Pictorial Review* annual award of \$5,000 for outstanding public service was given to her in 1927. In 1931 the Town Hall Club of New York awarded Martha Berry its annual medal for most distinguished service. In the same year the readers and judges of *Good Housekeeping* voted Miss Berry one of America's twelve greatest women.

Other honors have been bestowed upon Miss Berry. In 1933 the Society of Colonial Dames gave her their biennial medal for eminent patriotic service. The following year she was received by the King and Queen of England at St. James' palace. The National Institute of Social Sciences awarded her a gold medal in 1939. The Progressive Farmer poll in 1939 voted her the Southern woman of the year. The state of Georgia recognized her work as an educator by appointing her to the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia.

One of the honors which Martha Berry has prized most was the Roosevelt medal for distinguished service presented her by President Coolidge in 1925. At that time she gave the following testimony, which is, in fact, a revelation of her own life and work:

I accept this medal very humbly for myself, but very proudly for the boys and girls whom I represent . . . The Berry Schools are in the work of conservation—the conservation of one of our country's greatest natural resources—the children of the mountain forests. My ambition has been to free them and to give them to America strong of heart, mind, and soul.¹

The thousands of boys and girls who have gone out from the Berry Schools are abundant evidence that Martha Berry's ambition is being fulfilled.

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WILLIAM E. BORAH

WILLIAM E. BORAH

by

ERIK MCKINLEY ERIKSSON AND DAVID N. ROWE

ILLIAM EDGAR BORAH, for a third of a century a senator from Idaho, occupied a position unique in American political life. He represented that rare phenomenon, an individualist in politics. Of him it was said that at some time or other he opposed every group and point of view. Mr. Borah himself said that of all the votes which he cast in the Senate, those of which he was the most proud were his "no" votes. Yet the significant fact is that Mr. Borah was not an indiscriminate oppositionist who always voted "no" as a matter of habit. He was enough of an individualist to vote "yes" when it seemed to him that the opinions of others had merit, and he was able to do this without impairing his fundamental character as one who made up his mind on a basis of his own opinions, without consulting personal interest or political convenience.

Thus constituted he could not be expected to have the character of a regular party man in politics. Yet, except in the election of 1896, he always maintained his allegiance to the Republican party, though disagreeing with it in important instances. Such an individualist could not be expected to have many intimate friends, and yet, though this was true, Borah never made enemies of those he opposed. He had, as an oppositionist, the courage of his own convictions, which with his ability as a debater and orator and his knack for opposing without arousing hostility, would seem to have qualified him for a position of popular leadership. But Borah never assumed a position of national political leadership. Here again the seeming contradiction is explained on the basis of Borah's consistent individualism, which prevented him from assuming any one political attitude or position to the exclusion of all others, or to an extent which would deny him the important privilege of changing his mind, a privilege important only to those in politics who are interested in rational bases for their positions.

Born June 29, 1865, in Wayne County, Illinois, he lived on a farm until seventeen years old. The son of William N. and Eliza B. Borah, he was one of ten children. His father was of German extraction, and his mother of Irish descent. Having attended the country schools of Wayne County, he went at seventeen to the Southern Illinois

Academy at Enfield. To raise funds for this purpose he sold a horse and some live-stock his father had given him. The next year he went to Kansas, where he taught in the public schools. He entered the State University at Lawrence with the class of 1889, studied law, and was admitted to the bar shortly after his graduation. From 1890 to 1891 he practiced law at Lyons, Kansas.

It was during his early years that Borah demonstrated his aptitude for public speaking. At the age of nineteen he was speaking in political campaigns. This early interest was to be of value in his career at the bar, and was to be a prime factor in the powerful influence he exerted as United States senator from Idaho.

In 1891 Borah decided to move to the Far West. His destination was Seattle, but he ran low on funds when part way there, and stopped at Boise, Idaho, where he decided to locate permanently. In 1895 he married Mamie McConnell of that place. When Borah arrived at Boise his assets amounted to exactly \$15.75. With this he opened a law office. His first case came to him through a professional gambler he had met on the train, and who, with characteristic Western open-handedness, had offered to help him get started at Boise. He won this case. His next case was a notable success, in which he secured a settlement favorable to his client in a suit against a railroad. No other lawyer had been willing to take the case because of the fact that the railroad was the defendant.

Borah's courage was further demonstrated in his prosecution of a cowboy called "Diamondfield Jack," for the murder of two sheepherders. The prosecution of this case brought him into direct opposition to the powerfully organized cattle interests of the state. A bitter quarrel was in progress between these interests and the sheepherders over the grazing rights on the open range. The case was long and bitterly fought, and resulted in a conviction, but "Diamondfield Jack" was soon made the object of executive clemency. Despite this fact the cattle interests had been successfully opposed, and Borah's fight had resulted in curbing their influence in Idaho.

In 1899 his courage and his brilliance as a lawyer were further demonstrated in his prosecution of miners connected with the Bunker Hill Mine riot killings of that year. In 1904, however, came the case which gained him not only state-wide, but national recognition. This case involved the prosecution of Moyer, Pettibone, and Haywood, officials of the Western Federation of Miners, for the instigation of the assassination of former Governor Steunenberg of Idaho. Steunenberg had been

killed by a bomb placed, it was asserted, by those angered by his attitude toward the miners' unions. Borah's conduct of the prosecution in this case was a demonstration not only of his courage, but of his mental keenness and resourcefulness, and the stubborn determination with which he pursued a desired end. This case did more than any other one factor to put him into the Senate in 1907.

Borah's interest in politics had been shown in 1896, when he ran for the national House of Representatives as a Silver-Republican and Bryan supporter. He was unsuccessful in this candidacy, as he was also in 1903 when he was a candidate for the United States Senate. In this latter case he received twenty-two of the necessary twenty-six votes in the state Legislature. His failure to win the election resulted in this case from his refusal to make a trade with another man in a matter of patronage. He would be elected unconditionally or not at all. In 1907 he was elected on his own terms.

Despite the importance in his legal career of cases involving labor disputes, Borah's practice in Boise involved all types of litigation. As a lawyer it is told of him that he never attempted to suppress good evidence or to take unfair advantage of a weak opponent. His fairness to his opponents is evidenced by the fact that while involved in these important labor cases, he received, in his race for senator, the votes of the two strongest labor counties of the state. He was not opposed to labor organizations as such, but to the violent methods sometimes used by them. His attitude was indicated by his successful effort to secure, in an Idaho Republican state convention, a resolution favoring the eight-hour day for miners.

The qualities which contributed to Borah's success as a lawyer have already been mentioned. The measure of his success is to be seen in the fact that when he entered the Senate in 1907 he left a law practice worth approximately thirty thousand dollars a year.

Entering the Senate with a reputation chiefly gained in the labor cases mentioned, Borah maintained in that body his liberal attitude on labor questions. Soon after entering the Senate he was made chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, and in this capacity he surprised, by his course of action, those who, on a basis of his prosecution of labor cases, had expected him to be ultra-conservative. As chairman of this Committee he secured Senate approval of several bills favoring the interests of labor.

A complete survey of Borah's legislative record may not be attempted

here. It must suffice to mention briefly some of his more important attitudes on public questions which arose during his thirty-three years in the Senate. Subsequent to his election in 1907 he remained in the Senate until his death in 1940, never failing of reelection.

Borah favored and led the fight in the Senate for the income-tax. It was largely due to his efforts that the income-tax amendment to the Constitution was adopted. He also favored inheritance-taxes to be levied by the federal government. The direct election of senators, to be secured by constitutional amendment, was also favored by him, and he led the fight for this amendment in the Senate.

Most important perhaps of all his attitudes were those on international relations. This was due not only to the nature of these attitudes, but to the fact that from 1924 to 1933 he was chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, succeeding Senator Lodge in that important position. Borah steadily opposed the State Department in its foreign policies. Perhaps of longest standing was his opposition to its Latin American policy, in connection with which he criticised the so-called "Dollar Diplomacy." In this respect, he criticised the maintenance of American Marines in Nicaragua. He was also an advocate of independence for the Philippines.

Although in 1917 he favored American entry into the war and advocated American participation to the utmost, he saw clearly the dangers of the wartime limits on the freedom of the individual. Though loyal to the American cause, he denied the justifiability of undue extensions of the executive power in the prosecution of the war, and urged the maintenance of the constitutional safeguards to individual liberty. After the war he became thoroughly disillusioned with war as a method of settling international differences, and became a strong advocate of the codification of international law and the outlawry of war by international agreement.

Ratification by the Senate of the Versailles Treaty after the war was opposed by Borah, not only on the basis of opposition to the League of Nations as involving "foreign entanglements" for the United States, but also because he did not want the United States to approve the injustices which he saw in the Treaty settlements. He was specially opposed to the dispositions in respect to Shantung, the Polish Corridor, and the matter of reparations. His opposition to the League of Nations was foreshadowed as early as January 1917, when he declared against a policy of "entangling alliances" for the United States. After the war he led the fight against the League and opposed participation by the United

States in the World Court because of its connection with that organization.

Closely connected with his views on the Versailles Treaty were his ideas on the war debts owed the United States by European nations, and on the questions of reparations and disarmament. He favored the cancellation of war debts to the United States, provided that other international economic problems, including the reparations to be paid by Germany to European powers, could be correspondingly adjusted. In his mind, the only reparations that should have been demanded of Germany were those in payment for direct damages. This would not have involved the loading upon Germany of such a tremendous burden of reparations, the effect of which, in his opinion, prevented European economic recovery.

Borah saw as a further requisite to the cancellation of the war debts owed to the United States by European nations, the assumption by them of a policy of disarmament. In December 1920, he proposed, in a Senate resolution, a general disarmament conference. This idea was for the most part disapproved in the United States, and the national administration was hostile. Later, however, partly due to his strong efforts in this direction, the idea was taken over by President Harding. This resulted in the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments which began its sessions in November 1921. The attention of the Conference was not limited to the question of disarmament, but Borah must be given credit for his influence toward such a project. All later efforts to secure disarmament had his steady support.

After the war Borah also became interested in the problems connected with the alien-property issue. He headed a movement for an investigation of the administration of the Alien-Property Bureau, and also asserted that this country was obligated to return the private property of aliens. The restoration of this property, he asserted, was not to be tied up with the question of American claims of a public nature. To do so would undermine the security of international commercial relations.

One of the most unpopular of Borah's attitudes on international affairs was his advocacy of American recognition of Soviet Russia. This, he asserted, was necessary in order to preserve world-peace, and to eliminate the threat involved in permanent disagreement between two great world-powers. In connection with this, he asserted that recognition of Russia would insure real reduction of armaments and would hasten economic recovery. The issues in dispute between the two nations, he contended, could and should be settled by negotiation. Unfortunately, the benefits

which he anticipated did not result from the recognition of Russia in 1933 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In September 1931, Borah again asserted his opposition to war, in attacking Japanese policies in Manchuria. Japan's warlike measures he claimed to be in violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, the League of Nations Covenant, and the Versailles Treaty.

The nature and extent of Senator Borah's influence as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations was further demonstrated in connection with the visit to this country of Premier Laval of France, in the latter part of 1931. At an interview given a number of visiting French journalists he made several statements on foreign policy. These statements were characteristically direct and frank, and also characteristic in arousing, internationally, both strong support and violent opposition. Borah did not mince matters in his discussion of such questions as those of the Polish Corridor, war debts and reparations, the Versailles Treaty in general, and disarmament. The wide-spread comment on his statements was a demonstration of the importance attributed to his views by Europe.

During one period of the New Deal, from 1934 to 1937, he strongly supported the various neutrality acts which provided for embargoes on the shipment of arms and other war materials to belligerents. After war broke out in Europe in 1939, he maintained his reputation as an isolationist by strongly opposing the repeal of the arms-embargo and the substitution for it of the "cash and carry" provision which was designed to permit belligerents to secure war materials in this country. After a strenuous fight, he and his fellow isolationists went down to defeat when Congress on November 4, adopted the Neutrality Act of 1939.

Borah showed his courage in the early twenties by opposing the so-called "soldiers' bonus" for World War veterans. His opposition was due to his belief that a financial burden would be placed on the country by the proposed payments. He asserted that the country was facing bankruptcy and could not stand the strain on its finances. Later, in the period of the New Deal, he changed his mind and gave his support to a measure, finally enacted in 1936, whereby provision was made for the immediate payment of the bonus.

Borah was an advocate of amnesty for World War political prisoners. In 1923 he endorsed the efforts of the Joint Amnesty Commission to secure the release of such political prisoners as were still in jail. He declared that in some cases the punishments given had been unreasonably severe, and that the right of freedom of speech had been disregarded in

connection with them. His stand in this connection was in harmony with his wartime opposition to undue invasion of constitutional rights in the carrying on of the war. The pardon by President Roosevelt in 1933 of about fifteen hundred persons who had been convicted during the World War period was in harmony with Borah's views.

Along this same line was his action in introducing in the Senate in 1926 a bill for the regulation of radio communication. Drastic anti-monopoly and anti-trust provisions were included, in the interest of preserving freedom of speech over the air. The importance of radio was to be recognized by taking its control from the hands of the Commerce Department and giving it to an independent commission.

In general Borah opposed the centralization of governmental functions in the hands of the national government. Upon the overdevelopment of the sphere of government and the development of bureaucracy he blamed a considerable degree of the huge growth of governmental expenditures. He was a supporter of state-rights as was to be seen in his attitude on the questions of woman-suffrage, child labor, prohibition and lynching.

In respect to woman-suffrage, while upholding it in principle, he felt that reform of the suffrage was the rightful privilege of the states and that it should not be made the subject of an amendment to the national Constitution. Therefore he refused to support the Nineteenth Amendment. This gained him the ill will of the women of his own state. His attitude on the proposed child labor amendment was the same, and gained him the opposition of a numerous group.

In line with his support of state-rights Borah at first opposed national action in the liquor-problem. He came to decide finally, however, that nothing effective could be done to eliminate the evils of the liquor-traffic unless there were a national law on the subject. He therefore voted for the Eighteenth Amendment, and was one of its strongest supporters. Despite the inherent difficulties in enforcing such a law as the Volstead Act, and despite his opposition to such features of it as the search and seizure provisions, Borah maintained that once the law was on the statute books the paramount consideration was that it should be enforced to the letter. He held further, that the states were legally and morally obligated to support the Constitution by the passage of concurrent legislation to enforce prohibition in their jurisdiction. Originally opposed to the amendment of the Constitution to this effect, once the provision was contained in it he held that the states which did not coöperate in its enforcement were disloyal to the fundamental law of the nation.

In 1928 a chief reason for his support of Hoover for president was his opinion that the chief issue of the campaign was the enforcement of prohibition. But in January 1930, he made the statement that the law would never be enforced by the personnel then in office. This might have meant either that the law was impossible of enforcement, or that the public officials then in office were ineffective in its enforcement. In 1932 he refused to support President Hoover for reelection because of the latter's attitude toward prohibition.

Senator Borah also consistently opposed all efforts to secure a national anti-lynching law. Though he thoroughly disapproved of lynching he believed that anti-lynching measures could constitutionally be enacted by the states only.

On economic questions Borah's position was in keeping with his early candidacy for the national House of Representatives, when he stood for free silver and supported Bryan. He consistently acted in the interest of the Western section of the country. In no respect was this more true than in relation to silver and agriculture. He was instrumental in his early years in the Senate in securing a three-year homestead law. He was also the author of a bill providing for a loan to secure the irrigation of Western lands.

Later, in 1926, he considered the problem of farm-relief the most important one then before the country. He favored a substantial measure of farm-relief by the national government and declared in favor of the McNary-Haugen bill. In 1929, despite his campaign support of Hoover, he opposed, in the special legislative session of that year, the President's views on farm-relief. He also opposed, in 1933, the New-Deal agricultural program which took form in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of May 12 of that year. In 1934 he also opposed the Bankhead Cotton-Control Act which set up a quota system for cotton-producers. His opposition to these measures was due to his belief that they did not provide proper procedures for aiding the farmers.

In his attitude toward "Big Business" in the early years of his Senate career Borah was moderate, not opposing large units as such, but urging the destruction of monopolies in restraint of trade. As a typical Westerner and agriculturist he stood for regulation of the railroads, but feared that the Interstate Commerce Commission would be under their control.

The views of Borah on the major depression in economic life which began in 1929 are interesting. The economic distress in which the

country found itself was attributed by him to a number of fundamental causes. He criticized the dishonest practices of those who sold stocks at inflated prices, causing huge losses to purchasers. He asserted that the governments were responsible for the great war which wrecked the economic structure of the nations. The waste involved in the system of competitive armaments and the growth of governmental expenditures through bureaucratic government were declared by him to have produced an unbearable burden of taxation, with disastrous results.

In line with these ideas, Borah, in a speech before Congress in May 1932, submitted his suggestions for a program to restore prosperity. These were: the reduction of armaments, the settlement of the reparations question and the restoration of silver to a place in the monetary system. This program was merely a reiteration in a new connection of ideas which had long been held by Borah.

Senator Borah strongly opposed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930. He also opposed the reciprocal tariff policy which was put into operation as a part of the New Deal in 1934. The National Industrial Recovery Act of June 16, 1933, met with his strong opposition, chiefly because of the provision included in it for the suspension of the anti-trust laws in relation to industries which became parties to codes of fair competition.

He believed in economy in government, advocating a reduction in the salaries of all federal employees receiving over two thousand dollars annually. He himself returned over sixteen thousand dollars of his own salary to the Treasury. Nevertheless he opposed the so-called Economy Act of March 20, 1933, because he did not believe that it would accomplish its avowed purpose.

The record reveals that Senator Borah also opposed the first New-Deal measure, the Emergency Banking Act of March 9, 1933. He believed that this measure, with its broad delegations of power to the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Comptroller of the Currency, was unconstitutional. He later also opposed the Guffey Bituminous Coal-Control Act of 1935.

In spite of his opposition to the important New-Deal measures mentioned, Borah favored many parts of the Rooseveltian program. He supported the Bank Act of June 1933, which made provision for the insurance of bank-deposits. The inflation amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, authorizing the President to issue \$3,000,000,000 in greenbacks, likewise received his support. He voted for the Gold-Reserve Act of 1934, which eliminated gold coinage and authorized the President

to devalue the gold dollar. His vote was also cast in favor of the joint resolution of June 5, 1933, which ordered the cancellation of gold clauses or promises to pay in gold in all contracts or obligations, public or private. Naturally, in view of his long interest in silver, he supported the Silver Purchase Act of 1934.

Other important New-Deal measures which met with Senator Borah's approval included the Act of 1933 which created the Tennessee Valley Authority, the 1935 Public Utility Holding Company Act, the 1933 and 1934 legislation providing for the regulation of the sale of securities, the Social Security Act of 1935, the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 and the 1935 Emergency Relief Appropriation Act under the authority of which President Roosevelt created the Works Progress Administration.

Though he did not always approve of decisions by the Supreme Court, Senator Borah strenuously opposed the attempt in 1937 to secure congressional authority for "packing" the highest tribunal. He joined with the majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee in vigorously denouncing the proposal.

In his career as a legislator Borah, as has been pointed out, advocated both popular and unpopular causes. Whatever causes he supported, he always advocated them with ability. A foremost constitutional authority of the Senate, he was perhaps its best orator and debater. He did not speak often, but when he did, it was only after careful study of his subject. This resulted in putting him in an almost impregnable position in debate. Added to this was a resourcefulness in argument which was the result of his long years of practice. Logical, he rarely employed humor, but impressed his hearers with his fundamental honesty of attitude. He rarely spoke outside the Senate and then chiefly over the radio. His speeches within the Senate were usually well attended, both by his colleagues and by the general public.

A man of high personal character, Borah always took his Senate duties seriously. He was, at various times, a member of eleven different Senate committees. During his whole career in the Senate he was a member of the Committee on Education and Labor; from 1909 until his death he was a member of the Judiciary Committee; while from 1913 to 1940 he also served on the Committee on Foreign Relations. His record of attendance in the Senate sessions was excellent. A man of high personal integrity, he was never involved in any practices of a questionable sort. His strict attitude was illustrated by his stand on the oil scandals of the

Harding administration, when he urged the Republican national committee to refund \$160,000 subscribed to its campaign fund by Harry F. Sinclair, in order to free itself from any accusation of supporting corrupt practices in government.

Borah always kept himself in good physical condition for his duties. Totally uninterested in the social life of Washington, his chief recreation was horseback-riding. Characteristically, he always rode alone. His almost daily rides in Rock Creek Park in Washington took on the character of an institution there. His other chief source of relaxation was reading. As his ideas and literary style indicated, he read much of the writings of Edmund Burke, Fox, Pitt, John Bright, and other eighteenth and nineteenth-century liberals, as well as of Daniel Webster and Ralph Waldo Emerson, together with the Bible and Shakespeare.

In his concept of representative government he had a viewpoint fundamentally English in character. The office of representative he saw as involving a discretionary power to act for the public welfare. The representative, once in office, was not again required to consult his constituents until up for reelection. In accord with this view, Borah always acted as a free agent in Congress, sometimes voting against the direct interests of his constituents on broad questions of public welfare. He never had any regard for problems of patronage or "pork-barrel" legislation. Borah himself was an eminent justification of his ideas on the function of a representative, winning support among his constituents over a long period of time, solely on a basis of his high personal character and eminent abilities.

Thus Borah is seen as having paid almost no attention to the factors which secure party regularity. He remained in the Republican party because he was as free in it as in any other. Asserting as he did a diversity of viewpoints, he secured support from all groups. Yet, having all the qualities of a leader, he never headed any one group. This was not due to lack of opportunities, for he was repeatedly considered for higher offices, but due to his own disinclination to assume the leadership of any one group in the nation. This accounted for his refusal in 1932 to be the Prohibition party candidate for the presidency or to lead any third-party movement. By the Republican organization he was considered an important vote-getter the nation over, despite the dislike in which he was held by their own regulars. He was always, because of this personal following, a power to be considered in elections. This was illustrated in 1936 when he was easily reelected to the Senate though his state was otherwise carried by the Democratic party.

Never willing to sacrifice independence for the leadership of a group, Borah had qualities which fitted him eminently for membership in what has been termed the world's greatest debating organization, the United States Senate. It was there that his ability to exercise an unhampered reason, to assume a nation-wide and even world-wide point of view, and to urge his opinions with the force of sincerity, could best be utilized.

"There was only one Borah," declared Senator Norris when he was informed of the Idaho statesman's death on January 19, 1940, as a result of a cerebral hemorrhage. This simple statement summed up the opinion of those who had, for many years, been associated with him in the nation's service. The memory of Senator Borah will always serve to elevate the character of the United States Senate.

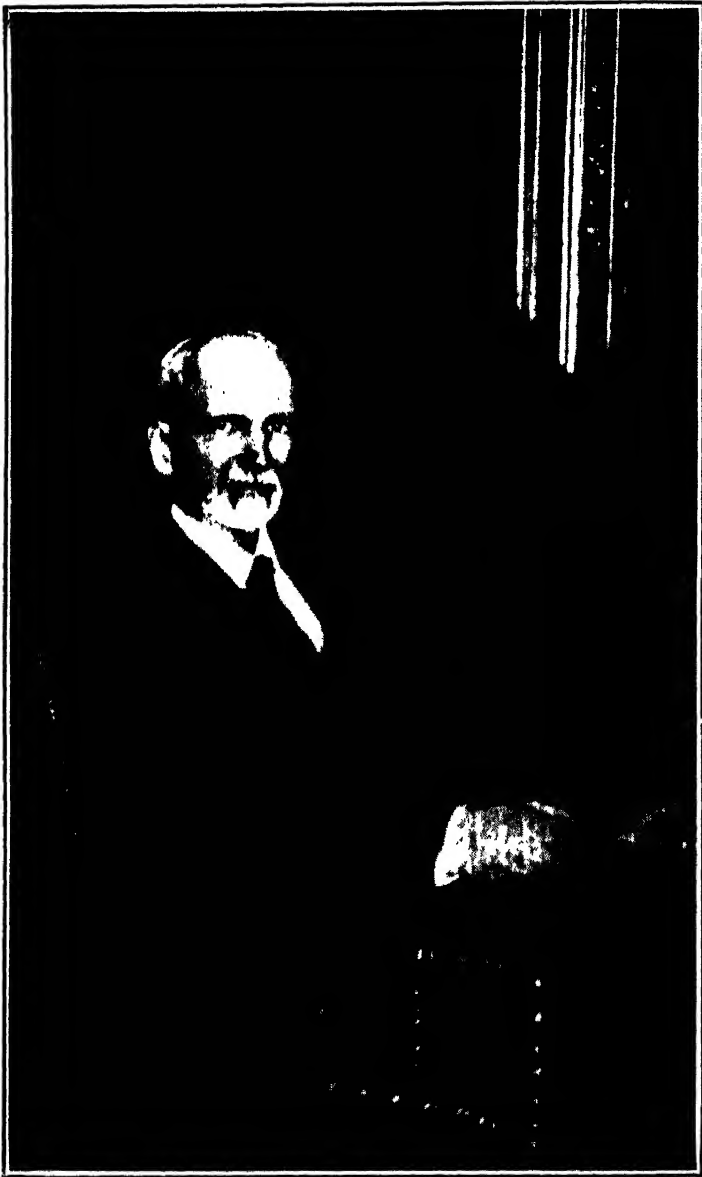
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GAMALIEL BRADFORD

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by

GERTRUDE RANDOLPH BRAMLETTE RICHARDS



GAMALIEL BRADFORD was the eighth in descent from Governor Bradford of the Plymouth Colony and the sixth of his family in direct line to bear the name Gamaliel. To be born a Bradford of Massachusetts means as much responsibility as it does distinction, but each Gamaliel has accepted the responsibility even as he has added to the distinction.

The sixth Gamaliel Bradford was born in Boston, October 9, 1863. His mother died when he was but three years old, and he himself was so frail that no one thought he could possibly live to grow up. There have been delicate children who developed into robust men and women but Mr. Bradford was not one of them. All his life he labored under the blighting handicap of ill health, a handicap which would have crushed anyone whose spirit was less heroic or whose genius was less insistent. It meant that as a boy his education was irregular and erratic; it meant that as a youth he had to forego college; and in later years it meant not only withdrawal from most of the normal activities of life, but made continuous, sustained literary effort all but impossible. There were months, even entire years, when any writing at all was simply out of the question; there were other years when the effort was possible but so dangerously fatiguing that it seemed challenging death to undertake it. There were long periods of time when all his writing was done in bed. There were years when nervous fatigue and insomnia limited his writing day to ten or fifteen minutes. Never, in the best of times was Mr. Bradford able to work more than two hours a day and yet, through endless persistence and patient effort, he produced what in quantity and in quality might arouse envy from the most robust and strenuous of writers. While ill health had the slight advantage of saving him from those manifold, tiring, and useless interruptions which beset all great men, at the same time it deprived him of the intercourse which a "worker in souls" might well consider essential material for his art.

Naturally, since his family did not expect Mr. Bradford to live to reach the age of maturity, they paid less attention to his education than they did to keeping him as well as they could. The winters of his childhood were spent in Washington, D.C.—away from the bitter east winds

of Boston, and the summers were divided between Wellesley Hills and the Adirondacks. As for the in-between seasons, most of these were passed in Cambridge. Of course each change meant a different school, meant different surroundings, meant new adjustments—all so difficult for a shy and sensitive child and all combining to make him escape to the only refuge he knew—the security of books and the isolation of his own soul. Fortunately his innately happy nature saved him from the morbidness which such isolation often brings, and his keen enjoyment of the out-of-doors kept him alert, sane, and well balanced. As Mr. Bradford himself put it, he was educated by ill health, by a vagrant imagination, and by vast, vague, and utterly erratic reading. One might add that the flame of genius was another and not inconsiderable factor in this matter.

Perhaps the most regular and normal periods of his education came when the family chanced to linger on in Wellesley Hills until snow fell, thus enabling the child to attend the village school and to share in the sports and activities of the children of the neighborhood. In his "Early Days in Wellesley" he recounts some of the experiences of those years before the family took to spending their summers at Lake Placid:

We used to look eagerly for the first signs of approaching winter in the great cart-loads of sleighs, many-colored, red, green, blue, and yellow, that were transported through the streets from the factory somewhere up-country. The sleigh, like the horse, comes so near being an extinct animal at present that young people can scarcely imagine the delight that sleigh-riding used to be. Another curious spectacle was the passage through the streets of huge droves of cattle on their way to the slaughter-house at Brighton. I suppose these passed at all times of the year, but I chiefly remember them in mid-winter, because at that time the streets were narrowed by impending snowbanks, and to meet one of those disorderly hordes of wild-looking creatures, and to have to get by them somehow was a nerve-racking experience for an anxious and timid child. I used to dread them every winter and for all I know used to dream of them at night.

One of the villagers, a skilled naturalist, had accompanied Audubon on some of his Western trips. His children were among the young Gamaliel's constant companions and from them he learned no little of nature-lore as they rambled through the woods and over the hills. Also there were the usual pastimes—riding and driving—and some boating, fishing, and skating, but as the nearest sheet of water was a mile or so from the village, such diversions were not daily occurrences.

When the boy was fifteen and beginning to plan for Harvard, he developed an alarming cough, which caused the family to hurry with him to the south of Europe where he remained over a year. The trip may have helped the cough but it almost killed the boy. He was lonely and homesick; he hated foreign food and foreign ways, and spiritually, he

suffered from the lack of security which only familiar surroundings and settled habits can give. These lines in his beautiful poem, "Hadrian's Villa," written several years later when he and Mrs. Bradford were spending some months in Italy, express most poignantly what he endured during this first exile:

But neither art with all its grace,
Nor sunny smile nor fairy face,
Nor old-world imaginings,
Dreams of consuls and of kings,
Nor even the mighty past of Rome,
Can give me what I have at home.

As soon as he returned from Europe, he began to prepare for Harvard in earnest, and when the time came, he passed the entrance requirements with high distinction. But after so many years of working alone, the strain of the crowded and complex life in college was too much for him, and he not only had to leave but had to relinquish all hope of ever returning. Naturally this was a disappointment. All those years of arduous preparation seemed like so much sheer wasted effort. Then, too, most of his forbears had been college men, and finally, then as now, college seemed the most certain door to a successful career in literature, which was the overwhelming desire of his life. In one of his poems he says:

Ever since I can remember, I have thirsted after glory,
And my earliest desire was to have a name in story.
When my mates were only eager for their sport or game or pastime,
I was thinking, thinking, thinking, of a name that should outlast time.

And when he was still in his teens he wrote in his diary:

I have staked my life upon one desire, on one effort, one passion. It is no fleeting whim, born of the hour, no butterfly fancy or ambitious dream, such as every youth of intellect or taste must know. It is a matter of life and death with me. It has become a passion round which all else must revolve, and with which my heart beats or breaks. It seems as if such intense, overpowering desire, such constant labor as mine could not fail to achieve their object. I know not; but this I know, that if I can not be a great poet, I shall commit suicide or die in a madhouse.

The increasing intensity of his desire carried with it a corresponding increase of obstacles. The family had never given him much encouragement in his literary aspirations, although the elder Mr. Bradford was himself a gifted writer, possessed of unique ability to clarify difficult problems and to express abstruse themes persuasively and eloquently. He knew most of the literary men of his day and was a discriminating reader of the best writers, German and French as well as English. He was also most generous in his patronage of art and music. At one time he could boast that he had heard every opera given in Boston. But for all that, he did not particularly desire his son to be a poet, if for no

other reason than because of the narrow and ingrowing seclusion a literary career meant. He would have liked to see the boy following in his own footsteps and when college was no longer possible, took him into his office for the two or three hours each day that he was able to work. But stocks and bonds made not the slightest appeal to the lad's interest or his imagination. Even if they had done so, his strength was not and never would be sufficient for him to engage in those strenuous battles which are the breath of life to a successful financier. So this effort was also abandoned and the boy was again thrown back upon himself and made to realize that the ordinary activities of life could never be his. He began, therefore, to devote himself entirely to writing, and as his father thought his days were already numbered, he made no serious objection to what he considered was only a harmless pastime.

In 1886 Gamaliel Bradford married Miss Helen Ford, of Wellesley Hills, and two years later they took up their permanent residence in the home where, as a boy, he had passed several summers. The perfect happiness and complete harmony of his domestic life was one of the greatest factors in Mr. Bradford's success. Whenever his health permitted, he and Mrs. Bradford set apart Sunday for their friends, making their home a gathering place for literary folk, not only for those who had won their laurels but also for those just entering the race. Mr. Bradford had a genius for friendship, and despite the limitations of his health, devoted both time and service to younger men who turned to him for advice and assistance. One wall of his study was lined with autographed copies of books presented to him by his friends and disciples, while another wall contained rows and rows of bound volumes of his correspondence with men and women all over the world.

As Wellesley Hills is but fourteen miles from Boston, Gamaliel Bradford always kept in touch with the literary life of that city, both through his connection with the Athenaeum Library, of which he was a trustee, and through membership in a number of clubs—groups of chosen spirits of rare charm who represented in tradition, in personality, and in achievement, the best that Boston had to offer. Mr. Bradford was also a member of the council of the Cincinnati, the society of descendants of officers who served in the Revolutionary War.

Despite the vexatious limitations of ill health which made his life one of comparative seclusion, Mr. Bradford showed a constant interest in the persistent political and social problems of the age. He was a regular contributor to the editorial page of one of the great Boston newspapers, discussing men and motives with a keen and judicial appraisal of what

lay behind the vague and often confused externals. Often he contributed a bit of exquisite description of the colors in a November landscape, March winds, the snowstorm in the country, etc., which appreciative readers insisted on having reprinted with the recurrence of the seasons.

Mr. Bradford is now recognized as the dean of contemporary American biographers and as one of our greatest creative writers, but the road he traversed since he turned from his father's office to the seclusion of his library was beset with almost constant disappointment and apparent failures, with innumerable drawbacks, checks, and rebuffs. Despite all such discouragements he kept steadily and persistently on, producing volume after volume, each setting a new standard of excellence and distinction.

The first book to bear his name on the title-page was an English translation of Von Sybel's monumental *History of the Establishment of the German Empire* by Marshall L. Perrin, "assisted by Gamaliel Bradford Jr." Just what "Gamaliel Bradford Jr.'s" part in this undertaking was, we are not told, but it was no slight honor for so young a man to have been chosen as collaborator in so scholarly a work.

Five years later he published a little volume of critical essays, *Types of American Character*, which in their graceful and dignified style as well as in the comprehensiveness of their scholarship, suggest the English essayists, notably Matthew Arnold, whom Mr. Bradford had met when the former was the guest of Professor Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard. In studying the American pessimist, the American idealist, the American man of letters, Mr. Bradford deplored the rapidly increasing materialism, the disappearing aristocracy of an educated class and the rise of the democratic iconoclasts who force the one questing for literary honors to compete with mediocrity as well as with genius.

Mr. Bradford's first literary efforts were in the field of poetry, and for many years he wrote little else, writing entirely for his own pleasure, with little or no thought of publication. Not until 1904 did a volume of verse appear, and since then there have been but two others. That few poets win recognition during their own lifetime seems an inevitable trick of fate, and he was no exception to the rule. In his case, there is this to offer as explanation! The poetic taste of the age was vitiated by the new, the experimental, the bizarre, until his graceful, exquisite lines were as suffocated by contemporary tawdriness as a Fra Angelico miniature would be in a room full of railway-posters. However, the miniature always comes into its own eventually, and is loved and enjoyed long after the tattered posters have been used to light the furnace fire!

The first volume, *A Pageant of Life*, contains a remarkable series of sonnets dealing with the progress of civilization from the days of the pagan Greeks and Romans to the even more pagan Socialists of modern times, whose contributions, however, lack the saving grace of beauty which marked those of an earlier day. Each of these sonnets is exquisite in its perfect completeness, yet, taken as a group, they reveal the power of the poet to penetrate to hidden truths of human passion and desire which the historian has failed to glimpse. *Shadow Verses* and *A Prophet of Joy* both appeared in 1920. The former is a collection of delicate lyrics, rarely beautiful and full of deep spiritual significance. *A Prophet of Joy* is a poetic romance, the story of a happy vagabond, a "perambulating prophet" who wandered from village to dance-hall, from summer resort to police court, as irresponsible as a flying cloud, yet endeavoring all the while to convince men and women that joy alone is the most desirable thing in the world. The things he said:

Were not so wondrous in themselves;
But something in his touch or manner made them
Bewitching as the dance of forest elves.
And bits of verse went with them, as he played them,
Which pulled down tangled memories from shelves
Where you believed you had forever laid them,
Memories that set your deepest pulses throbbing
Alternately with laughter and with sobbing.

In the end the Prophet was defeated, but no life that had touched his ever became quite so gray and sordid as it had been before he came.

One of Mr. Bradford's later works, the study of Saint Francis of Assisi, in *Saints and Sinners*, bears a curious spiritual resemblance to the Prophet of Joy. Saint Francis was a historic personage and the essay on him is based on a careful study of the records of his life, while the Prophet is an imaginary character, presumably created many years before the psychograph of Saint Francis was undertaken. The similarity may therefore be accidental, but when one remembers that about the time of his marriage Mr. Bradford had hopes and dreams of a life free from material possessions and material cares, one may more readily understand how he conceived the Prophet and how he was able to interpret the spirit of Saint Francis as no other biographer has ever yet succeeded in doing. It was the spirit of profound, imaginative, loving sympathy, as well as intellectual insight which gave him that understanding of the joyous, untiring, inexhaustible spirit of vagrancy which "turned perpetually from one phase of life to another, escaping the clouding conventions of civilized life," which were as essentially a part of the thirteenth century as they are of the nineteenth.

Mr. Bradford published three novels: *The Private Tutor*, a story of modern Rome; *Between Two Masters*, a problem novel dealing with the question of social responsibilities of capitalist classes; and *Matthew Porter*, which centers about a gubernatorial contest in Massachusetts. The last is of rather especial interest, since Matthew Porter is in many ways a portrait of Mr. Bradford's father. For the sake of the romance, he is represented here as a young man, while the elder Mr. Bradford was over seventy when he ran for governor of Massachusetts. But the essential principle involved—that of a stronger executive power and stronger local government—is the same. It is an exceedingly interesting story and portrays American political life as accurately and as convincingly as Trollope's Parliamentary novels portray the British scene.

Like most great men, Mr. Bradford was not entirely satisfied with the field in which he won his laurels. He wanted to be a great poet, a great novelist, or a great dramatist. Biography seemed to him when he undertook it a poor second-best. But (and here is one of the outstanding evidences of Mr. Bradford's genius), when his supreme, underlying desire for recognition as a creative writer was denied by the public he turned biography into a creative art, and won for himself greater distinction than any poet or novelist of his time; and furthermore, he gave us a new type of creative literature, the psychograph, which no historian or biographer from now on can refuse to recognize if his own work is to be accepted as accurate and scholarly.

In *A Naturalist of Souls*, as in various other studies, Mr. Bradford has carefully set forth the principles governing his art. In the first place his prime concern is with the motives, the "soul" of the person whom he is studying. External events are of little importance. He prefaces his studies with a brief chronology of the life of the individual under consideration and then throws chronology to the winds. Then, "out of the perpetual flux of actions and circumstances that constitutes a man's whole life, he tries to extract what is essential, what is permanent and vitally characteristic." Very few persons could be trusted to make such a selection, but the value of Mr. Bradford's long apprenticeship in a wide range of literary efforts is here apparent. A single sentence, a single action reveals more to him than whole volumes of letters, speeches, or formal biographies written by those who knew personally the one of whom they wrote. It would seem like a hopeless task to most persons to know where to begin choosing or to decide whether the choice were just or not. But after long years of experience, Mr. Bradford finds:

As we observe the actions of different men we find that they follow certain comparatively definite lines which we call habits, that is, the man will perform

over and again actions, and speak words which have a basis of resemblance to each other, though the basis is often obscure and elusive.

And this interest in the human soul, this ability to set it forth as no other writer has ever done, characterizes all of Mr. Bradford's work, poetry and prose alike. If one but turn to his *Pageant of Life* he will find there poetic psychographs a plenty. Take, for example, that on Marcus Aurelius. In the fourteen lines of poetry he gives more sense of the living Marcus Aurelius than do volumes of formal biography which have been written about him.

Beggars in rags and bare philosophers
 Take comfort in the airy sweets of thought.
 The austere paths of truth are seldom sought
 By those who plunge their hands in Fortune's purse
 Up to the elbow. Solid joys of hers,
 Though with satiety and sadness fraught,
 Beguile the proud. He only who is taught
 By care and grief the way of right prefers.

Yet thou, arrayed in thy imperial might,
 Seated on what seemed Rome's eternal throne,
 With treasures and armies at thy nod
 Kept'st firm, and calm, and clear, thine inward sight,
 And still, with steady step, wert pressing on
 Toward a diviner resting place in God.

So with his drama, *Unmade in Heaven*, which centers about the conflict between love and self-abnegation in the soul of a modern convert to the Catholic faith. So, too, with his novels, all of which are outstanding studies of the human soul in varying manifestations, varying relationships, varying circumstances of life.

Again, to Gamaliel Bradford:

The secret of all great biography is the essential unity of human nature, by which in the biography of others we are always looking for the autobiography of ourselves. Under the endless surface diversities, there are always in varying degrees and combinations the same passions and hopes and struggles and despairs that agitate you and me and the man in the street. It is the business of the biographer to trace cunningly these elements of identity in himself, to follow out their development or modification in others, and to portray and illustrate them with every resource of imaginative expression that he can acquire or command.

Mr. Bradford approaches his task as biographer in the true spirit of the creative artist, omitting nothing that is essential to a proper understanding of his subject, introducing nothing which alters or distracts, but endeavoring ever to create an interesting and harmonious whole.

His earlier studies he called "portraits," not a satisfying term, since a portrait implies a complete and isolated moment in a man's life, quite distinct from what precedes or follows, while in his psychograph one has the completeness of the entire man. Yet, while he himself realized the

inadequacy of the term, he felt the public was hardly ready for the more exact word "psychograph," especially as in these last decades the babblings of false scientists have given to psychology and all allied words the odor of a superficial inaccuracy. The use of psychograph in a title would therefore naturally antagonize the more intelligent readers. So he held to the term, portrait, for nearly a decade, but after the appearance of *American Portraits 1875-1900*, Mr. Bradford did not again use the word. Three volumes have dealt with "souls" — *The Soul of Samuel Pepys*, *Damaged Souls*, and *Bare Souls*. Since then he has chosen alternative titles: *The Daughters of Eve*, *The Quick and the Dead*, *Wives, Saints and Sinners*, etc.

Most of his biographies are short, from eight to twelve thousand words, yet in their grasp of essentials both of background and subject they are more complete than the ponderous two- and three-volume chronologies of earlier days. They cover a perfectly stupendous range of subjects, including every age and every land from the ancient Greeks to the modern day of the late President Coolidge. From this collection of psychographs alone one may view the entire progress of civilization through its vigorous and colorful leaders—churchmen such as Saint Francis of Assisi and Thomas Aquinas; poets such as Ovid and Sidney Lanier; scholars, ancient, medieval, and modern; men of affairs, and men of leisure, they run the gamut from Mussolini to Phineas T. Barnum, from Mary Lyons to Madame du Deffand; and each one, Puritan or actress, scholar or showman, reveals not only his own personality, not only his present and the past which shaped his present, but also the underlying continuity of all life, which is part and parcel of Mr. Bradford's creed as a humanist.

Although Mr. Bradford's studies have thrown new light on his subjects, have altered many time-honored conceptions derived from those who would praise without reason and condemn without justification, he was by no manner of means one of the debunking historians who have so degraded their art and their own abilities in the last quarter of a century. Once a publishing-house wrote asking him:

To go back through our national history and select prominent figures who have loomed over-large in their own day and have shone with a false glory—lucky creatures of chance or of circumstance who appealed tremendously to the popular imagination of their time . . . Of course, in dealing with such a gallery we should expect you to proceed ruthlessly and with scant deference to tradition.

To this proposition Mr. Bradford replied that he did not want "to undermine, to overthrow, to destroy, even the things that deserve it," and he pointed out:

In every character I have portrayed so far it has been my endeavor to find the good rather than the evil, to set the figure firmly on its common basis, but at the same time to insist that if the human heart were not worth loving, my work would not be worth doing.

After reflecting on the matter, he made the counter-proposition, to do:

A group of somewhat discredited figures, and not endeavor in any way to rehabilitate or whitewash, but to bring out their real humanity and show that, after all, they have something of the same strength and weakness as all of us.

That was the burden of the ensuing group of studies, *Damaged Souls*, which included men like Aaron Burr, Benedict Arnold, Thomas Paine, etc. Each one of these was spiritually damaged, and yet, after reading the accounts of their failures and shortcomings, accounts in which there is no trace of sentimentality, no underestimation of the "damage," one feels most keenly the sense of merciful justice and the understanding of a wise and tolerant mind.

Mr. Bradford wrote four long biographies—*Lee the American*, *Darwin*, *D. L. Moody*, *a Worker in Souls*, and *The Soul of Samuel Pepys*. All of these were psychographs with rather more of details than the shorter studies, but like them emphasizing the fundamental character of the man rather than the external events of his life. *The Soul of Samuel Pepys* is the study of an "average man who laid his own soul bare through a monumental biography." Darwin was studied not primarily as a scientist, but as one fighting the battle of reason against orthodox faith, while Moody stands forth as the defender of orthodoxy against the devastations of a scientific thought groping for truth.

The life of General Lee was, in certain respects, the most important book which Mr. Bradford wrote. In the first place it was his first venture in the field of biography, as well as his earliest definite psychograph. It brought to him his first positive recognition from the general public and it opened for him that field of creative writing in which he has won such high distinction. It is one of the best lives of General Lee that has ever been written, for its sanity and for its penetrating appraisal, not only of the man, but of the traditions and spirit he embodied. Its influence on national thought was incalculable. Southerners read it and realized for the first time that a Northerner—a Bradford of Massachusetts—could be trusted to interpret that which they had always felt no outsider could ever understand. It is partly in recognition of their appreciation of this biography that the portrait of Mr. Bradford has an honored place in the Confederate Museum at Richmond. To the Northerners it brought a new and better understanding of leaders of the "Lost Cause" and the ideals for which they fought, and to the "young men of the North and

South," to whom the book is dedicated, it brought the inspiration of a new nationalism born of the very sectionalism which brought about the Civil War. To the world at large, it revealed the soul of one who failed grandly and nobly, and who won from his failure a greater glory than success could ever have bestowed.

Some one once said of Mr. Bradford's grandfather, Dr. Gamaliel Bradford, that in both thought and action he always endeavored to arrive at the broad principle which included all particular cases, a remark which is equally true of the grandson. Having written for some years of the individual, Mr. Bradford turned his attention to "the broad principle which includes all particular cases," and in 1928 he published *Life and I*, the autobiography of humanity searching for God through love, through thought, through conflict, and through sorrow. Both in dignity of conception and in perfection of style it is Mr. Bradford's greatest book.

Gamaliel Bradford died April 11, 1932. He was not only a great writer but a great man, not alone because of the obstacles he overcame, but because of the spirit of love which animates all that he wrote. The aim of his philosophy, of his art, of his life, he expressed in a little poem which he addressed to Sainte-Beuve, but which applies even more aptly to Mr. Bradford himself:

To feel what other men feel, to command,
With insight keen, the subtle human soul:
To be one's self, yet see what thoughts control
The artist's brain, the soldier's gleaming brand:
To pray with saints, yet press the sinner's hand—
This was thy hope and this thy constant goal—
One word will sum thy life up round and whole:
All longings fail save that to understand.

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NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

by

SAMUEL MCKEE JR.



NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER has gained renown in so many different ways that it is really something of a problem to determine upon which of his numerous interests his fame mainly rests. As the executive head of countless enterprises of one sort or another, as an educator, a worker for international peace, a political and civic leader, a writer, and a public speaker, to name but a few of his diversified activities, he has been an outstanding figure as far back as most people can remember. Then too, no enumeration of the fields in which he has achieved distinction would be complete without a mention of his unique position of intellectual leadership. At times he has been virtually a national oracle, consulted on all sorts of questions.

The long record of his career in *Who's Who* is hardly helpful in distinguishing between really important achievements and the customary miscellany of honors and posts which come to nearly every eminent man. Perhaps the key to his greatness is to be found on the title-page of his reminiscences, *Across the Busy Years*, where it is stated that he is the president of Columbia University, president of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and membre de l'Institut de France. What better evidence could there be of outstanding distinction in the four fields of education, letters, international peace, and scholarship!

Undoubtedly, closer to his heart than all else has been Columbia University. No offers to other important and usually far more remunerative posts have ever been sufficiently tempting to lure him from his beloved post as president of Columbia. That the University will be the most enduring monument to his fame is generally understood, not merely as an imposing collection of buildings with myriad classrooms, laboratories, libraries, and living quarters, but as an institution with a fine tradition of service to mankind and of intellectual freedom, courage, and honesty. Of course, Nicholas Murray Butler is not wholly responsible for the tradition or the physical plant, but it is to him that credit for them chiefly belongs.

To many, the most astonishing thing about the man is not so much the magnitude of his accomplishments, as it is the ease with which he

attends to his numberless interests. Outwardly, at least, he shows no signs of ever being in a hurry. When seen walking across the campus, his face is always calm and relaxed, his gait dignified, yet leisurely, almost as if he is wondering just what to do next.

Nicholas Murray Butler was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, on April 2, 1862. His father, Henry L. Butler, a merchant and manufacturer of Paterson, New Jersey, was born in England, having been brought to this country by his parents while still an infant. His mother, nee Mary Jones Murray, also born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, was the daughter of Nicholas Murray, a well-known Presbyterian clergyman, after whom the future educator was named. Although born at the home of his maternal grandmother in Elizabeth, Nicholas was brought up in the city of Paterson, where his parents made their home.

His childhood may be described as the normal one for a boy in a respectable family in comfortable financial circumstances. Occasionally, summers were passed at the mountains and seashore, and in the winter he attended the local public schools. First entered in school at the age of five and a half years, he passed, five years later, from Grammar-School Number 1 into the Paterson High School from which he was graduated in June of 1875 at the age of thirteen. As such rapid progress would suggest, he was an excellent student, although in his graduating class of thirteen, he ranked only third, two girls standing ahead of him.

Three years elapsed before he entered college, the delay being caused not so much by his extreme youth as by the fact that he had no preparation whatever in either Latin or Greek, both of which were required for admission to college, and neither of which was taught in the Paterson High School. The next three years, therefore, were given over to studying the classics, with the assistance, at first, of the high-school principal, and later, of a minister who ran a local private school for girls. It was during these years, too, that Butler assumed the first of his long line of presidencies: from 1876 to 1878, he was president of the Boys' Musical Club of Paterson.

The choice of Columbia as a college was partly the result of conditions in his family which made it desirable to select a place as close to his home as possible. Columbia seemed to satisfy this and other requirements, so previous intentions of going to either Williams or Princeton were given up. The decision was indeed a momentous one.

Columbia College, when Butler entered it in 1878, was a far cry from the institution it is today. The college (it was not yet a university), had fewer than two hundred and fifty in the student-body and no more than



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NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

twelve on the faculty. The plant also was far different from that of today: located on Forty-ninth Street, there were no living quarters for students, and no athletic field of any sort. Those who went in for sports or exercise had to take a train to Harlem, where there were athletic fields and a boat-house on the Harlem River. College spirit at times, however, ran high. Dr. Butler, for instance, remembers how, as a happy, newly admitted Freshman, he paraded up nearby Fifth Avenue on a hot July night to celebrate the return of the Columbia crew from its recent victory in the Henley Regatta on the Thames.

In college Butler entered into a wide variety of activities. He became a member of Psi Upsilon fraternity, and also of Peithologia, one of the two literary societies in the College. Considered as too light for either football or crew, he went out for cricket, which was then an American college sport, and was a member of the team for two years. In his Freshman year he became one of the editors of *Acta Columbiana*, a student publication appearing at intervals of three weeks. Later, as an upper classman, he became the managing editor and finally the editor of the publication.

In his reminiscences he tells about an editorial experience as an undergraduate which in the light of his later career is somewhat interesting as well as amusing. The Junior class annually published a volume known as the *Columbiad*, a publication which roughly corresponded to the college year-books of today. For the *Columbiad* of his class Butler was the editor-in-chief, and he was also the author of a dramatic skit with which the volume opened, entitled "A Glimpse of Hell or an Hour with the Anglo-Saxons." A more or less typical undergraduate lampoon of a prescribed Sophomore course in Anglo-Saxon, whatever humor it may have had was entirely lost on the man who conducted the class. He protested to the faculty, who, despite the probable sympathy of several of its members with the students' fun, ordered that the volume be suppressed and the undistributed copies burned, which was accordingly done.

In addition to being an active campus figure and maintaining top ranking as a student, Butler somehow found the time to earn practically all his expenses while in college—the word "practically" here being inserted to take into account the \$100 check which his father gave him to cover the first year's tuition fees. Indeed, he did much better than work his way through, for when he graduated he had approximately a thousand dollars in the bank; the money having been earned mostly by free-lance journalism and teaching in local schools.

He graduated at the head of his class (1882) and was the winner of

both the Chanler Historical Prize and the prize-essay contest of Peithologia. He was also the class-day orator and Greek salutatorian at commencement. It is unlikely that any of those who, in 1882, listened to Nicholas Murray Butler speak at the commencement exercises in the old Academy of Music on Fourteenth Street had the slightest realization that over half a century later he would still be speaking at Columbia commencements. Possibly Frederick A. P. Barnard, the president of Columbia, had an inkling of what lay ahead, for it was he who had persuaded Butler to make education his career.

One day, a long while before Butler's graduation, President Barnard had summoned the brilliant undergraduate to his office. Columbia then being a small place, the President was familiar with the personality as well as the identity of many of the students, particularly the outstanding ones. "What are you going to do when you graduate?" Barnard asked. Butler replied that he really didn't know but possibly he would study law and dabble in politics. President Barnard told him that the real career for him was education. Warmly and eloquently, President Barnard, then and later, talked of the importance of education to mankind. Also, he gave Butler books with education as their subject and asked him to read them. As Butler did so, he realized that the subject was not only deeply interesting but of the utmost importance.

That Nicholas Murray Butler was later deeply contented with a career whose rich possibilities were thus opened up to him is obvious from his book, *The Meaning of Education*, which was published in 1901. In the introduction he says that the belief which controls all the essays in the volume is threefold:

First, that education in the broad sense in which I use the term, is the most important of human interests, since it deals with the preservation of the culture and efficiency that we have inherited and with their extension and development; second, that this human interest can and should be studied in a scientific spirit and by a scientific method; and, third, that in a democracy at least an education is a failure that does not relate itself to the duties and opportunities of citizenship.

As preparation for his career Butler began a program of graduate study. For three years he was the holder of the Fellowship in Letters which carried with it a stipend of \$500. The first two years he spent at Columbia receiving his A.M. in 1883, and his PH.D. in 1884.

The third year of his graduate work, Dr. Butler, for such he had now become, spent in Europe, traveling in England and several other countries, and, studying, first, at the University of Berlin, then, later, at the University of Paris. Dr. Butler was as much affected by the life he found there—its rich, mellow culture—as he was by his formal academic studies. Of especial importance among the latter was the influence exercised upon

him by Friedrich Paulsen, the German philosopher at the University of Berlin. Dr. Paulsen told him to follow President Barnard's advice for his career but first to study philosophy. The admonition to study philosophy was probably quite unnecessary, for to Dr. Butler education and philosophy have always been inseparable, their union being conspicuous in all his writings and addresses on educational subjects, whether the subject at hand be "Democracy and Education" or "Some Criticisms of the Kindergarten," with its many references to Froebel and Hegel. It was as the professor of philosophy and education that he received his first appointment as a full professor at Columbia in 1890.

When Dr. Butler began to teach at Columbia in 1885, at the age of twenty-three, he was bubbling over with plans for the improvement of American education and Columbia University. His seemingly inexhaustible energy and his ability to work rapidly and efficiently permitted him to treat college teaching, a full-time job for most men, as only one of many interests. Incidentally, all reports bear out the fact that the high merit of his teaching never suffered from his busy life outside the classroom. John Erskine, who was a student in one of Dr. Butler's philosophy courses later said that *impeccable* was the only word with which to describe Dr. Butler's performance as a philosophy teacher. Others have said that he had a most remarkable knack of imparting clarity and simplicity to involved and abstruse philosophical doctrines. He was appointed an assistant in philosophy in 1885, a tutor in 1886, an adjunct professor in 1889, and, as already mentioned, professor of philosophy and education in 1890.

Dr. Butler, upon his return from Europe to Columbia, proposed the creation, either within the University or in connection with it, of a department of education which he hoped would be on a sound historical, philosophical, and economic foundation. As an essential accompaniment of the project he planned an outstanding professional journal that would take its place among the best of those in the fields of philosophy, economics, and history. He also hoped to enlarge the literature of education through the publication of excellent books by first-class scholars of different countries.

In the spring of 1886 he gave to teachers of New York City a Saturday morning course of four lectures on the history and philosophy of education. The lectures were given to crowded audiences of nearly six hundred persons, while fifteen hundred others were unable to obtain admittance. President Barnard had earlier made attempts to establish a department of the science and art of education. The response to Dr. Butler's lectures caused him to renew his recommendations with con-

siderable enthusiasm, but the trustees again refused. By an arrangement with the Industrial Education Association, which provided financial support, the New York College for the Training of Teachers was established at 9 University Place, with Dr. Butler as president, and in 1887 the college began to function. Later the name was shortened to Teachers College and it became a part of Columbia University. In 1891 Dr. Butler withdrew from the presidency.

Meanwhile, he was proceeding to the realization of his aim to provide for educators a literature worthy of their profession. Dr. Butler in 1899 reported to the National Council of Education that most of the educational literature in America during the previous half-century was more worthy of "the camp-meeting" than of educators. In 1888 he was appointed editor of the Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy and Education, an office he held until 1902. His labors to establish a periodical for educators finally met with success in 1891 with the publication of the *Educational Review*. He was its editor from 1891 to 1920. Besides editing the journal and handling most of its business affairs, he contributed a steady stream of editorials and articles. At the Paris Exposition in 1900 a Gold Medal Diploma was awarded to the *Educational Review*, and at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904 it was awarded the Grand Prize. Dr. Butler, in addition to sponsoring the *Educational Review*, became the editor of The Great Educators Series in 1892, and of The Teachers Professional Library in 1894. The importance of this body of educational literature which was originally conceived and later fostered by Dr. Butler can hardly be overemphasized. Because of it, education in America has a substantial literature as well as a permanent record of educational activities and the thoughts of educators. At the St. Louis Exposition in 1904 the Grand Prize was awarded to Dr. Butler for monographs and publications on education.

So markedly successful was Dr. Butler as a teacher and as a philosophical educator, that when the newly organized Columbia University established a faculty of philosophy in 1890, he, although only twenty-eight at the time and the youngest member of the faculty, was chosen to be its dean. Naturally this gave him new prestige but his fame as an educator had before this spread far beyond the Columbia campus. In 1889 the newly elected President, Benjamin Harrison, tendered him the office of United States commissioner of education, which he declined, suggesting instead the appointment of William T. Harris, which was done. Also, notwithstanding Dean Butler's extreme youth, offers of university presidencies had begun to come to him thick and fast. Among others were those of the University of California in 1890, and of the University of

Illinois and the new Stanford University in 1891. Such proposals of course were tempting, but the brilliant young educator was already too deeply devoted to Columbia to leave. He had visions of Columbia University developing along the lines of a comprehensive plan which he had drawn up and submitted to the trustees. Moreover, New York City as a great cultural center was a powerful magnet which could not be resisted.

Dr. Butler's abundant energies were finding new educational worlds to conquer throughout this period. From 1887 to 1895 he was a member of the New Jersey State Board of Education. Concrete results from his work on this body included a state public library system and manual training in the public schools. From 1892 to 1893 he was president of the Board of Education of his home town of Paterson. In 1894 his widening leadership as an educator was reflected in his election to the presidency of two educational organizations of national importance; one, the National Education Association, and the other, the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States.

From his connection with these two organizations, as well as from his acquaintance with the difficulties of effective secondary-school preparation for college, the College Entrance Examination Board developed. At the time, there was considerable demand for a central examination board which, by conducting standard examinations for all colleges, would unify the content of secondary-school courses intended as preparation for admission to college. In a way it was a device whereby the higher educational institutions could regulate the educational programs of the lower schools. The opposition was strong, but Dean Butler and President Eliot, of Harvard, who approved of the proposed reform, tactfully and persistently sought support for their project. Finally at the meeting of the National Education Association in December 1899, Dean Butler rose and moved that the College Entrance Examination Board be established. The motion was carried, though not without opposition; and in 1901 the Board began to function, with Dean Butler as its chairman, an office which he held until 1914.

The Columbia Summer School is another educational institution which owes its existence largely to the energy and fertile mind of Dr. Butler. In proposing its establishment to Seth Low, president of Columbia at the time, he pointed out that it would have two major benefits. It would enable teachers and other students from all over the country to attend the University during the only time of the year they were free to do so, and it would substantially reduce the period during the summer when the very expensive university plant was entirely idle. President Low assenting, the

Summer Session was inaugurated in 1900, with Dean Butler as its director, a position he again held in 1901.

When Seth Low was nominated to be the Fusion candidate for mayor of New York City in the fall of 1901, he resigned the presidency of Columbia in order to devote all his time to the campaign. Dean Butler was appointed acting president of the University in October, and it was a foregone conclusion that he would be the person named when the trustees met on January 6, 1902, for the purpose of selecting the new president of Columbia University.

On April 19, 1902, with elaborate inaugural ceremonies, in the presence of President Theodore Roosevelt, Governor Benjamin B. Odell of New York State, Mayor Seth Low of New York City, all of whom were his personal friends, and a large group of renowned persons from the worlds of art, literature, science, government, and education, Dr. Butler was formally installed as the president of Columbia University. In his inaugural address entitled, "Scholarship and Service," he explained his conception of the principles which ought to underlie a modern university. One passage strikingly expressed his belief that university scholarship is not an end in itself but merely a means to advance the welfare of mankind:

But a university is not for scholarship alone. In these modern days the university is not apart from the activities of the world, but in them and of them. It deals with real problems and it relates itself to life as it is. The university is for both scholarship and service; and herein lies that ethical quality which makes the university a real person, bound by its very nature to the service of others. To fulfill its high calling the university must give and give freely to its students, to the world of learning and of scholarship, to the development of trade, commerce, and industry, to the community in which it has its home, and to the state and nation whose foster-child it is.

The question of Dr. Butler's success as a university president is best answered, perhaps, by comparing the statistics of Columbia University in 1901 with those of 1940. It is true, of course, that the institution was steadily growing at the time of his installation as president. Nevertheless, in giving credit where credit is due, it has to be recognized that President Butler was both the architect who provided the plan for building the University, and the builder under whose supervision the actual building was done. The numerical figures of the growth of Columbia University do more than merely measure the increased size of the institution; they reveal increased confidence and respect, and, to use Dr. Butler's phrase, increased "scholarship and service."

According to the *Annual Report* of President Low to the trustees, October 7, 1901, during the academic year 1900-1901, the University had a teaching staff of 407. In all branches of the University, including the Summer Session with 417 students, there was a total of 4,653 resi-

dent students. The operating expenses of the University during that year were \$844,329. In 1940 the administrative and instructing staff had increased to 3,317. The University also employed 2,807 other persons, so that altogether there were 6,124 persons employed by the University. The 1900-1901 resident student-body of 4653 students had, in 1939-1940, increased to 31,411. The appropriation for expenses in 1940 amounted to \$14,929,915. Columbia under the administration of President Butler has indeed become a colossal enterprise.

Long before Nicholas Murray Butler was inducted into the presidency of Columbia at the age of forty, he had arrived, not only as an educator, but as a distinguished public figure, both at home and abroad. Just how distinguished he has been can be seen from the honors which have been showered upon him. Beginning with that of the University of Syracuse in 1898, thirty-seven honorary degrees have been conferred upon him by the universities of the United States and various European countries. Fifteen foreign governments have decorated him. In 1931 the Nobel Peace Prize was divided between Dr. Butler and Jane Addams.

Dr. Butler has occupied a unique position of intellectual leadership which can be attributed only in part to the offices he holds. This is true even of his presidency of Columbia University. No one doubts for a minute that the position is one of great prestige, but in this instance it is clearly a case of the man having brought prestige to the office.

His talents as a speaker and as a writer have been extraordinarily useful to him. He usually speaks extemporaneously. He never is at a loss for a word. His impromptu thoughts flow forth with a literary polish and finish. He writes as fluently as he talks, a fact which is evident from the extent of his publications; some seventeen volumes are the product of his pen, to say nothing of innumerable articles, reports, and other miscellaneous literature. Incidentally, his literary style is expressive of the man. Dignified, thoughtful, fluent, and warm—at times eloquent—his writing is exactly like his talking.

But brilliant writing and speaking have been merely extremely useful tools in accomplishing his aims. More fundamental, if not more important, in Dr. Butler's long and full record of achievement, have been the calibre of his mind and the quality of his leadership. In the efficient, dependable discharge of his manifold executive duties, in the skill with which he presides over the meetings of various bodies, in the give and take of committee meetings or personal conversation, in all these he has constantly revealed the quickness, the depth, and the orderliness of his mind. An editorial, many years ago, in speaking of his qualities of leadership, of his

capacity for bringing men together for effective harmonious action, commented particularly upon his "personal magnetism, his . . . common-sense attitude toward men and things that always puts him in the office of president, whatever may be the particular organization."²

Dr. Butler's theory that the ultimate object of education is service to mankind has had a practical corollary in his example of an educator who has prominently participated in the affairs of his community, his nation, and the world. His long and distinguished career as a political leader began in 1885 when upon his return from Europe he actively associated himself with the local Republican organization of Paterson, New Jersey. In 1895 he shifted his affiliation with the Republican party to New York City at the time that he changed his legal residence. In 1886, when only twenty-four, he served as a delegate from Passaic County to the Republican state convention for the nomination of a governor. Two years later, he represented his district in the Republican national convention at Chicago which nominated Benjamin Harrison: originally chosen as an alternate, he served in the absence of the delegate. He was not again a delegate to a Republican national convention until 1904, this time from New York. From that convention to the one of 1932 he was a delegate to every Republican national convention. In 1912 he served as chairman of the New York State Republican convention.

Repeatedly he was urged to be a candidate for elective offices, especially the governorship of New York State and the mayoralty of New York City. He steadfastly refused, alleging that his position as head of Columbia University was of paramount importance. He took the same attitude toward proposals by several national presidents that he serve in various appointive posts, including the Cabinet and the diplomatic service. In a chapter about keeping out of public office in *Across the Busy Years*, Dr. Butler tells of his experience in this respect. In passing, it should be mentioned that casting the Republican vice-presidential electoral votes for him in 1912 was wholly a mark of esteem. James S. Sherman, the party's original nominee, died a few days before the election, and since the eight votes, which is all there were, had to be cast for someone, they were, by the direction of party chieftains, recorded for Dr. Butler, who had in no sense been a candidate for the office. In 1920 Dr. Butler received serious consideration as the Republican nominee for the presidency; in fact in the early balloting he received 69½ votes.

Dr. Butler's career as a leader of liberal ideas and policies in the nation has been paralleled by a career as a leader in the realm of inter-

²*Harper's Weekly*, Ap. 19, 1902.

national affairs. In season and out he has labored unceasingly, at times struggled desperately, for the maintenance of international peace and the promotion of sanity and understanding among nations. Dr. Butler's importance in international affairs is similar to his prominence in the United States in that it is not the result of any office he holds but is a kind of moral leadership which springs from his dynamic personality, his keen mind, and the vigor with which he pursues his ideals as a liberal. He is, to be sure, the president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, an organization which he himself persuaded Andrew Carnegie to found in 1910, but here again, with all due respect to the Endowment, is a case where the office has been made important by the man in it.

Dr. Butler's influence in international affairs has probably been exercised largely through the vast circle of friends he has acquired among the great and distinguished of many lands. He has been the warm personal friend of presidents, monarchs, prime ministers, labor leaders, princes of the church; in short, leaders of every stripe and persuasion in this country and abroad. With most of these figures he has had a voluminous correspondence and many intimate conversations. The precise influence of these contacts of President Butler upon the affairs of the nation and the world is of course something which can only be conjectured, but it is only reasonable to surmise that it has been considerable.

The recent course of world-events has been especially tragic for Dr. Butler, this man who had labored so long and so hard for the establishment of good will among men and nations. He was particularly shocked and said so in no uncertain terms at the curtailment of liberty under the Hitler regime in Germany, being one of the first public personages in the United States openly to express himself on this score. With his fond memories reaching far back into the past of a Germany which had contributed so much to mankind in the realms of science, art, and thought, it would be putting it mildly to say that the policies established in Germany by a Nazi dictatorship have made Dr. Butler sick at heart.

It is the public aspects of his life which have been here surveyed. One might suspect that anybody so busy would have no time for an extensive private life but, incredible as it may seem, he has an extremely active one. By nature friendly and sociable, he has a veritable army of friends from all walks of life. Besides those who have known him as a delightful companion and loyal friend, there are many others who have personal reasons for feeling deeply grateful to him. A university as large as Columbia has numberless cases of distress, even tragedy, among its staff

and students, and many tales are told of the quickness and shrewdness with which Dr. Butler on numerous occasions has sensed personal distress among members of the university family and has promptly come to their aid in a sympathetic, tactful, and unostentatious way.

Dr. Butler has been twice married; the first time, in 1887 to Susanna Edwards Schuyler, who died in 1903; the second time, in 1907 to Kate La Montagne. A daughter of the first marriage, Sarah Schuyler Butler, is the wife of Captain Neville Lawrence of England, where she now lives with her husband and only child.

During the academic year Dr. Butler can be seen usually late in the afternoon, strolling homeward with his rather jaunty gait, down the vast expanse of steps before the Low Memorial Library housing his office, then eastward along One Hundred Sixteenth Street to his home on Morningside Drive. Those who happen to look out the window and see him pass sometimes wonder what is going through his mind. Is he dreamily recalling his boyhood long ago in Paterson, New Jersey, when the Civil War had just ended, or his undergraduate days on Forty-ninth Street, or the thrilling year as a graduate student in a sweeter, more peaceful Europe? Perhaps he is remembering when the present Columbia campus was largely one great vacant lot, or the day when he became its president, or the changes which he has witnessed in his long life. The chances are though, that his thoughts are not of the past at all but of today and tomorrow. Others, however, will long remember his past life and what he has given to America and to the world.

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RICHARD E. BYRD

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by

GERTRUDE RANDOLPH BRAMLETTE RICHARDS

BY virtue of his intrepid flights across the Atlantic and over the North and South Poles, Admiral Byrd ranks among the world's greatest airmen. Yet he is more the scientist than the aviator; more the philosopher than the scientist. The immediate purpose of each expedition has been fact-finding. The conquest of each new Unknown is the manifestation of his innate desire to encompass wider spiritual horizons that he might bring them within the realm of human experience.

Richard Evelyn Byrd, rear admiral, United States Navy, retired, was born in Winchester, Virginia, October 25, 1888, the second son of Richard Evelyn III and Eleanor Bolling Flood Byrd. According to the College of Heralds, he numbers among his forbears some six kings of France, three Eastern Roman emperors, two kings of Naples and one of Hungary, the more familiar of such notables being Charlemagne, Henry of Navarre, and Edward III. It takes as much courage to live up to that ancestry as to fly across the Atlantic.

Richard IV was born to adventure as the sparks fly upward. As a small boy he led his gang in devising and putting through reckless escapades that exasperated his father. The elder Byrd, a brilliant lawyer, considered obedience to authority the hall-mark of a gentleman. This son of his had a good mind; had courage and initiative as well. It was the more imperative, then, that he use his gifts intelligently. However, young Dick was a book-worm and a dreamer as well as a dare-devil, and he often astonished his father by his grasp of a historical situation and the acumen with which he judged personalities. Before he left for college he had read everything in his father's large library and had started his own collection of works on philosophy. At the same time he was filling a note-book with drawings of the devices he should use in discovering the North Pole. His great-great-grandmother had predicted that one of her descendants should accomplish that feat and Richard took it on himself to fulfill her prophecy. He was at Annapolis when Admiral Peary achieved the long-sought goal. Life for him seemed over. He had been born too late; the last great adventure had been accomplished.

When Richard was twelve his friend, Judge Carson, invited him to the Philippines. To his dismay, his father refused to let him go. According

to all reports the islands were a hotbed of rebellion, cholera, and bubonic plague—certainly no place for a boy with an itch for excitement. Young Richard resorted to the technique that was to serve him well in the years to come: breaking down opposition by unwearying persistence. It worked. His father saw that if he did not consent Dick would run away, and it was better to start him off with proper precautions for his safety.

In the China Sea they ran into a typhoon. It did not disturb Richard in the least. He had once taken a light sailing-craft across Hampton Roads in the face of a rising storm, all alone. While railings, smoke-stacks and life-boats careened overboard, he stood on the bridge advising the captain how to keep the vessel right side up.

Life in the Philippines was all that could be desired. He was made deputy-sheriff of Sorsogon and member of the native constabulary of Masbate. The Judge thought it a good joke, but it was no joke to Dick. He went about with a horse-pistol strapped around his waist and when an uprising broke out in the interior, he slipped away on his pony to join the sheriff's posse and did not return for three days. Not long after that he administered first aid to a native. The man died that night of cholera. The whole quarter was in quarantine and Richard spent a hectic night writing farewell letters home. They escaped the cholera but as all their food had been destroyed they were reduced to eating parrot, monkey, and tinned pudding for Christmas dinner. Judge Carson had had enough by that time of standing *in loco parentis* and decided it was best to send his guest back home. He smuggled Richard on to a British tramp-steamer bound for Boston via the Mediterranean. His letters written on this, his first world-tour, were published in the local papers and were his maiden effort in literature.

At school and at college Richard over-majored in athletics. He was slender, almost undersized, a definite handicap which he determined to overcome. At Virginia Military Institute, at the University of Virginia, and at Annapolis, he was usually at the training-table, preparing for game or gym meet. A fair student, his main interests lay in mathematics, philosophy, navigation, and such aspects of history as empire-building and advancing cultural frontiers. While at Annapolis he broke his right foot playing against Princeton. Just before Christmas of his final year, he broke the same foot again and missed mid-term examinations. Only his iron determination enabled him to graduate with his class. His "line" in the annual is a prophecy as well as an estimate:

A leader in all right things: Friend, gentleman . . . Go where he may, he can not hope to find the truth and the beauty of which he dreams . . . He will always give to life more than he takes.

The four years after his graduation were spent with the fleet, mostly in Mexican waters, a valuable experience in many ways; but he injured his right foot again and was in the hospital for three months. It troubled him after he returned to duty, so that the deck-watches were agonizing ordeals. It was a constant handicap, in the face of which neither his ability nor his efforts could win him promotion. He was cited twice for extraordinary heroism for which (eight years later) he was awarded the silver Life-Saving Medal of Honor. In the fall of 1914 his ship was ordered back to American waters. Byrd hoped this meant active service, perhaps overseas. Instead, he was detailed to the "Dolphin," Secretary Daniels' yacht, from which he was transferred to the "Mayflower." The only compensation he found in such an utterly futile existence was his contact with his father's friend, Woodrow Wilson. Later, certain persons whom he met on the "Mayflower" assisted him in his various expeditions. But in those days his mind was on promotion and a larger field of service, not on expeditions. His classmates were advancing; he was held back. The game leg was the only reason given for his being passed over. By 1916 he decided that the only opportunity the Navy afforded was an office job. In March, at his own request, he was transferred to the retired list. He thought gloomily that here he was, just twenty-seven, ordered home for good, the seafaring career for which he had trained ended, with no chance for a come-back, without money enough to live on and with no interest in a business career: a fizzle.

Then America entered the war and the Navy discovered the value of a willing cripple. Byrd was sent to Rhode Island to mobilize the state Militia and did such a splendid job of organizing that the Governor made him commander of the naval forces of the state. All the time Byrd was taking courses at Harvard, fifty miles away. The willing cripple was leaving his sounder confreres some distance behind. Then Washington rewarded him by promoting him to a swivel-chair job, the one thing he detested above all others. In vain he begged to be returned to the fleet, then ordered to France. That game leg again! Then he was made a secretary of the Commission on Training Camps. Because he hoped this might be a spring-board to active service, Byrd worked night and day until he was on the verge of a nervous breakdown.

By this time, he was considering aviation as a possible field of activity. His leg would be no handicap there. He began pulling wires to get himself transferred to Pensacola, Florida, a training-station for naval aviators. Once he qualified as a pilot, he might be sent overseas. Both family pride and patriotism were back of this desire. Down in Virginia his father had threatened to use his authority as federal attorney to arrest any Byrd who

did not enlist. Richard's younger brother, Tom, was already winning laurels along the Hindenberg Line, while he, a Navy man, was tied down to a desk and waste-basket. The authorities gave him a hearing but the medical examiners refused to pass him. Byrd insisted that in a milder climate, with a task he enjoyed, he would soon qualify physically. His argument was sound. He was allowed to go on a month's probation. The results fully justified the clemency shown him, for by the end of that time he had not only won his pilot's wings but was given a clean bill of health. He was made instructor; a member of the Crash Board to determine the cause of accidents; assistant superintendent of the organization in Pensacola, and set to training men in night-flying, an uncharted and hazardous field of aeronautics. His request to be sent overseas was turned down. Good instructors were harder to find than pilots. He could not be spared.

In January 1918 the Navy began building the NC-1. Byrd conceived the plan of flying it to France as a gesture of courage to war-weary Europe. He not only broached the project to those whose influence might help put it through, but began devising special instruments to add to the safety of the pilot. In July he made formal application to the Department to be allowed to fly the NC-1 to France. Two weeks later he was summoned to Washington. He was sure of the appointment, "the luckiest man alive." Instead he was doomed to the greatest disappointment of his life. He was ordered to Halifax as commanding-officer of the Naval Air Station, responsible to the senior naval officer with whom he was to coöperate in carrying out the General Mission of the Allied Naval Force in Canada. The task was difficult and exasperating. By working twenty hours a day, he soon had bases functioning at Halifax and Sydney. When the armistice was signed in November, he turned these over to the Canadian government, sent his planes south and returned to the United States. Insofar as his own career was concerned, the war had been as frustrating as Annapolis: plenty to do, but leading nowhere.

Europe had no further need of airplanes nor of pilots. Congress was cutting down appropriations and the Navy offered less chance for advancement than ever. Byrd hoped to make a flight to the North Pole for the purpose of scientific exploration, but he had no funds and saw no prospect of any sponsorship. Later on he was to learn how much might be accomplished without money. In these early post-war years, however, large fortunes were being made overnight. Byrd dallied with the thought of going into business until he could amass the sum needed for his flight. Before he took the final step he heard that the Navy was planning to send the NC-1 to Europe after all. He hurried to Washington, only to

learn that the Department had ordered that no one, officer or man, who had served on foreign duty (this included Canada) could enlist for the transatlantic expedition. Not only had he been sent to Halifax against his will, but after working all these months on what was originally his own plan, he was not only refused the chance to go, but was ordered back to Pensacola. Later on, Byrd could say—and think—that the flight and not the flyer was what counted, but not then. He “went to the mat” with the Director of Aviation and protested so vigorously that the order to go south was rescinded and he was made a member of the transatlantic flight section of the Bureau of Aeronautics, to help with the preparations. By May 1919 three NC boats were ready. Byrd was allowed to go to Newfoundland for the final take-off. He still hoped for permission to go the rest of the way, but a message from Washington at the last moment ordered him to stay behind. May 16 he watched the take-off. He felt that to be right on the spot and see three planes hop off for Europe for the first time in history and after all his hopes and work not be in one of them, was a calamity that no amount of philosophy could blot out. When only one of the three reached Lisbon, the Navy, the government, and the people agreed that no more flights be undertaken until aviation had attained a point of greater safety.

Now that aviation had likewise closed the door of opportunity, Byrd folded his wings and entered politics. For most of five years he worked night and day trying to persuade Congress to establish a special Bureau of Aeronautics in the Navy Department. The final achievement of this was due almost entirely to his efforts.

In 1921 the ZR-2, the British dirigible R-38, built especially for the American Navy, was to make a nonstop flight from Howden to New York with a complement of British and Americans on board. Byrd had been talking transatlantic flight constantly during the past two years. His request that the Navy sponsor his own expedition was turned down about this time; so he asked to be allowed to join the American contingent on board the ZR-2, and this request was granted. He reached London two days before the test flight. Owing to an error in schedules he missed his train to Howden. The authorities thought he was not coming and gave his place to someone else. When he appeared, he was offered the place of an enlisted man. The latter was so disappointed at being taken off that Byrd gave up his own chance of making the test-flight and returned to London, planning to join the dirigible at Pulham. But the ZR-2 never reached Pulham. She exploded over the Humber near Hull. Only five of the fifty men on board were saved. As Byrd followed the funeral cortege to the service in Westminster Abbey, he realized that

in tragedy as well as in victory, aviation had the power of bringing nations into closer spiritual fellowship and he determined to use it for that purpose.

On his return he took up the question of aviation reserve-stations with the Bureau of Aeronautics. Those pilots, trained for war-service at a cost of \$5000 each, were fast losing their skill. They might better be used as a second line of defense by organizing them into units along the coast and keeping them in practice. Congress approved the idea but refused a grant. Byrd undertook to carry out his plan without money, instructions, or assistance of any sort. In the end he achieved results worth one hundred thousand dollars to the country at no cost to the government. As this task was nearing completion, he was recalled to Washington to assist in preparing for a polar flight. The *SHENANDOAH* was to be sent from Point Barrow, Alaska, to Spitzbergen, directly across the North Pole. In the midst of the preparations, the President cancelled the order and again Byrd was left stranded. Just at this moment, however, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-commander by a special act of Congress, a recognition not of any spectacular achievement but of years of devoted service against tremendous obstacles.

This promotion gave him prestige, a tangible asset in his next undertaking: a private Arctic air-expedition. He asked the Navy to lend him two amphibian planes. Donald B. Macmillan, then about to set out for Greenland under the auspices of the National Geographic Society, had already asked for one. Although their fields of exploration did not conflict, Byrd told Macmillan of his own plans and pointed out the danger of setting forth with a single plane. Macmillan at once asked for two. The Navy had only three. Byrd was a Navy man; Macmillan was sponsored by a distinguished organization. As neither could be given the preference, they were asked to join forces, Macmillan directing the expedition and Byrd in command of the naval flying-unit. They set off June 20, 1925, and reached Etah, Greenland, August 1. During the next six weeks Byrd flew five thousand miles with no forced landings and covered some thirty thousand square miles of ice-fields, much of which, being inaccessible to foot-travelers, had never before been seen by human eye.

He returned fully convinced that the Arctic could be conquered by air and set to work on his original plans for a polar flight, the main purpose of which was to increase public interest in scientific exploration by air. Getting his own expedition ready was a new experience. He needed one hundred thousand dollars in addition to donated supplies and equipment. Despite his efforts he set out with a deficit of twenty thousand dollars, which

contracts with newspapers and pictorial rights would cover—if the undertaking succeeded. As he said, he was risking more than his life. The expedition left Brooklyn Navy-Yard April 5, 1926, with a three-engined Fokker monoplane, food supply for six months, coal for fifteen thousand miles of steaming, and a crew of some fifty men, most of whom were volunteer landlubbers. They reached Spitzbergen April 29 and found Amundsen and Ellsworth already there, awaiting the NORGE. Both groups had the Pole as an objective. Byrd was trying a heavier-than-air plane; Amundsen, a lighter-than-air ship. Just after midnight, May 9, Byrd and Floyd Bennett started northward, a leaking gas-tank adding to their problems of navigation. At 9:02 a.m. (G.C.T.) they flew over the North Pole. Then they circled it in a four-mile radius. Byrd's second world-tour took just ten minutes. They made observations that verified Peary's findings and at 9:15 headed for Spitzbergen, arriving in the middle of the afternoon, without benefit of sextant, having broken that valuable instrument just after they left the Pole.

The outstanding importance of this expedition was that it opened a new method of exploration, a new vantage for observations. They were able to accomplish in less than a day what had taken their predecessors months to achieve and what had cost most of them their lives. In recognition of his feat, the National Geographic Society presented Byrd the Hubbard Gold Medal, an honor which up to that time had been given only six times. Congress promoted him to the rank of commander.

Even before the applause had died away, Byrd was preparing to cross the Atlantic. As yet there had been no successful nonstop air-flight. One NC ship had reached Lisbon, but in stages; the BR-34 (a ship, not a plane) had made the round trip. But Byrd was aiming now at something more than a New York-Paris hop. He wanted to carry passengers and a pay load, in order to prove the feasibility of a regular transatlantic service. He spent months improving every detail of the equipment, testing every aspect of navigation, providing every conceivable precaution to safeguard men and plane, and at the same time, raising money for the flight. By March 1927 the preparations were nearing completion. He was sworn in by the Post Office Department as the first United States air-mail pilot, for he was to carry a sack of mail to Paris. In April the plane was given its test flight. It proved defective and crashed to the field. Only the designer, Fokker, who was at the controls, escaped injury. Byrd's arm was broken; Noville sustained internal injuries and Bennett barely escaped with his life. It took over a month to repair the damaged plane. In the meantime other flyers were gathering at Roosevelt Field, out for the Orteig Prize, offered for the first transatlantic flight. Byrd had not

even entered his name for this. He would not have been human had he not wished to be the first to reach Paris, but that goal was merely incidental to his main purpose. The public could not understand why he was so slow and expressed their disapproval in vigorous terms. No one seemed to realize the vast difference between a solo flight in a one-engined plane and a scientific expedition of four men in a three-engined plane whose lifting capacity and cruising range must be determined by a long series of experiments. Byrd was fast living down his youthful reputation as a dare-devil.

Long before Lindbergh had decided upon his spectacular flight, the date for christening Byrd's plane had been set for the last of May. It could not be changed later on, when it seemed to coincide with the flight of the *SPIRIT OF ST. LOUIS*. Just at the moment when Byrd rose to speak, news came that Lindbergh had landed in Paris. With the gallant generosity that has distinguished his every great moment, Byrd turned the christening ceremony into a celebration of his confrere's success. He did even more. He delayed his own flight until Lindbergh had left Paris lest his arrival detract from the glory of the earlier achievement.

Then the weather turned sour and remained so for a month. Even when they finally started, June 29, the only assurance the Weather Bureau could give was that conditions were about as good as they would be for some time. It proved the toughest crossing on record. They struck fog off Newfoundland and had to fly blind for two thousand miles, at an altitude of eight thousand feet and more. That meant ice on the propellers and wings—a definite danger. In the late afternoon they emerged from the fog. At nightfall they passed over Brest and ran into more fog and storms. As there was no chance of landing in Paris without endangering the lives of those on the landing-field, they turned seaward. At least they would risk only their own lives and the plane in a water-landing. The plane crashed about a mile from the shore. The men scrambled out, got the rubber water-boat, and rowed to land—bruised, water-soaked, utterly exhausted derelicts. By dint of persuasion the villagers took them in. Next morning they returned to the plane—left high and dry by the receding tide—and rescued mail and records. The *AMERICA* was damaged beyond possibility of repair.

The welcome given them in Paris and again on their return to America gave them full assurance that as far as international good will was concerned, they had accomplished their purpose, and Byrd and his fellow scientists knew that every disaster they had met and overcome in those hours of darkness had more than justified their hopes of enlarging the scientific aspects of aeronautics.

So far as scientific data went, the Arctic region had proven itself a barren field. It was a vast frozen ocean, surrounded by continents. The South Polar region, a continent surrounded by oceans, was more promising. As soon as his transatlantic flight was accomplished, Byrd began active preparations for the most hazardous of all expeditions, the flight to the South Pole and the exploration of Antarctica, the fatherland of blizzards: austere, treacherous, demanding the life of any adventurer rash enough to enter its confines, the place above all others that invited failure and defied success. In the autumn of 1928 he set out for a two years' stay in that hostile desert of ice. He had the costliest equipment on record.

The two small ships were second-hand but carefully reconditioned and able to plow through seas of floating ice. The three planes were new, the best they could find. They had the finest radio-equipment obtainable. This would not only keep them in touch with America, but would enable the Commander to direct operations from a single base. They had food supplies for three years. While they expected to return in two, they faced the possibility that the ships might not be able to return in time to cut through the summer ice and they might be forced to wait a year. The food was chosen for its vitamin content and anti-scorbutic properties; the clothing, for a temperature that for nine months of the year hovered around seventy degrees below zero (Fahrenheit).

The personnel included more than eighty men, ranging in age from eighteen to sixty-eight: scientists, mechanics, cooks, tailors, men from every walk of life, unknown to one another and to Byrd. Choosing them was difficult; to organize their diverse talents and temperaments into a homogeneity that would allow doing the right thing at the right time in the right way, and still respect their individualities, was a problem that might baffle Freud.

Early in January 1929 they reached the Bay of Whales, ten thousand miles from Manhattan and for nine months of the year isolated by an impenetrable ice-pack. Here they established their base: Little America, perhaps the most remarkable "city" known to civilization. It was built, not on shifting sands, but on a raft of ice, surrounded by barriers, bergs, and crevasses, two thousand miles from its nearest neighbor. Yet it had its own electric power-plant, a complete broadcasting-system, an aviation-service second to none, a dairy plant, a meteorological station manned by world-renowned scientists, a motion picture theater wired for sound, machine-shops, dog-kennels, underground passages (tunneled out of snow), a taxi system (tractors), in fact all the appurtenances of Broadway save pawnshops and pickpockets, and they found the latter at Easter Island!

In the few weeks left before the winter set in they made their preliminary explorations by plane, sledge, and tractor, mapping the terrain, surveying miles of coast-line and becoming familiar with meteorological conditions. When the darkness fell the last of March or first of April they began planning the excursions and explorations for October. The most important of these was the flight over the South Pole, by no means a mere matter of "gassing up" and flying there and back. In mid-October the supporting party set forth with dogs and sledges to establish depots along the way. At the same time the geological party started for the Queen Maud Mountains to investigate their potentialities. To Byrd this undertaking was far more important than flying over the Pole.

On November 18 the plane took off, headed southward. This was not a nonstop flight. Exactly a week later, on Thanksgiving Day, they reached the South Pole. As they crossed it, Byrd opened the trap-door in the plane and dropped an American flag wrapped around a stone from Floyd Bennett's grave, his own tribute to a loyal friend whose devotion to duty had robbed him of the opportunity to share in this achievement. November 29 they were back at Little America. In January the geologists returned and, the main purposes for which they had set out being accomplished, they broke camp and returned to America.

Just what they accomplished in the field of scientific research is not yet known as the records are still being studied. However, they charted over fifteen hundred miles of unknown land, surveyed plateaus and mountain ranges, and determined the presence of valuable commercial minerals in the mountains. In recognition of this achievement Byrd was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, an honor he had refused after the flight over the North Pole on the ground that his achievement did not justify such a distinction. This time he was not consulted.

As soon as he was back in New York he began to prepare for a second expedition to the South Pole—an exceedingly difficult task, as the depression had touched a new low, and money for polar expeditions was practically non-existent. His new objective—meteorological research—would have little popular appeal even in times of prosperity. But he was used to adversity, and he refused to be discouraged. He had a personnel trained in Antarctic field methods; he knew exactly what his problem was and how and where it could be solved. So he set to work. This expedition would be far more costly than its predecessor. Scientific research meant expensive equipment and highly trained men. He and his co-workers became the "world's hardest working beggars." Despite their efforts they raised only \$150,000. However, much was donated in the way of supplies in return

for advertising rights; and universities, institutions, and the government were generous in lending equipment for research.

When the second polar expedition set forth in the autumn of 1933 it was provided with all of the necessities and a few extras (no stretch of the imagination could regard them as luxuries!). The list of categories (not items) in the invoice covered fifty-two typed pages; the list of bolts, screws, and nuts filled a sheaf of paper an inch thick; they had everything from tiny watch-screws to eight-foot bolts. There were twenty-seven types of knives; twenty kinds of needles; six cases of chewing-gum; thirty tons of hay and eleven hundred pairs of woolen socks. The personnel included over a hundred men: the usual quota of scientists and highly trained mechanics, dog-tenders, cowherds for their four cows, an archaeologist, a deep-sea diver, a tree-surgeon, and a parachute-jumper. Many of these, needless to say, did not expect to practice their callings in Antarctica.

They found Little America intact. Even the planes were in good condition. Food and supplies in the caches were quite usable. One lot had been lost when the ice shifted but the "city" needed only a bit of tidying up to be as good as ever. As always the expedition was lashed to frenzy by the need of haste. They arrived in mid-January. The loss of a single day before the winter darkness set in might prolong their stay another year.

The first question to decide was whether the shifting ice that was cracking all about them made a new base necessary. As winter was approaching they decided to risk the chance of the floe freezing into stability; although, as a precaution, they established a depot of supplies some distance from the settlement.

Their definite objective this time was Marie Byrd Land, a great region lying to the east. They planned to attack this with sledge, tractor, ship, and plane. Before mid-March they had made six transits of the Ross Sea, two of them latest in the season of any on record. They explored forty thousand square miles of ocean with six sounding-lines and made forays for geological research. They also built a hut near the Ross ice shelf, 183 miles from Little America, which was to serve as the Bolling Advance Weather Base. Byrd's keen interest in meteorology had led him to make this the strongest scientific department of both expeditions. The effect of the great polar ice-caps on the weather of the world was a virgin field of investigation, and an understanding of the broad movements of air that originate in this region and the effect of these on human activities, was of far greater importance to everyone than all the polar flights ever

undertaken. Byrd had planned this station in the interior which should function throughout the winter darkness. The United States Weather Bureau had lent him the equipment. His original plan had been to take two men with him, but trouble with tractors and plane, and unfavorable weather conditions in Little America made it impossible to move sufficient supplies for three. Two men alone in the desert of ice would be a psychological mistake, human nature being what it is. Byrd decided to go alone. Little America was quite able to manage without him. As he knew, the men knew their task and were eager to put it through. On March 28 he began a period of isolation that he planned would last for two hundred days.

For a time all went well. Radio communications were exchanged at stated times and each group knew how the other was progressing. The last of May Byrd was poisoned by the fumes from his stove and gasoline generator. For over two months stark tragedy hovered over the terrible sublimity of Antarctica. He knew what had happened but he was too weak to act and too proud to ask help. He had ordered them under no conditions to start for the Advance Base until the sun appeared. The chances were ninety-nine to a hundred against their ever arriving if they started sooner. He kept on, at the end of his tether, living on half-frozen food that he was too ill to prepare properly, but recording his daily observations without a break!

By July those at Little America sensed the situation. They planned to send a relief-party as soon as the moon was full, the middle of the month. The temperature hovered around eighty degrees below zero. Blizzards were unusually frequent and severe. Twice the men set forth; twice they were turned back. On August 11 they reached the Advance Base. Byrd had been told over the radio that they were coming. He walked toward them, very slowly. They insist that he called to them to come on, that he had a bowl of hot soup for them. Of this he remembers nothing at all. Later he published the story of those weeks, one of the most poignant revelations of heroism in the face of impending disaster ever written, like nothing else in the world because in all the history of man there has never been another such an experience.

On October 12 the party returned to Little America. Ten days later the summer daylight set in. They pushed through their explorations and observations and early in February started for home. Not a man was left behind. Considering the accidents and calamities they had encountered, that was the greatest achievement of the expedition.

The fifteenth of November, 1939, the third Antarctic Expedition sailed

from Boston, under the auspices of the United States government. Byrd was in charge as an unsalaried official, responsible to Congress. Conditions had arisen to make this change necessary. The United States must define the boundaries of the lands which Byrd had claimed by virtue of exploration and discovery. Certain European countries and certain units of the British Empire had similar claims and the various segments were overlapping.

The United States holds to the Hughes Doctrine that claims to lands as yet unsettled are weak, if not actually untenable. Heretofore permanent settlements in Antarctica have been thought impossible; but the fact that Little America has remained in existence for ten years and more, and has been occupied half of that time at least, has led the State Department to consider the advisability of semi-permanent settlements. Each group of settlers would be sent for two years. As one group left another would arrive; certain hardy spirits might even enlist for four years, so that each new colony would have a nucleus of those experienced in Antarctic conditions. As yet it is all in the experimental stage, but Byrd was sent out this time as a colonizer as well as a scientific explorer. The government prescribed the field of his investigations. He was to establish the exact limits of the Antarctic coast-line, in order to strengthen our claim to the region even more than would the establishment of colonies. He was to center his attention on the area lying between the points where lines drawn from Australia and Cape Horn would cross the Antarctic Circle, a region which defied all efforts at penetration. As Little America lies outside this segment, a new base had to be established about a thousand miles to the eastward. From these two bases further explorations of some six hundred seventy-five thousand square miles were projected.

The expedition included 125 men, twenty-six of whom were veterans of former expeditions. The greatest innovation in the way of equipment was the giant snow-cruiser, a thirty-seven-ton monster designed by Dr. T. C. Poulter. It is built of iron, steel, rubber, and glass; twenty feet wide, with four rubber-tired wheels ten feet high. Each wheel is equipped with its own motor and can be raised or lowered independently of the others by the man at the wheel. It was hoped that this machine would be able to cross the crevasses which had defied snowmobiles, tractors, and dogsleds. In addition the equipment included two light army-tanks, with the guns removed, four planes, and an ample supply of prefabricated houses and gay colored tents.

The ships reached Little America early in January 1940. After they were unloaded they went to Valparaiso, Chile, for refuelling, and then

returned to Antarctica to attack the uncharted coast-line. In three months the geographers had mapped nine hundred miles of coast and examined one hundred fifty thousand square miles of the interior; they had discovered fourteen islands; six mountain ranges; two large peninsulas and innumerable bays and inlets. When the winter darkness set in Byrd returned to the United States and directed the work of the expedition by radio.

As an aviator, Admiral Byrd has made his full quota of spectacular flights, but by the instruments he has devised and by his constant study of the problems of navigation, he has probably done more than anyone else to render aviation the safest means of transportation. As a scientist, his discoveries in the realm of polar meteorology rank with the greatest contributions of the age. As a pioneer he has explored a new world at the bottom of the globe, which may in time become a valuable part of our national domain. The region contains heavy deposits of anthracite and other commercial minerals; seals abound; and it is the center of an important whaling-industry. Also, since the level stretches of hard snow make ideal landing-places, Little America may become an air-base on a direct route to Australia, which would eliminate long, dangerous stretches of nonstop, over-water flying.

Admiral Byrd's distinction, however, rests not alone on what he has accomplished but on the way he has done it; on what he is. Retired from the Navy at the very outset of his career because of a slight physical disability, he has attained, step by step, highest rank in the Department, each promotion marking an achievement that required more of strength and endurance than ordinary service would demand in a lifetime. Every honor that has come to him is the result of frustration, denial, defeat, which he accepted, conquered, and turned into victory. He has received more than twenty citations for heroism, has been awarded every medal that the Navy or the government can give; but his greatest distinctions are those which neither citation nor medal can honor. The scope of these may be indicated by paraphrasing the "line" in his class-book: Friend, gentleman, and scholar; aristocrat, idealist, humanitarian. If he does not find the truth or beauty of which he dreams, he devotes himself to creating it for others to share.

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GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER

by

MONROE N. WORK

He is a gentle genius of a race
Alien and dark. Humbly he works with God
To wrest the secret treasures from the face
Of earth to mix them with rare alchemy
For gifts to benefit his fellow man.
His mind is closed to thoughts of worldly wealth.
He does not cringe when called an African,
Nor lord it over lesser than himself.
Honors that come to him are like the sun
Or rain, dispensed by God's beneficence,
Not something he deservedly has won
By much stern labor and self-sacrifice.
And from his life's ideal he does not swerve
That all his years are given him to serve.¹



GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER, called at various times, "The Plant Doctor," "The Sweet-Potato Man," "The Peanut Man," is the South's greatest agricultural scientist. He was born of slave parents on the plantation of a Mr. Carver near Diamond Grove, Missouri, about 1864 or earlier. This was in the midst of the Civil War. It was a time when it was difficult to hold slaves in Missouri; so he and his mother along with other slaves were sent south into Arkansas. After the war Mr. Carver, the master, sent to inquire what had become of his former slaves. It was found that all had disappeared with the exception of a child two or three years old by the name of George, who was almost dead with the whooping-cough and was of so little value that the people in Arkansas said they would be very glad to get rid of him.²

The child Carver was brought home, but he was so weak and sickly that no attempt was made to put him to work. He was allowed to grow up among the chickens and other animals around the servants' quarters and to

¹Tatum, Edith. In Montgomery (Ala.) *Advertiser*, Ap. 23, 1940.

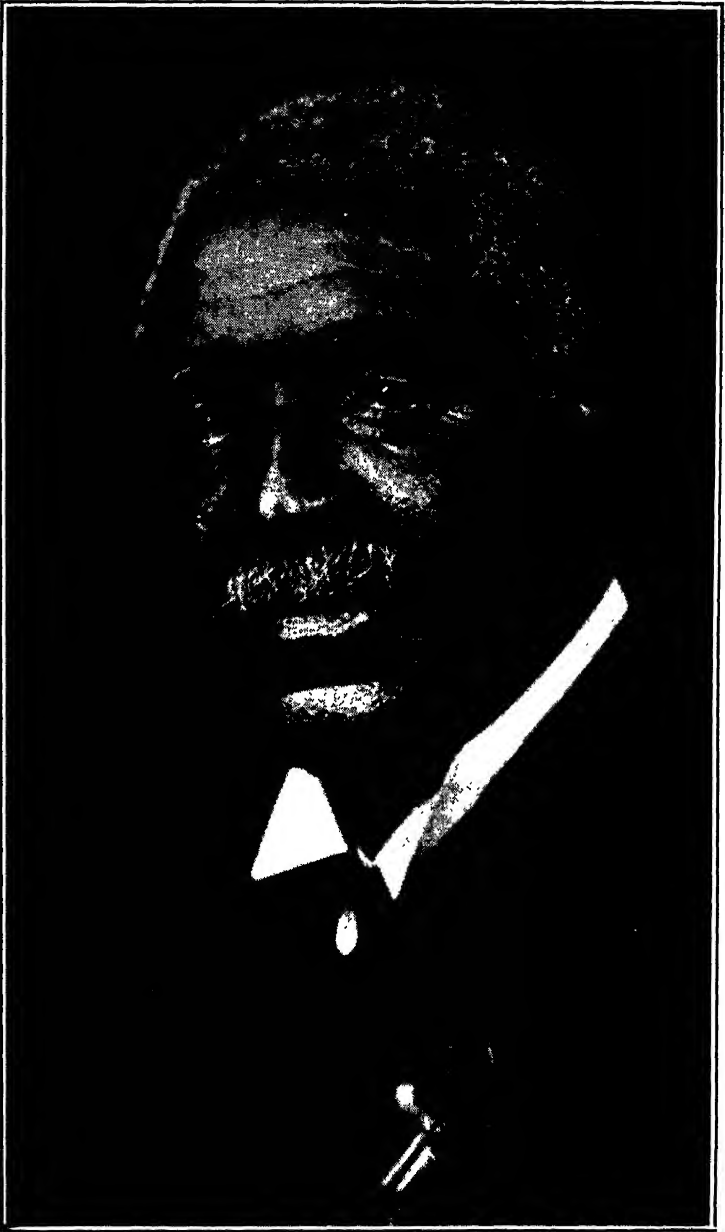
²The above account is found on pages 225-226 of Booker T. Washington's, *My Larger Education* published in 1910. Some years later a more romantic and picturesque account appeared in biographical sketches of Dr. Carver. This later account states that in infancy he was stolen and carried to Arkansas with his mother who was never heard of again. He was bought from his captors for a race-horse valued at \$300. The account in *My Larger Education* is probably the correct one. By 1864 both Missouri and Arkansas were in the hands of the Federal Armies. On March 7, 1862, a Confederate Army was defeated at the Battle of Pea Ridge in northwest Arkansas near the Missouri line and only a short distance from Newton County, Missouri, which is in the extreme southwestern part of the state. It is probable that George and his mother were sent into Arkansas before the Union Army passed through Newton County on its way to the Battle of Pea Ridge. From the above it would appear that the child was born in 1861 or the early part of 1862. The horse probably came into the story because George's former master may have given the people who had him in Arkansas a horse to pay for the expense of the child's keep. It was customary in the period immediately following the Civil War, when money was scarce and horses plentiful, to pay a debt in this manner.

get his living as best he could. George lived, however. He used his freedom to wander about the woods. He became friendly with all the insects and animals in the forest. He gained an intimate and personal acquaintance with all the plants and flowers. He also began to show aptitude in two directions. He had peculiar knack and skill in household work. He learned to cook, knit, and crochet. He had a delicate sense for color. He learned to draw, and later in his life he devoted considerable time to painting flowers, plants, and landscape scenes. Instead of sending conventional Christmas cards to his friends he now usually sends one of his original drawings. Had he devoted his talents exclusively to painting he would probably have become an artist with international fame. He spent hours in the woods and fields gathering all the most rare and curious flowers that were to be found. It was discovered that he had established out in the brush a little botanical garden where he had gathered all sorts of curious plants. He soon became so expert in making all kinds of plants grow and showed such skill in caring for and protecting them from all sorts of insects and diseases that he was given the name of "The Plant Doctor."

Still another direction in which he showed unusual natural talent was in music. While he was still a child he became famous among the colored people as a singer. When he was old enough to take care of himself, he spent some years wandering about. When he had the opportunity he worked in greenhouses. At one time he ran a laundry, at another, he worked as a cook in a hotel. During all this period young Carver was learning wherever he was able. He learned from books when he could. He learned from experience always and made friends wherever he went.

His formal education covered a period of eight years. He worked his way through high school at Minneapolis, Kansas; through Simpson College at Indianola, Iowa. He then entered the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, at Ames, and worked his way through. He was given charge of the greenhouses of the Horticultural Department of the college. He graduated with the bachelor of science degree in agriculture in 1894. He was made assistant botanist. He took advantage of this opportunity to continue his studies and in 1896 received the master of science degree in agriculture. While a student at Ames he took part with the other students in all the activities of college life. He was a lieutenant in the college battalion which accompanied Governor Boies to the first World's Fair in Chicago. During the latter part of his stay at Ames he began to read papers and deliver lectures at horticultural conventions in all parts of the state.

In spite of his success in the North among a people of another race, Mr. Carver was anxious to come South and do something for his own



GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER

race. It was with great pleasure and appreciation that he accepted an invitation from Booker T. Washington to come to Tuskegee Institute and take charge of the scientific and experimental work connected with the school's Department of Agriculture. In his letter of acceptance of April 12, 1896, he wrote:

Of course it has always been the one great ideal of my life to be the greatest good to the greatest number of my people possible, and to this end I have been preparing myself for these many years . . . I assure you that in coming money will not be the sole object, only secondary . . . I am looking forward to a very busy, pleasant, and profitable time at your college and should be glad to coöperate with you in doing all I can through Christ who strengtheneth me to better the condition of our people.

It was thus that Professor Carver entered upon his work at Tuskegee. He was able not only to help his own people but also all the people of the South.

Immediately on his arrival at Tuskegee Institute he began to study the problems of agriculture peculiar to the South and to mingle with the Negro farmers. He found that farming, as carried on in Alabama, was wasteful and haphazard. Cotton was the principal crop. He began to teach the farmers how to grow a better grade of cotton. In course of time he prepared and published pamphlets and bulletins for free distribution under such titles as *Fertilizer Experiment with Cotton*, *Cotton-Growing on Upland Soils*. He gave special attention to soil improvement and presented his suggestion on this subject in a bulletin entitled, *How to Build up Worn-out Soils*.

When Professor Carver came to Alabama the principal diet of the rural population was fat bacon and corn bread. He began his efforts to teach the rural people how to have a more varied and palatable diet by better preparation of the foods at hand. He lectured and gave demonstrations at farmers' institutes and conferences on food preparation, using as illustrations different ways of cooking cow-peas, sweet-potatoes, and other articles of food commonly used by the people. Sweet-potatoes grew in abundance, but the farmers did not know how to take care of the crop, so that they could have this article of food during the entire year. He demonstrated how to grow a better grade of other vegetables. So enthusiastic and persistent was he in lecturing on the possibilities of the sweet-potato that he came to be known among Negro farmers throughout the South as "The Sweet-Potato Man." To help the rural population of the South to improve its diet he prepared and published for free distribution circulars, leaflets, and bulletins on such subjects as *Experiments with Sweet-Potatoes*, *Saving the Sweet-Potato Crop*, *How the Farmer Can Save His Sweet-Potatoes*, *Possibilities of the Sweet-Potato in Macon County, Alabama*, *How to Cook Cow-Peas*, *How to Grow the Cow-Pea and Forty Ways to Prepare It as a Table*

Delicacy, How to Grow the Tomato and 105 Ways of Preparing It for Human Consumption, Saving the Wild-Plum, 43 Ways to Save the Wild-Plum Crop, The Canning and Preserving of Fruits and Vegetables in the Home, When, What, and How to Can and Preserve Fruits and Vegetables in the Home.

At the same time Professor Carver was giving some attention to the commercial possibilities of the undeveloped resources of the South. An event which definitely directed his researches along these lines was advent of the cotton-boll weevil, a small pest that gets into the cotton bolls just as they are forming and cuts them so that they are entirely destroyed. This weevil came into the United States from Mexico by way of Texas about 1914. By the summers of 1915 and 1916 its ravages had extended over considerable sections of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida. From this time on the boll weevil became a permanent menace to cotton, which was the South's major cash crop; that is, cotton was the only crop the yield from which could be marketed throughout the Cotton Belt at any time and in any town or hamlet.

Professor Carver began to seek for other crops that might in time become permanent cash crops in Alabama and other sections of the Cotton Belt. It appeared to him that the sweet-potato and the peanut would fit in better to take the place of cotton than any other crops. Neither of these crops was new to the Southern farmer. It was easy for him to adjust himself to them. More bushels of sweet-potatoes could be raised per acre with less injury to the soil than any other known farm crop. The peanut, by symbiotic processes, brings nitrogen from the air and causes it to be deposited in the soil; hence it becomes a soil-builder.

Professor Carver laid special emphasis on the growing of peanuts to take the place of cotton. In south Alabama and Georgia peanut-growing became a special industry, becoming so profitable that a monument was erected at Enterprise, Alabama, to the boll weevil. It was a blessing rather than a curse, in that it emancipated the farmers of that section from the one-crop cotton system. Elaborate ceremonies were held at the unveiling of this monument. Professor Carver was present as the guest of honor.

Before the advent of the boll weevil the peanut was scarcely recognized as a farm crop. Now it has developed into a \$60,000,000 industry. The United Peanut Association of America is a strong agricultural association which on occasions seeks aid from the federal government. In January, 1921, Professor Carver was invited to Washington to appear before the House Ways and Means Committee, in the interest of this Association, which was asking a protective duty against foreign peanuts. One morning

when the Committee assembled they found an old colored man in the room. They inquired what he was doing there? He stated that the Peanut Association had asked him to make a statement in its favor. The Committee decided that they would give him ten minutes of their time. He began to talk and when his ten minutes were up, it was unanimously voted to give him all the time that he would want. He astonished the members of the Committee by demonstrating to them that the lowly peanut yielded about one hundred forty-five different foods or useful articles. These included ten kinds of milk, five kinds of punches — cherry, lemon, orange, blackberry, and plum—salted peanuts, two grades of flour, two grades of meal, five breakfast-foods, new flavorings for ice-cream, cakes, gingerbread, cookies, and various confections, chocolate-coated peanuts, peanuts crystallized, peanut candy-bars, nine wood-stains, black ink, face-powder, face-cream, and four different kinds of stock food.

This was in 1921. Since that time numerous other discoveries of useful peanut products have brought the total up to 300. Included in these new discoveries are: peanut milk, cheese, instant coffee, dyes, lard, linoleum, axle-grease, breakfast-foods, printer's ink, shampoos, and oil for medicinal purposes. This oil has produced beneficial results in the treating of infantile paralysis. Dr. Carver has also evolved some 118 products from the sweet-potato. Among these are starch, flour, meal, molasses, vinegar, paste, shoe-polish, dyes, flavorings, wood-fillers, chocolates, ginger, rubber compounds, and caramels. He has also developed some 85 scientific properties from the pecan.

The evolving of many useful products from the peanut, pecan, and sweet-potato was only a part of his larger purpose to show the commercial possibilities of the as yet undeveloped resources of the South. At the present time agriculture has in the main a twofold emphasis: the production of food and clothing for man and foodstuffs for animals. Dr. Carver has been a leader in bringing about a new emphasis for agriculture: that is, the growing of products for industry. This new emphasis calls for: (1) New uses of old products such as the use of cotton in road-building and the making of starches, oils, and other products from the peanut and sweet-potato. (2) The use of waste products, such as okra stalks cotton stalks, and cotton linters; this latter now being used in the making of insulation-boards; (3) The use of products found in an area, but not now being used, as potash from chinaberry ashes, meal from chinaberries, dyes from clays for cotton, wool, silk and leather goods; also other dyes extracted from such trees as the black-oak, sweet-gum, willow and swamp-maple.

Dr. Carver is deeply religious. He attributes his discoveries to divine help and inspiration. Passages of Scripture often run through his mind as

he busies himself with his researches. One is "Behold I will show you a mystery." As quickly as one mystery was resolved into a formula, process, or procedure another mystery suggested itself. There never was a time when he did not want to know. Some ten years ago he wanted to know whether the oil extracted from the peanut had sufficient absorptive and medicinal qualities to alleviate skin diseases. It was thus that he developed an oil for the treatment of infantile paralysis. He has an illustrated lecture which has been delivered in many parts of the country. Its title is, "Great Creator, What Is a Peanut and Why Did You Make It?" He delivered this lecture at the first annual peanut festival held at Dothan, Alabama, in November, 1938, which was participated in by thousands of people from the states of Alabama, Florida, and Georgia.

He was one of seven prominent speakers at an interdenominational "Crusade for Christ" held recently at Minneapolis. These speakers discussed "Current Problems and Their Solution through Christian Hope." Dr. Carver spoke on "The Story the Peanut Tells." He expounded the theory that science is simply the truth. It will become more important and useful to man as he seeks greater help from the Creator of all things. He explained that he talked with God every morning before he began work in his laboratory.

Dr. Carver has helped to promote better racial understanding in the South. He has a special appeal to white youth. Under the auspices of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation and the Southern division of the Young Men's Christian Association for many years special tours were arranged for him to meet the white youth of the South in Young Men's Christian Association retreats and on college campuses. He was enthusiastically received wherever he went and told the story of his work. Sometimes the college authorities objected, because it was not customary to have a Negro lecture to the student-body. The insistence of the students usually overcame these objections. Today there is scarcely a college for whites in the whole South where the wizard of Tuskegee has not spoken.

Many honors have come to Dr. Carver in the course of his long career. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, London, in 1921; in 1923 he was awarded the Spingarn Medal which is the annual tribute paid by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the man or woman of African descent who has made the highest achievement for a given year in any field of human endeavor; the degree of doctor of science was conferred on him by Simpson College in 1928, and in 1935 he was appointed collaborator in the Division of Mycology and Plant-Disease Survey, Bureau of Plant Industry, United States Department of Agriculture.

In 1937 a life-size, bronze bust of Dr. Carver, by the sculptor Steffens Thomas, was unveiled at Tuskegee Institute to mark his forty years of creative research. Dr. H. E. Barnard, Director of Research of the National Farm Chemurgic Council, paid Dr. Carver this tribute at the ceremony:

As we review the progress of that work, we realize that forty years ago, he was actively developing the science of chemurgy, that new word that so aptly describes the role science is playing in putting research to work for the farmer.

For distinguished work in science Dr. Carver was given the Theodore Roosevelt medal^s by the Roosevelt Memorial Association in 1939. The medal was presented with these words:

For the medal for distinguished service in the field of science, *Mr. President*, I have the honor to present not a man only, but a life, transfused with passion for the enlarging and enriching of the living of his fellow man; a prolific inventor; a patient investigator of the diseases of plants; a scientist, humbly seeking the guidance of God; a liberator to men of the white race as well as the black; a bridge from one race to the other, on which men of good will may learn of each other and rejoice together in the opportunities and potentialities of their common country.

On February 13, 1940, this great Negro scientist donated his life's savings, \$33,000, to establish the George Washington Carver Foundation. The Foundation is to perpetuate research in creative science. It is housed in a special building at Tuskegee Institute. There also will be preserved the Carver Museum, containing the many discoveries he has made through chemical research and some one hundred paintings done by his own hand.

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^sTheodore Roosevelt was at one time a trustee of Tuskegee Institute.

WILLA CATHER

by

EDWARD EVERETT HALE JR.

The sea-gulls, that seem so much creatures of the free wind and waves . . . at certain seasons even they go back to something they have known before; to remote islands and lonely ledges that are their breeding grounds.¹

THERE was published in the summer of 1932 in one of the well-known magazines a Western story called "Two Friends." Of all the Western stories published that month—and there must have been a hundred, for some magazines publish little else—there was not one like this particular story. They would, all these others, have been tales of exciting incident or adventure, of cowboys or cattle-rustlers, of sheriffs and bandits, with illustrating pictures of men riding cow-ponies or firing six-guns. This story was the recollection by a woman well along in life of the days when she had been a little girl in Kansas, and of the two men in the village where she had lived who had been close friends until they had been separated by political differences. There were no cow-ponies and no six-guns; the picture was of the two friends sitting in front of the store, and of the little girl playing jackstones in the moonlight. The story was by Willa Cather, once a little girl in a Western town and now one of the most distinguished novelists of America.

Willa Cather had not, even as a little girl, always lived in the West. She had come there from Virginia. The two first and most famous explorers of the West, Lewis and Clark, had been Virginians, and the best-known figure of Western fiction (in much later times) had been known by no other name than "the Virginian." In the century between these striking figures there had been many less-known Virginians in the settling of the West, and Willa Cather's father had been one of them. The Cathers were a family of English and Irish stock which had lived in Virginia for a long time. Willa Sibert Cather was born on December 7, 1876, on a farm near Winchester. It is a beautiful country—the lower part of the Shenandoah Valley; the two branches of the river flow down from the higher regions of Virginia between low mountain ridges into the Potomac. Doubtless as a little girl Willa Cather appreciated the charm and beauty of it all, but it would seem to have made but little lasting impression upon her, and when she was nine years old her father moved to Nebraska.

¹Cather, Willa. *Obscure Destinies*, N.Y., 1932, pp. 193-194. Used by permission of the publishers, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Nebraska was at that time nearing the end of her first cycle—to use an expression that Miss Cather later used herself. First it had been the dwelling-place of the Indian tribes, then visited by the French traders and trappers, then crossed by the long trains of covered wagons bearing settlers for the Oregon country, then by innumerable freighters, then by the transcontinental railway. By 1860 many had stopped and settled. Little by little the settlers had extended across the state, and before them had gradually retired the ranchers and their cow-punchers, while the rail-head and the cow-towns had moved farther and farther west. By the time the Cathers had reached the Southwest country in which they were to live (1885) the work of the pioneers was finished. The generation which had subdued the wild land and broken up the prairie had passed away, save here and there a rugged figure, the last of those who had brought material prosperity out of a country which the first explorers had called the Great American Desert. There were still quite a number who could remember the days when they had lived in sod-roofed cabins and had been kept awake at night by the wolves howling about the dugouts, but they were becoming fewer and fewer among the prosperous farmers of the newer generation.

In Nebraska Willa Cather passed ten exciting years. They were not exciting in the way of the ordinary "Western"; they were exciting in Willa Cather's way. Her father had a ranch in the southwestern part of the state, a part that had once been open prairie-land, but was now cut up and fenced off into farms owned by settlers from the older states and from Europe. These latter farmers and "nesters" were a source of constant interest to the little girl. Even at that early age she had learned to recognize the things that appealed especially to her. The "foreign element" was not very highly thought of by the average American from the older states, but to Willa Cather they were absorbing and exciting. She used to ride ten miles to the post office and would get the mail for her Scandinavian and Bohemian neighbors. She would spend the whole morning watching the women bake their bread or make their butter. Their old-time foreign ways and old-time foreign stories were a source of constant pleasure to her, even a source of constant excitement. Not (as has been said) of the excitement of the adventurer, but of the excitement of the artist. For the little girl was an artist by nature. There were at that time a thousand girls who rode their ponies about the many ranches of the West, but this was the only one who in time to come was to write books that were to be events in the world of letters, books that were to be translated into foreign languages, books that were to receive the highest prizes and medals that America could bestow.

Such a life could not last forever, and in due time Willa Cather went to the high school of Red Cloud, and afterward to the University of



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WILLA CATHER

Nebraska at Lincoln, the capital of the state. Here among all the opportunities of student life it began to be apparent to her that she might be a writer, or at least that she might have something of the writer's nature in her, and she wrote for the college magazine some stories or studies of her foreign friends and the frontier life that she had known. They were doubtless not very remarkable as pieces of literature; the college or the university is hardly the place to encourage such productions. The college or the university has for its function to show its students what has been done well in the past, but (save in the case of science) it is not apt to concern itself with what is going on at the very present. It is more likely to tell its students what others have done than to incite them to do something for themselves. This is hardly its fault; it is its nature.

Now in the past people had not been in the habit of writing stories about the foreign settlers on the new frontier. The first short stories in America had been those of Rip van Winkle's twenty years' sleep, of the Great Stone Face in the White Mountains, of the singular goldbug that had pointed the way to immense treasure, of Philip Nolan's unhappy life without a country, of the luck of Roaring Camp. At about the time that Willa Cather had come to Nebraska Mr. Owen Wister had used his best efforts in vain to persuade Mr. Howells and Mr. Sargent that the West offered a wonderful field for the beautiful arts in which they were adepts. But no one had tried to cultivate that field but Mr. Wister himself, and his stories were full of the old romantic figures of cowboy and Indian. It is true that in other parts of the country there had been of late (in those days) not a few who had done something of the sort. Mrs. Stowe had turned from the South to the old New England of her youth; Rose Terry, Sara Orne Jewett, and Mary Wilkins had done more where she had begun; Mary Murfree had found in the Tennessee mountains a setting for her romantic imagination, and George W. Cable had preserved the charm of old New Orleans. Nearer Nebraska Alice French had written of the small towns of Iowa and Hamlin Garland had written of the mortgaged farms of Minnesota. It may be that the University of Nebraska included these works in its course in American literature, or it may be that Willa Cather read them by herself. However it was, she wrote her stories of her old Bohemian and Scandinavian neighbors for her college magazine. She says that they were not very good stories; probably, though she had the artist's imagination, she did not have the artist's training. At any rate, she did little more with her recollections just now. Perhaps they were still too fresh in her mind. Some art is "emotion recollected in tranquillity."

On leaving college in 1895 Miss Cather in her early maturity did many interesting things. She made connections with the *Pittsburg Leader*

and learned something of the journalist's art of translating immediate experiences into words; she traveled about in this country and abroad and laid up a store of impressions that she might like to put into words later; she became a teacher of English in the Allegheny High School and coördinated for the purpose of teaching her recollections and acquirements in English literature; she wrote verse and published a volume of poems; she even wrote some stories for *McClure's Magazine*, and, in fact, became assistant editor of that new and brilliant periodical. But in none of these activities did she find what seemed to be her natural and necessary work in life, and more than ten years passed before she did anything that more than indicated what she really was about to do. Then, in 1910, feeling that she was able to cease these active employments for a time, she took a house in Cherry Valley, New York, and began to think over what more permanent work she could do.

She had already written poems, essays, stories. Now that she had leisure, however, she began upon a novel. It would seem that she had a definite idea in mind, that of a man who grew strong and successful but always with a recurrent weakness ("dram of eale")² and whose work also, though strong and successful, had a secret flaw, which finally led to the destruction of his work and him. This was a general idea; it was something that might have taken place anywhere and at any time. Miss Cather thought of a figure that should embody her idea, of an engineer who built great bridges in the West, and wrote her novel—*Alexander's Bridge* (1912).

Like many first novels it came forth quite unobserved. It was clear to Miss Cather that she had not found her real vocation. In thinking over her book she may have decided to do something quite different. This first novel had had a definite idea which had made a definite story. But in college she had read and greatly admired Henry James, who in the most beautiful of his earlier works had been content to imagine the figure of a young woman desirous of the best in life, and to let the development of her character and her idea make the rest of the novel. Since that time she had read Turgenev, who had told Henry James that something of the sort had been sufficient in his mind for the structure of his own stories. Miss Cather may have thought of these examples. Her especial field, she may well have thought to herself in her house at Cherry Valley, had not lain in the working out of a moral problem, as in *Alexander's Bridge*. Others had already done that supremely well. Her own field lay elsewhere; it lay in the remembrances that crowded to her mind when she thought of her early days in Nebraska. Here where everything was American she was often reminded even of the differences of those early days in which she had heard so much of the frontier settlers and

²Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, act I, scene 4, line 36.

of which some rugged old survivors had been so well known to her. From her recollections of those days arose figures fit for fiction. From her reading came a title—"O Pioneers." Her next book (1913) was the story of a little girl who had grown to womanhood in that country she had known so well. That country "might seem little and dull to some, but to her it was large and full of variety."⁸ Her imagination created the figure of Alexandra, one of those Swedish immigrants who on coming to this country had passed quickly through the cities of the East and spread out on the then interminable prairies of the West. She must have had the keenest enjoyment in her work; she had to imagine, to create, but they did not exist in a vacuum; they had their life along with a crowd of other figures which arose in memories and recollections of the past. In some such way her second novel came into being, was written and published, and although it received but slight welcome (it has since been sought for) Miss Cather must have felt that here, finally, she was on ground more nearly her own.

Although her first two novels had brought her no wide recognition Miss Cather turned happily, we can hardly doubt, to the fashioning of a third. *O Pioneers* had shown her, if no one else, her proper field. Yet as she thought over this untilled field, she can hardly have failed to see that it had certain very definite limitations. All these people who came to her mind were people of one sort—they were people who lived the practical life. It was not that they were all farmers or farmers' wives; that was not so very important. But they were people who concerned themselves with material things (as we all do) and cared little or nothing for anything else. There were none or few among them who knew anything about those things that Miss Cather herself had lately found so interesting, music, painting, poetry—they knew nothing of the larger world of achievement, of art, of science. Miss Cather herself had left that narrower world, and she now asked herself how it would have been if she had not. It had been marvelously exciting to ride about among the settlers, to bring them their mail and see them carry on all the occupations of a settler's life. It had been sufficient stimulus for six or seven years, but would it have been enough for a lifetime? Miss Cather herself had passed from that limited life to the wider, freer life of art and thought and action. She began to think of one who really belonged to that prairie frontier life and yet who was of a nature that demanded a larger field to express itself. And so there was created the figure of Thea Kronborg, a little girl in Moonstone in eastern Colorado who became a great singer. She called this, her third novel, *The Song of the Lark* (1915), having in mind a picture by Jules Breton, which

⁸Cather, Willa. *One of Ours*, N.Y., 1922, p. 255. Used by permission of the publishers, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

presented a peasant woman pausing in her work to listen to the silver notes of the lark in the sky above.

About this time she moved to New York, where she found she could work better than anywhere else. Like Henry James she did not like to work in a place that continually gave her new impressions. Many other places, abroad for instance, were more charming than New York, but their very charm distracted her mind from the things that made the stuff of her imagination. In New York things reminded her of them, and she settled in Greenwich Village, where, or nearby, she lived for many years, writing four or five months in the year, enjoying the music of the great city, walking in its streets and parks, and seeing those of its people who were congenial to her.

Some novelists, even while they are writing one novel begin to think of another. So it was with George Eliot, who, while she was writing *The Mill on the Floss*, became aware of the figure of an old weaver bending under the load of his finished work, who did not belong to the story of Tom and Maggie. So it must have been with Thackeray when (as has been said) he wrote the last words of one novel and then took a fresh piece of paper and wrote the first words of a new one. So it may have been with Miss Cather, for we may now think of her along with the great masters of her art. She had written of that life which she knew so well as a child in Nebraska. She had also written of one who even in the days of that early pioneer life had felt the urging of another life, the life of art. But while she had thus written there had been in her mind the figure of one who, born in that same limited farm life on the prairie had felt no urging to go beyond it, but had lived that life to the utmost. *My Antonia* (1918), her next novel, was the story of a Bohemian woman who had remained on her farm, had managed it and extended it, had borne twelve children, and had become one of the chief figures in her little world. This book brought Miss Cather fuller recognition than she had hitherto known. It was not extraordinarily popular, not a "best-seller." But it had been looked forward to by the readers of *The Song of the Lark*, it was widely read and reviewed, it was found wholly satisfying even by those who had expected the best, and with it Miss Cather became, almost suddenly, well known in the world of letters.

But at this time, at the very glow of her first powers, had come that fierce and violent interruption of all the business of the world, the Great War. At first, long before America had any active part in it, it absorbed the minds of many even in far away Nebraska. Then, as the intensity of the first impression gradually dissolved, it began to affect all sorts of things with which it had seemed to have no connection. It affected, for instance, the old Nebraska frontier or what had been a frontier and which even now

was but just a settled country. It was not remarkable that it affected Miss Cather's ideas and imaginations. Her next book began (as had become her habit) in that Western country, but it began with one who felt (as Thea Kronborg had felt) that that Western country, so free and open to the eye, was but narrow and limited to the spirit—that even the rich prosperity of the Nebraska country was not enough. Claude Wheeler had his father's farm and was married, but neither farm nor wife was sufficient, though he could not have definitely said what more he needed. But two opportunities came at once; his wife left him to care for a sick sister in China, and America entered the war. Claude enlisted and went to France. Here Miss Cather had a figure something like Thea Kronborg. But Thea had been left at the beginning of a great career. Miss Cather followed Claude Wheeler across the seas and told of his life in the Army and his death. In this she was leaving the method she had made her own, and *One of Ours* (1922) has been adversely criticized for that reason. Yet her effort to deal with conditions other than those supplied by her memory was not unsuccessful, for this book was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for its year.

Miss Cather's next books were not so very different from those which had gone before. The subject varied somewhat, but the suggestion came from the same source. In *A Lost Lady* (1923) Miss Cather presented not a sturdy Scandinavian or Bohemian farmer's wife, but the charming and beautiful wife of an old railroad-contractor, stranded in his advancing years in a Kansas town, while the railway which he had labored to bring so far had gone on beyond him across the continent. Mrs. Forrester was too good, perhaps, for the life around her. Miss Cather, severely realistic in her manner, always presents that life as dull, uninspiring, limiting to the casual or unimaginative eye. Some few can accept it like Alexandra and Antonia, and triumph over it. But others like Thea and Claude find themselves almost stifled or benumbed. Mrs. Forrester was of this number, but instead of finding an escape from the limiting conditions which surrounded her, she remained where she was and found freedom only in the life of emotion and passion.

A Lost Lady was well received and was by many thought Miss Cather's best book so far. At any rate, it added to her reputation, which was such that in 1932 she had the curious experience of being made doctor of literature and having her name inscribed in the number of honorary graduates of Yale University. Except in the strictest interpretation of the words there were few more worthy of the title, for while Miss Cather had been a teacher of literature but a few years, there were not many who had a better acquaintance with the practical laws of the art of letters. In earlier times the appearance of a woman among the honorary doctors would have been an excep-

tional sight, but when all wore gowns, distinguished only by the colors and hoods of their different grades, Miss Cather appeared merely as she was, one among her equals, men of distinction in literature, scholarship, or action.

In her next book, *The Professor's House* (1925), Miss Cather made something of a change. Her chief figures were no longer representative of the prairie country she had so nearly at heart. The hero was a professor at a great Midwestern university. Another element in the story was a little different; Thea Kronborg had found an opening in the limitations of Moonstone in the Mexican music of Spanish Johnny, which had pointed to the Southwest, and later in the book her stay in the ancient homes of the Ancient People of Arizona had been the most powerful quickener of her artistic powers. In this new book Miss Cather again presented in one of its parts this supreme attraction of the Southwest. Under the name of the Blue Mesa was given an impression of that old Pueblo life, of which so many strange remnants remain.

This was something which had been long in Miss Cather's mind as the subject of a novel. She paused for a moment while it was taking form in her thoughts to write a shorter sketch, *My Mortal Enemy* (1926), a slight figure in a new field, namely New York. But her real interest in these years was in a character which had been gradually forming in her mind as representative of the old life in Spanish America. It was a departure from her usual method; heretofore she had at least begun with some suggestion supplied by her own recollection. Now she began to create figures and incidents which should illustrate something which she knew from having heard of it. She may have not felt perfectly clear even as to whether she was writing a novel; she may merely have said to herself (as a well-known biographer had said to his readers), that it was her desire to create something in the spirit of the novelist rather than that of the historian or the critic. The fundamental facts would be true, but they were to be ordered so as to give the feeling that would be proper to a novel. The reader was not to expect erudition or analysis, but something quite the reverse of both, a series of deeply felt and poignant impressions so grouped as to make a lasting effect. Whatever Miss Cather thought herself, her book was not essentially different from her earlier works except in subject matter. Those books had been stories of the lives of one or another figure, which had arisen in her mind as she looked back to the days of her girlhood or her life at the university. The material for this book was supplied by the facts of history. The method, however, was the same. In neither case did we have a definite and continuous chronicle of fact; we had rather such incidents and circumstances as would best bring out the character as she had conceived it. The appointment of Father Latour (so her figure was named) to the

vicariate of New Mexico, his reaching Santa Fe and becoming acquainted with his new sphere of life, his broadening journeys, to Isleta, Laguna, and Acoma to the south, to the Navajo country on the west, to Taos on the north; his plans for building his cathedral, his last years of reflection—that is somewhere in the way of a natural course of events. But in no case did Miss Cather feel bound to detail the facts as a biographer. It was her purpose to choose only characteristic figures and incidents, so that the character of the great missionary bishop should emerge from her book rather than that the facts of his life should there be found to be consulted by those interested.

Death Comes for the Archbishop (1927) is generally regarded as Miss Cather's greatest achievement. It was awarded a gold medal by the American Academy as the best piece of fiction of its time, and it was also a popular book, widely sold and read. It is the book of Miss Cather's that is generally known, and if it be the one that is longest remembered she will hardly have cause to complain, for it is the fruit of her greatest as well as her most characteristic powers.

Naturally the expectations aroused by *Death Comes for the Archbishop* called for another remarkable piece of work, nor were they disappointed. *Shadows on the Rock* (1931) is more like its immediate forerunner than their predecessors. It is a historical, not a realistic book. After writing of the great French missionary to New Mexico, Miss Cather seems to have thought of the French in other parts of America; this book is a re-creation of the life of Quebec in the days of Frontenac. What makes the book in some degree like the earlier novels is that life is seen through the eyes of a little girl, as Willa Cather in the days of her girlhood had seen the life of the prairie farms of Nebraska. In the course of the year the life of Cecile Auclair brought her into relation with many people in Quebec from the highest to the lowest; she borrowed twenty sous from the old Bishop to buy candles at the desire of little Jacques, the son of the ne'er-do-well, and when she visited Count Frontenac she chatted with her friend Giorgio, the drummer-boy. To her father's shop came all sorts of people, Bishop Saint Vallier and Father Hector Saint Cyr, the missionary priest, Antoine Frichette the voyageur, and Pierre Charron the *coureur-de-bois*. Into the old apothecary's shop, so redolent of the life of old France, came constantly these breaths of fresh air from the New World. The little girl saw others too—people of all sorts—Blinker, the bit of the world's flotsam washed up on the rock of Quebec, the Reverend Mother Juschereau of the Hotel Dieu, M. Pommier, the shoemaker and his wife, Captain Pontdaveau of Le Faucon. And she heard of still others—of Jeanne Lebar, the recluse, who saw no one but lived a life of prayer, and of Catherine de Saint Augustin, who had in earlier days been Reverend Mother at the Hotel Dieu. There were not

many elements of the Canadian life in those early days of which the little girl had not a glimpse.

Such has been the life of Willa Cather so far, a life of exciting experience and quiet work, of adequate achievement and due honor.⁴

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⁴In 1935 Miss Cather wrote *Lucy Gayheart*, which was followed in 1936 by *Not Under Forty*, a collection of essays, and, as this book went to press, *Sapphira and the Slave Girl*, 1940, for which Miss Cather went back to Virginia where she lived as a little girl.—Ed.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

by

FREDRIC P. WOELLNER



GOOD HOUSEKEEPING a few years ago set itself to the task of listing America's twelve greatest living women. A jury of five distinguished men was asked to determine the selection of names after a careful analysis of the enthusiastic claims of the numerous supporters of their respective candidates. In certain particulars, the undertaking proved less difficult than at first was expected. For instance, the frequency of certain names demanded their inclusion on the final list. At the very outset, too, it became apparent that one name could not be ignored. That name rode serenely and undisturbed into increasing prominence. A much smaller list would have only intensified its importance. It was the name of Carrie Chapman Catt.

There were many reasons for the spectacular showing of Mrs. Catt. Perhaps the best ones are in connection with her long and successful struggle for woman's suffrage. Her entrance into the movement, her skillful mobilization of every civic power for the furtherance of the one specific objective and the cumulative success that ended in the passing of the Nineteenth Amendment, are replete with thrilling stories of human interest scarcely found outside the world of fiction. The dramatic aspects of her devotion and ingenuity need to be studied. They should be presented in some classic form. Less significant movements have been exploited; less worthy personalities have been fanned into literary immortality.

Mrs. Catt is frequently designated as a pioneer in the woman's movement. In the strict sense of the word, she was more of a promoter than a pioneer. A decade before she was born, a definite step had been taken to articulate the growing tendency of affording increased political opportunities to the women of the country. Conventions and organizations multiplied before she was old enough to take intelligent and active interest in them. However, when the movement began to lose some of its initial momentum, when apathy or discouragement began to follow in the wake of increasing defeats, Mrs. Catt was there with a new type of leadership. She came into her own when the suffrage wave had reached a low ebb. Her work from that time on gave the appearance of pioneering. In the sense of a reviver of a losing cause she may well be considered a pioneer.

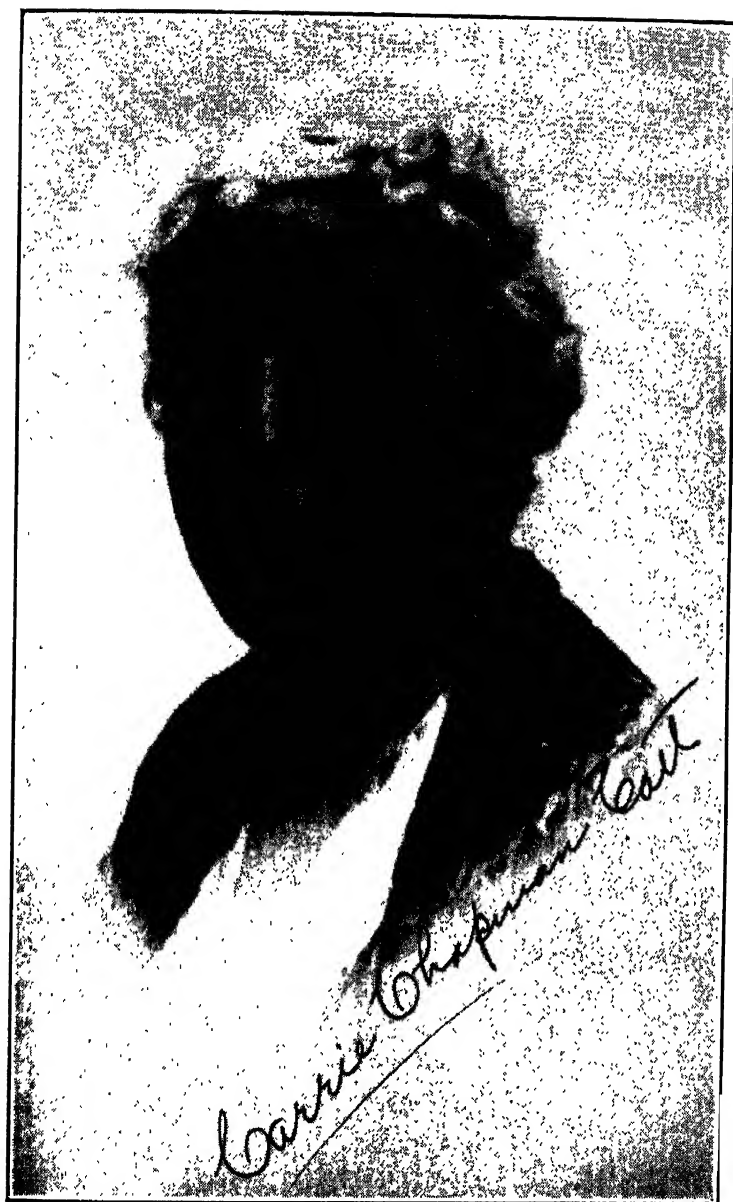
The National American Woman's Suffrage Association, in convention assembled on February 15, 1900, almost unanimously elected Mrs. Catt

president. She thereby assumed the active leadership of a group that had been directed for over a half century by two capable women. Both Miss Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton had set standards of initiative, fearlessness, integrity, and efficiency that were not easy to grasp or to follow. Noble traditions were thoroughly entrenched. It was not deemed sufficiently worthy to get votes for the women. Victory could only be won by remaining true to the very best in American womanhood. It is astonishing how little the arguments of expediency and compromise counted with these leaders.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was only thirty-two years of age when she called the first recorded public meeting for the expressed purpose of considering woman's rights. That meeting in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, made more history than was involved in the initial step toward the Nineteenth Amendment. Definite advancements were made toward the complete emancipation of women. There was formed a Declaration of Sentiments that followed the spirit, form, and worthy reputation of the Declaration of Independence. The radical aspects of both documents are apt to be forgotten in the years following the adoption of their provisions. But at the time of their formation and acceptance both declarations were shocks to the finer sensibilities of the more timorous members of the commonwealth.

There were more meetings and declarations during the ensuing years. Sporadic attempts to organize the women marked the following decade. Sensational developments occasionally were manifest. Public speakers were seldom modest in their criticisms of the new woman. After reading the report of the press and pulpit in the voluminous *History of Woman Suffrage*, one marvels at the courage of the early pioneers. They were successful in but one particular. They were laying good foundations—better than they could appraise when defeats met them at every turn. The opposition was always sufficiently potent to threaten resignation and despair.

The good women of the country, intent upon winning the franchise, could organize, hold meetings, propagate their principles, patriotically suspend action during civil war, and even labor for the enfranchisement of Negro slaves while forgetting their own desires. They could unify their efforts. They could use moral persuasion or storm the fort. They could not, however, win one state legislature or move the national Congress. The years passed by without one political advance. There is hardly a worthier movement in our history that had such a difficult time getting started. Few movements of such importance as this one had to struggle so long before there was any definite assurance of ultimate victory.



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CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

On May 15, 1869, a meeting was called in New York City to unite all the organizations interested in the franchise for women. At that meeting was formed the National Woman's Suffrage Association. Its purpose was definitely stated in a single objective. Mrs. Stanton was elected president. Miss Susan B. Anthony, devoted to the movement since 1852, was made the chairman of the Executive Board. The struggle entered upon the second phase of its development. Persistent efforts were now made to organize all their powers into one fighting unit. The work continued unabated for twenty-two years under Mrs. Stanton, after which Miss Susan B. Anthony took over the control as the second president.

Miss Anthony had been the leader of the movement long before her presidency. Her chairmanship of the Executive Board was so ordered as to make her presidency a matter of a mere change in name. However, with this turn of events came new hopes. Victory was beginning to crown her efforts. Wyoming in 1890, Colorado in 1893, Utah in 1895, and Idaho in 1896, granted suffrage to women. With undiminished fervor she applied her voice and pen to the task of winning more states. It was only on her eightieth birthday, February 15, 1900, strong still in mind and body, that she led Mrs. Catt to the platform, before the great convention of that year, with these words, "Here you have my ideal leader." And so the third champion of women's rights took the lead in a political enterprise of fifty years.

The elevation of Mrs. Catt to the presidency resulted from years of active interest in the woman's struggle on the franchise. In 1890 she had been made an organizer in the National Association. In that capacity she gained an experience with local units which later stood her in good stead. In 1895 she accompanied Miss Anthony on a tour of the South. At the Atlanta convention of that year she accepted the chairmanship of the permanent Committee on Organization and Campaign. Her work as chairman of this Committee for the five following years won her unquestioned prestige.

More money was raised and expended by this committee in its first year than by the Association as a whole. Soon every state in the Union had its auxiliary association. Foundations were extended and completed. The woman power of the nation was brought to a place where effective manipulation was possible. Mrs. Catt had already completed the most intensive period of her life, and from many angles her most successful one, as the nineteenth century was beginning to pass.

Mrs. Catt brought new impetus to the struggle. After four years of undivided devotion to the high aim and traditions of her predecessors, she was forced to resign in favor of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who led the Association for eleven years. In those years Mrs. Catt regained her health

and sought to extend her efforts on a wider plan. She organized and became president of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance. As president of the international organization she could labor in a double capacity. She could make a world-movement of the woman's struggle for franchise as well as aid Dr. Shaw in the United States. These efforts could be made to augment each other. Since the outlook for immediate franchise in the United States was little brighter than before, these two great leaders could continue to refine their strategic technique. They began to see the difference between postponement and defeat. They began to see that it was only a matter of time when women everywhere would come into their own.

Their continued organization for woman-suffrage made a political issue of it by 1915. The whole country became aroused. California in 1911, Kansas, Oregon, and Arizona in 1912, and Nevada and Montana in 1914 joined in the procession of suffrage states. The climax in this triumphant march came in 1915 when Woodrow Wilson announced his conversion to woman's suffrage. He was the first president of the United States to state a definite affirmative position. New hopes arose. New life was required in the administrative leadership. Mrs. Catt was then drafted to lead the Association in its last offensive against Washington. She was prepared to begin her second presidential term which brought her the fruits of personal aggrandizement and the victory of her cause.

During her first term of years, Mrs. Catt spent her time reviving an interest in women's rights. The victories were so scattered and meager that by 1900 the movement had almost come to a standstill. She energized what she found. She went about preaching the need for an organized army of workers, and anyone who ever heard her never lost opportunity to broadcast the virtues of the message and the messenger. Her ease of expression, her avalanches of facts and compelling logic reinforced her sincerity and the strength of her position. In many ways this was her best work. It was this which brought her such great renown.

She began her second term of presidential years with great hope. Eleven states had granted the franchise to women. Illinois soon favored the legality of a legislature's giving to women a vote for presidential electors. In 1917 the great offensive began in dead earnest. Suffrage was extended to fifteen more states. New York turned the defeat of 1915 into the victory of 1917 by the largest majority ever gained. In the next year, Michigan, South Dakota, and Oklahoma took women from the list of imbeciles, offenders, and dependents. The time had come for national action.

Mrs. Catt not only had to enlist, organize, and train workers, but also to finance the movement. Often the movement lacked nothing but funds. As another demonstration of her varied abilities, she executed the legacy of

Mrs. Frank Leslie. She managed the estate in such a way as to leave over a million dollars. With this huge sum the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission was incorporated with herself as chairman. Offices were established in New York City in the same building that housed the National Association. Headquarters were opened in Washington. Astute observers were beginning to see the futility of further obstructing the inevitable outcome.

However, there were still many heart-breaking disappointments to be encountered. On two occasions the Senate defeated by narrow margins amendments passed overwhelmingly by the House. Every once in a while a politician failed to measure up to expectations. Betrayals were not lacking. How often did the woman's amendment seem so close to and yet so far from adoption! Skill and practice were now more necessary than ever before. It was at such trying moments that Mrs. Catt demonstrated her mastery of men and events.

In the meantime nothing was left undone to insure success. One would do well to read the fifth volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*. Mass meetings were held in every state. Outdoor speaking and street parades kept the matter before the public eye. Clever leaders argued the case before committees of Congress or lobbied with individual members. Through it all passed the spirit of the great leader. Mrs. Catt gave direction and zeal to every bit of detail. The vote was just around the corner.

On June 4, 1919, Congress sent to the various states the federal amendment, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." These were the very words used by Senator A. A. Sargent in 1878. The words and spirit were carried through forty years of stress and strain. It was now for a few remaining states to decide the issue.

Everything which could have happened to prolong the fight did happen. 1920 happened to prove an "off-year." Few legislatures were to meet. A notion prevailed that the presidential election must not be complicated by the newly enfranchised. The complacent "we need not rush the inevitable" began to supercharge the air. There were moves and counter moves in the political game. However, the temper of Mrs. Catt and her associates was discounted. Things happened in spite of themselves.

Special legislative sessions were called. The coming presidential elections were used to accelerate action instead of retarding it. The "off-year" was changed from a liability to an asset. The fight was carried into every state that was needed for adoption. Tennessee swung into line. The battle was won. On August 26, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was declared a part of the Constitution.

In "The Winning of the Vote," Mrs. Ida Husted Harper reminds us that when the fifty-one years' continuous work of the National American Woman Suffrage Association ended with the convention held in Chicago in February 1920, on the centenary of Susan B. Anthony's birth, the assembled women could look back on an unblotted record: its aims were achieved by direct and legal means, by outstanding people of character, who never stooped to cheap political means in gaining their victory—a victory which will grow in the minds of their descendants through the years to come.

The final adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment was largely due to the political strategy perfected by Mrs. Catt. As far back as 1909 she had organized the Woman Suffrage Party in New York City along the lines of the two dominant political parties. Her followers were ready for action in every precinct. The defeat of 1915 led to such refinement of this precinct technique as to make success in 1917 inevitable. Other states adopted the same policy with similar results. Many believe that it was this method that "turned the trick."

Mrs. Catt proved to be a great political technician. She knew how to refine procedures in the light of the party practices. Without sacrificing her ideals or swaying from the single objective set before her, she was able to devise ways and means of keeping women (and men, too) aroused, determined, and united. It is little wonder that *Pictorial Review* in 1930 awarded her the annual \$5,000 prize for distinguished service to the country. This was just another deserved recognition of her vital contribution to the progress of the nation.

Previous mention was made of the international interests of Mrs. Catt. She became known in every civilized land as the world's suffrage leader. She was the president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance for twenty years (1904-1924) and was its honorary president upon her retirement. The association began with five nations. When she retired it included thirty-two nations. In twenty-eight of these, women had been enfranchised. In 1911-1912 she made a trip around the world to study the conditions of women. She carried on her program on land and sea. Her addresses and organizing genius were demonstrated on four continents. The remotest places began to feel her influence. She had become a social missionary whose field was the world.

When the Pan-American Conference of Women met in Baltimore, 1920, Mrs. Catt was made honorary president. Later she became acting president of the organization. In that capacity she had visited almost every country in South America. She not only aided the women there but incidentally strengthened the ties between them and their other American sisters. Everywhere were women arising to call her blessed. Her international efforts

brought her recognition in at least twenty countries. Presidents and premiers sought her counsel. Royalty received her. She became a world-character of distinction.

Mrs. Catt is closely indetified with many international movements. Her name is prominently associated with several nonpartisan, liberal organizations, educational foundations, peace and disarmament societies. In 1925 she called the first Conference on the Cause and Cure of War in Washington, D. C. This Conference developed into an annual effort embracing eleven large women's organizations with the combined membership of many millions.

Only the social engineering skill of such a woman as Mrs. Catt could unite all these varied organizations of divergent beliefs, objectives, and methods of procedure: American Association of University Women, Council of Women for Home Missions, Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, National Council of Jewish Women, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National League of Women Voters, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, National Women's Conference of American Ethical Union, and the National Women's Trade Union League. The integration of these associations into one definite unit for the furthering of world-peace bespeaks a quality of rare genius in the leader.

The educational influences of these conferences on war are beyond estimation. The delegates to them gain the information which they carry to the remotest areas of the country. The general conference is constantly reverberating its sentiments in the ensuing local meetings. The method of the general conference is pursued in those meetings. Every city, town, village, and rural district in the country is influenced by, and then influences, the national conference. Over a fifth of the adult women in the United States are already included in this peace effort.

Today she continues her work for women. As president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, she was one of eight national leaders who signed the call for the Women's Centennial Congress meeting in New York City in November 1940. This Congress was held one hundred years after the refusal of the first Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London, to seat Lucretia Mott and seven other American women delegates. Indignation over this treatment was the beginning of the movement for women's rights in America. Mrs. Catt urged women attending the Centennial Congress, which commemorated the century of organized effort to end discrimination against women, "to make the aim of the next hundred years' plan the abolition of war."

Mrs. Catt is not a pacifist. She is an advocate of peace—of a program of study that may lead to the establishment of a world beyond the possibilities of armed conflict. She herself has acknowledged the discovery of some 257 causes of war with at least as many specific cures of potential values. However the uninitiated may judge her in this work, she has employed a scientific method and a democratic principle which could be more widely applied. There is nothing in her attack upon social problems to warrant one in calling her radical. She is just a fearless leader of "the middle-of-the-road groups" intent upon ordered progress. There never was a finer demonstration of the conscious guidance and control of social processes than is here represented.

The personality of this genius is best revealed through the study of these various women's movements. Mrs. Catt is best seen as an animated principle. The energy, devotion, varied abilities, and long-postponed but inevitable successes of her long career place her foremost among distinguished women of the world. Her honors multiply with her prominence. Iowa State College, University of Wyoming, and Smith College have given her honorary degrees. The women crown her queen of suffrage and empress of women's rights.

The philosophy of Mrs. Catt is amply expounded in her numerous literary efforts. In conjunction with Nettie Rogers Shuler, she produced *Woman Suffrage and Politics* (1923). This volume tells the whole story of the long struggle for woman-suffrage from the point of view of parliamentary technique. The lucid style, the profound grasp of the fundamental issues in a modern dynamic democracy, and the human-interest motives manifesting their potency on every page, make this volume a definite contribution to political history.

A survey of her magazine articles indicates the broad and profound interests of Mrs. Catt. "Can the Church Stop War?" (*World Tomorrow*, June 1931); "If Not Prohibition, What?" (*Woman's Journal*, July 1930); "The Chemise Problem" (*Woman's Citizen*, July 1926); and "Elements in a Constructive Foreign Policy" (*Annals of the American Academy*, July 1927) are but a few of the numerous efforts that indicate the sweep of her majestic mind. Few women have her power to assemble such wealth of material, organize it in such a masterful manner, and present it in such an inspirational and informative manner as she. Her writings remind one of Plato's "nothing that is human is foreign to me." She seems to grasp the significance of everything from the meaning of a passing fad to the compelling force of a world-movement.

Through all these varied efforts runs a delightful humor of sufficient

potency to make the reader desire a better acquaintance with her writings. She knows how to say things!

Mrs. Catt has been called the star of the Pleiades. The figure is not apt for one who has always been in the thickest of every fray. She is the star of empire, ever moving toward wider areas of supremacy. Any figure of speech, however, is likely to obscure the one significant fact of her long and worthy life. Flowery words of commendation conceal a woman who fearlessly set her face in the direction of challenging obstacles. She deliberately chose to attack some of those difficulties. An adverse fate, intent upon exacting its toll of sorrow and disappointment thrust others before her. From either approach her path was never an easy one. Lesser souls would have been overwhelmed. Even a brief sketch of her life illustrates her steadfast determination to meet the issues of life.

She was born in Ripon, Wisconsin, January 9, 1859, of sturdy American stock, given to dirt-farming. After a year in the public schools of the city, her family moved to Iowa. She attended the public schools of Charles City and was graduated at the Iowa State Agricultural College, a land-grant institution at Ames. By working in the library of the college, she was able to meet the expenses of those trying college years and, incidentally, to get acquainted with those aspects of life which are known only to those "who work their way through." She confessed later that above everything else she learned scientific method from Darwin's *Origin of the Species*. Her application of that lesson to social problems is not the least of her contributions to civilization. Her association of scientific principle with the genial spirit of democracy and the creative impulse make her a worthy study of how social forces are to be controlled and directed. One can profit by her experiences.

After graduation she studied law in the lawyers' offices of the town. She then tried her hand at teaching. Ere long she became the principal of the high school at Mason City, Iowa, and then its first woman superintendent of schools. Her interest in masculine fields led many to wonder, "What is this world coming to?" Her demonstrated answer left little doubt in the mind—it is coming into its own. Women are people, too!

At this stage in the game of life, it is difficult to understand the prejudices against the woman who sought a career beyond the narrow confines of the home. But we must remember that the home once occupied a greater place in the economy of life. When the place of woman was more prescribed, wild theories were accepted as facts. People did not know that there were greater variations within either sex than between them. The skepticism of men was increased by the paucity of demonstrated evidence. The few women who were bold enough to make an attempt at self-express-

sion were not always producing convincing effects. The whole feminine outlook was beclouded by bits of superstition, prejudice, and obvious difficulties. Mrs. Catt had to show her capacity for punishment. The public had to be convinced.

There is a tragic note in her private life which deepened and, I believe, sweetened her whole existence. In 1885 she married Leo Chapman, a promising newspaperman of San Francisco. After his death the following year she plunged into the business life of the city. Her sympathetic heart compelled her to become more interested in business and professional women than in herself. Her social-centric personality would express itself.

In 1890 she married George Catt, a civil engineer of Seattle. Fate again conspired against her. After his death in 1904 she was even freer to widen her interest. She carried her message to the very ends of the earth.

Carrie Chapman Catt is a born leader in appearance, as well as in achievement. She is calm, composed, and radiates a benevolent spirituality which is impossible to define. Only her good friends know the depth of the affection and emotion which lie behind her serene exterior. She has always had a natural hunger for information. She has shown an amazing ability to absorb vast quantities of facts, to digest them, and then to draw upon them for deductions, authority, and illustration whenever she has need of them. Women in America owe much to this great woman—the animation of a principle that harmonizes the dearest rights, the most sacred obligations, and the loftiest dignities of womanhood.

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CHARLES G. DAWES

by

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE

THE life of Charles G. Dawes exemplifies to an unusual extent the quality of versatility as well as the ability to do acceptably tasks undertaken. Mentally keen and direct in his approach to the solution of problems, Dawes effectively executes tasks at hand. Such traits of character are seen clearly in his career as civil engineer, lawyer, banker, politician, soldier, government executive, vice-president of the United States, and American ambassador to Great Britain. Sometimes engaged in several of these activities at one time he has gained success and won distinction to a greater degree than most men.

Charles Gates Dawes, born August 27, 1865, at Marietta, Ohio, of an old Massachusetts family, was the son of Rufus R. Dawes and Mary Gates Dawes. Educated in the public schools of Marietta and at Marietta College, where he graduated in 1884, he also attended the Cincinnati Law School, receiving his degree there in 1886. Admitted to the bar in the same year, he began the practice of law in Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1887. On January 24, 1889, he married Miss Caro D. Blymyer of Cincinnati. Rufus Fearing Dawes, their first child, died in 1912. A daughter, now Mrs. Carolyn Ericson, lives in Evanston, Illinois. Two children have been adopted into the Dawes family.

Until 1894 Dawes remained at Lincoln where he became interested in public utilities and real estate in the Middle West. It was during his residence in Lincoln that he became acquainted with two men whose later influence, like his own, was to be important in American history: William Jennings Bryan and John J. Pershing.

In 1894 Dawes moved to Evanston, Illinois. In 1896 he received his introduction into national politics through Mark Hanna. Dawes' energetic guidance of the McKinley fight in Illinois resulted in the instruction by the state convention of all its delegates to the Republican national convention for McKinley. After McKinley's nomination by the St. Louis convention, Dawes was made a member of the executive committee of the Republican national organization, and in this capacity helped in the fight against his former Nebraska friend, Bryan. Appointed by McKinley comptroller of the currency, Dawes took office January 1, 1897, remaining until September 30, 1901. Already known for energy and

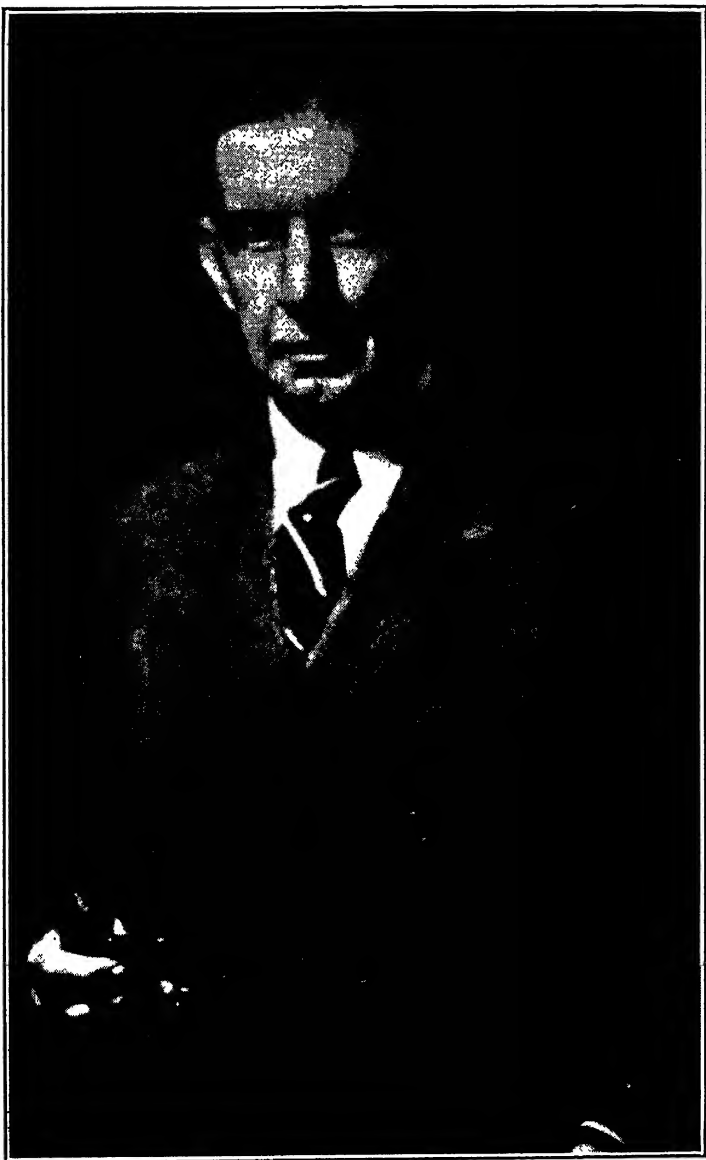
efficiency he carried on the duties of his office in characteristic fashion and effected a desired economy in its conduct. In 1901 Dawes returned to private life and organized the Central Trust Company of Illinois, of which he was president until 1921, and of which he was chairman of the board from 1921 to 1925.

When America entered the World War in 1917, Dawes, although then fifty-two years of age, volunteered for service in the artillery. He was passed for age, but obtained a commission as major in the Seventeenth Engineers. Before sailing for France he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. By education and experience in railroad construction he was fitted for the work assigned and soon after arrival in France he was drafted by his old friend, then General Pershing, to head the work of the General Purchasing Board of the American Expeditionary Force. The success with which Dawes handled this work brought him a colonelcy in January, 1918, and in October of that year the rank of brigadier-general.

After the armistice he was made a member of the Liquidation Commission of the American Expeditionary Force and of the Liquidation Board of the War Department, in which capacities he arranged for the settlement of claims against the government and for the liquidation of the huge mass of supplies accumulated in France by the Army, which were sold for a sum of approximately \$400,000,000. Occupied with this important task he remained in France until August, 1919, when he resigned his commission in the Army and returned to America. For his work in the war he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal by the United States, and he also received decorations from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium.

Upon returning home he resumed his duties as president of the Central Trust Company. But private life could not keep him aloof from public interests. In 1921 he was called to Washington to testify before a legislative committee investigating the costs of the war. By this testimony he achieved a personal triumph of no mean magnitude.

In 1921 President Harding tentatively offered him the post of secretary of the treasury, which he refused, but later he became director of the budget. In this, a newly created position, Dawes found opportunity to introduce business methods into the administrative branch of the government as a whole, exercising wide powers since his activities involved a general supervision over the financial problems of every administrative department. His demand for departmental economies sometimes led to a setting aside of old and established regulations, but



CHARLES G. DAWES

coördinated governmental expenditures and coöperation from his associates and subordinates produced substantial economies and increased efficiency of operation. That these methods in government were effective is proved by the fact that he was able to work out a budget for the year 1923 calling for expenses which were \$467,000,000 less than the expenses for 1922 as estimated, and \$2,000,000,000 less than the actual expenses of 1921.

Private business from 1922 to 1924 chiefly claimed his attention, but in the latter year he was again drafted for a piece of work involving financial skills. He was appointed by the Reparations Commission to be a member of the Committee of Experts to devise a plan to balance the budget of Germany and stabilize its currency. Later he was chosen chairman of the Committee. The work of the Committee was given the name of the Dawes Plan, a piece of work held by President Coolidge as most important in the reconstruction of Europe. As a recognition of his services in the formulation of the Dawes Plan he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1925, jointly with Sir Austen Chamberlain of Great Britain. His share of the award amounted to approximately \$15,775, which he turned over to the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.

Prominent thus as business man, politician, government executive, and international negotiator, it was natural that Dawes should be considered for still higher honors in the national field. In 1924 he was nominated for vice-president by the Republican national convention as the running-mate of Coolidge who was a candidate for a second term. To the campaign Dawes introduced virility and color. Press and public forum predicted that he would bring power and leadership into an office frequently adjudged without influence and dominance. In March, 1925, Dawes' inaugural address included an arraignment of the Senate for the retention of rules of procedure. The function of the Senate as a debating body did not appeal to him as an agency to get things done in the most expeditious manner. He attempted reforms in procedure.

The approach of the presidential election of 1928 saw Dawes prominently mentioned as a candidate on the Republican party ticket. His availability was enhanced by his record on the question of farm-relief, a question important in the election. At the close of the Forty-ninth Congress he had helped in the passage of the McNary-Haugen bill for farm-relief and the Branch-Banking Law, by managing the trading of votes between the representatives of the farming and banking interests. This was counted upon to give him the support of both the agricultural

West and the business East. His fight on the Senate rules had brought him prominently before the country while holding the office of vice-president. In December, 1927, however, Dawes declared himself not in the running for the presidency, and came out for Frank O. Lowden, a friend of thirty years' standing. Upon the nomination of Hoover he gave him active support.

Soon after the inauguration of President Hoover in 1929, Dawes was appointed ambassador to Great Britain. As a delegate to the Five-Power Conference on naval reduction at London in January, 1930, he was largely instrumental in obtaining the Three-Power Naval Agreement reached in April of that year. His special knowledge of European finance was of great aid in connection with the negotiations on the moratorium for European war debts in 1931. He served as American representative in Paris during the negotiations of the Council of the League of Nations on the Manchurian crisis, December, 1931. He was also chosen to head the American delegation to the general disarmament conference at Geneva in February, 1932, a post which he did not fill.

In January, 1932, it was reported that he would resign his diplomatic post, the resignation to take effect at the close of the preliminary work of the Geneva Arms Conference. Soon thereafter, it was announced that he had retired as head of the American delegation to the Arms Conference, and had become head of the two-billion-dollar Reconstruction Finance Corporation. On February 2, 1932, Dawes was elected president of the Board of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He acted in this capacity until June, 1932, when he resigned to resume the direction of his business interests in Chicago, where he became chairman of the City National Bank and Trust Company.

In recent years Dawes' attention has turned increasingly to cultural interests. The question of religious toleration, problems in theoretical economics, as well as the organization and publication of his notes and memoirs, have recently engaged his attention.

In a speech given in December, 1934, he successfully predicted the time for the upswing in the durable goods industries, and in 1937 he followed this prediction with a book entitled, *How Long Prosperity?* Preceded by two books, *The Banking System of the United States*, 1892, and *Essays and Speeches*, 1915, the publication of his memoirs began in 1921 with *A Journal of the Great War*. Two years later he wrote *The First Year of the Budget of the United States*. In 1935 he resumed his memoirs with *Notes as Vice-President*, and in 1939 he brought out two volumes, *Journal as Ambassador to Great Britain*, with a foreword

by Herbert Hoover, and *A Journal of Reparations*, with foreword by Lord Josiah Stamp and H. Brüning.

As business man, public official, and politician, Charles G. Dawes has been a popular figure in the public eye. A love for music has made of him a well-known and accomplished musician who has to his credit compositions of melodic charm. He performs acceptably on flute, piano, and violin. His best-known composition, the *Melody in A*, has received wide acclaim. His library at Evanston, Illinois, contains over ten thousand volumes, with many English translations of ancient and medieval philosophers and moralists. Art has also played an important part in his life. Philanthropy and charity likewise have claimed his attention. As a memorial to his son the Rufus F. Dawes hotels in Boston and Chicago have been established to furnish food and lodging for a small sum to destitute men. He has provided a similar hotel for women in Chicago in memory of his mother.

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JOHN DEWEY

by

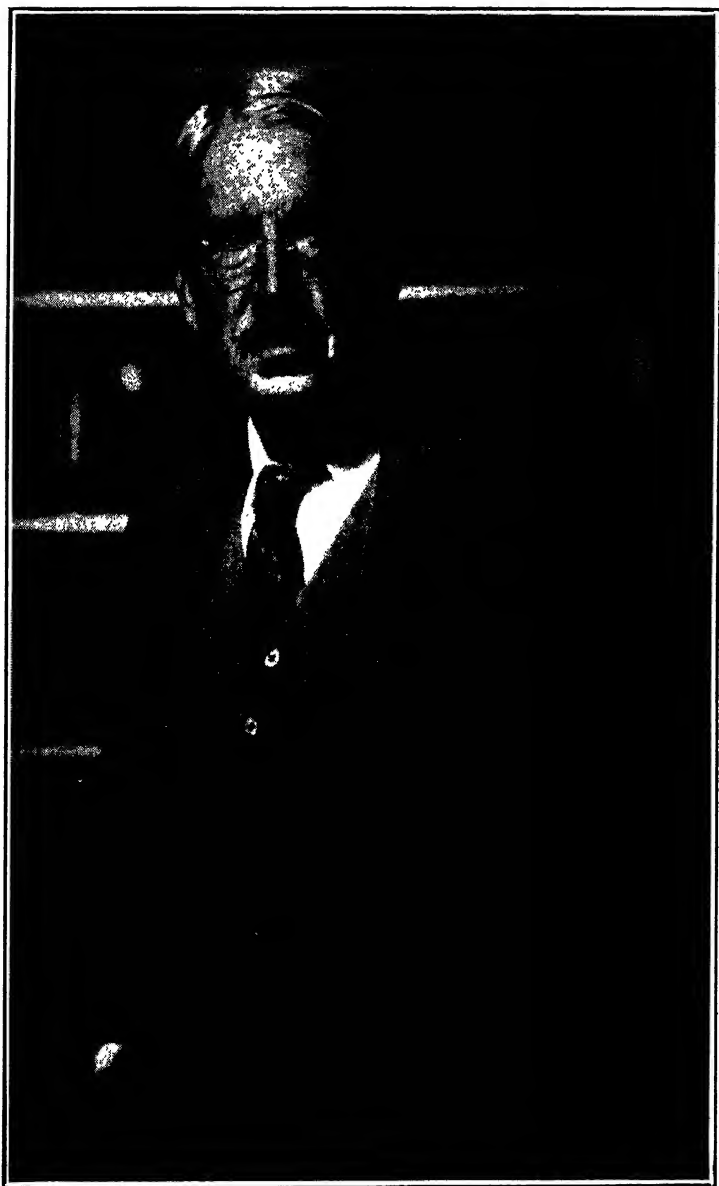
ERNEST CARROLL MOORE

HE American philosopher, John Dewey, was born at Burlington, Vermont, October 20, 1859. This statement of the place and time of his beginning serves the same purpose here that it does in every other biography. It locates the four-dimensional world with which he reacted, the world that shut him in and called him forth. To be born to a Puritan family in Vermont meant to inherit a shaping environment as well as a definite biological texture. It is Professor Dewey himself who has taught us that education begins at birth and goes on as long as life lasts. The battle which is waged between contenders for nature or for nurture as the shaper of human behavior is a struggle of academic extremists who pit their abstractions against each other. As long as living things can not be made to flourish in a vacuum the environment in which they grow must have some part in molding them. Just what that part is and what its quantitative relations are bids fair for long to elude discovery. Discriminative methods are yet to be found and applied. Until they are made to do their work heredity and environment must be looked upon as in partnership in the making of the person. If the color of the eyes and hair and the size of one's body come clearly through direct inheritance, it is equally clear that the language which one shall speak, the religious preferences he shall entertain and the political loyalties which he shall observe are those of his environment. He inherits them, to be sure, no less inescapably than he inherits his eyes and his hair, but he inherits them indirectly by being environed by them, by being born to a group that uses them. He gets them through the inevitable process of social heredity. And clearly his environment contributes other characteristics also. Is he an only child? An elder or a younger son? A member of a large or of a small family? Does he grow up in the country or in a village or in a town? Is his father a farmer, a clergyman, a banker, or a merchant? Are his parents readers of books? Do they value education and urge it upon their children? Do they value honesty, truth-telling, work? What sort of an atmosphere of value does he breathe in? For it makes a difference, as Plato noted long ago, what sort of influences play upon a young and tender thing which will take their stamp and keep it while it lives.

It is said that the Deweys were Flemish originally and went to England as weavers. Professor Dewey's forbears on both sides of the family came to America in early days, about 1645, and settled and lived in Massachusetts before moving to Vermont. All the Dewey ancestors were farmers, mechanics, wheelwrights, etc. His father, Archibald S. Dewey, was born and brought up on a farm and got such education as he had at an old-fashioned district-school. He had, however, strong natural literary tastes. Milton, Burns, and Charles Lamb were his favorite authors and from them he quoted frequently. He kept a general store of the old type at Burlington, Vermont, where he was noted for his wit. Some of his advertisements are still remembered, for instance, "Ham and cigars, smoked and unsmoked." After he was forty he married Lucina Rich, who was twenty years his junior. He served for four years in the Civil War as quartermaster of a cavalry regiment. Professor Dewey's mother's family were more distinguished. Her grandfather had been a member of Congress for many years. Her father was a country squire, a man of influence in his neighborhood. Many of the Riches were college graduates, but few of the Deweys had ever been to college. It was the mother who determined that her boys should get an education. The father sometimes teased her by saying that he hoped that some of them would be mechanics. She had other plans for them and, being herself a person of social distinction and family pride, who had a part in all the good and important works of Burlington and was "somebody," she determined that her boys should have, indeed, rather more than gentility—good old rock-bound superiority.

The boy, John Dewey, the second of a family of four sons, was small and frail. He learned easily and was always in a class with older and larger boys. His mother's declaration has come down to us. It is to the effect that as a child he was always reading "any and every thing at any and every time." With his two brothers and a group of other boys he spent a great deal of time in the woods and in camping out. What he remembers most keenly of his boyhood are camping and canoeing trips in the summers in the neighborhood of Burlington. Though little, he was a healthy and normal boy as long as he was not singled out for special attention; when folks did that he became self-conscious. He attended the high school at Burlington and at sixteen entered the University of Vermont. "I was brought up," he says, "in a conventionally evangelical atmosphere of the more liberal sort."

Professor Dewey did not come to philosophy through the shipwreck of his childhood's faith. He weathered that storm and quietly pursued



Courtesy of Blackstone Studios

JOHN DEWEY

the required study of Latin, Greek, and mathematics which at that day constituted nearly the entire curriculum of the University of Vermont. In his third year there he had the good fortune to study physiology from Huxley's text-book. This supplied the catalysis his strivings required. It pictured life as the continuous organizing of environment, the unification of interdependent factors. He says:

Subconsciously, at least, I was led to desire a world and a life that would have the same properties as had the human organism in the picture of it derived from the study of Huxley's treatment. At all events I got great stimulation from the study, more than from anything I had had contact with before; and as no desire was awakened in me to continue that particular branch of learning, I date from this time the awakening of a distinctly philosophic interest.¹

This experience, like Darwin's Galapagos reflections, may be regarded as the text of which all his meditation has been the interpretation.

The studies of the first three years at the University of Vermont were strictly prescribed when he was a student. The fourth year was a year of electives. After three years of the barrenness of formal discipline, it opened the door to the world of ideas. A professor of philosophy was there whose work and interest were so genuine that they turned that student's thoughts definitely to the study of philosophy as a life-pursuit. When one looks back over all that has resulted from that determination it seems enough for one professor of philosophy to have effected. The fruit of teaching can not take a higher form than the enlisting of other minds in the search which to the wise teacher by his own commitment is indifferably worthy. It was not the conviction which Professor H. A. R. Torrey had reached, not the particular philosophy which he had made for himself, but the quest, which invited his student. Philosophy as a life-work offered no certainty of employment at that time. It was not an established profession. The teachers of philosophy in colleges, like the college teachers of almost every other subject and like college administrators as well, were clergymen then. The secularizing of American education, one of the tremendous developments of the last fifty years, was just beginning. It took great courage, which could have been motivated only by a great devotion to philosophy, to determine that it should be one's life-career.

After graduating from the University in 1879, Professor Dewey taught in a high school in Oil City, Pennsylvania, for two years and in a country school in Vermont for one term. At the age of twenty-three, after nearly three years of high-school teaching, he spent one year at home in private study under the direction of Professor Torrey, reading

¹Adams, George P. and W. F. Montague, eds. *Contemporary American Philosophy*, N.Y., 1930, vol. II, p. 13.

the chief philosophical classics and learning to read philosophic German. In the fall of 1882 he enrolled in Johns Hopkins University as a graduate student in philosophy and in 1884 took his doctor's degree there. Josiah Royce had been in that immortal first list of fellows that Johns Hopkins announced.

When Johns Hopkins opened its doors to students on October third, 1876, it brought a new day in American education. There were plenty of colleges in the United States. Johns Hopkins set out to be a university, our first one. "The essential difference between a university and a college," said Edwin Slosson, "is the way they look. The university looks forward. The college looks backward. The aim of the one is discovery, the aim of the other is conservation. One gropes for the unknown, the other holds on to the known."² In a university students and professors go into partnership in searching for knowledge. It must have libraries, laboratories, and seminars. It does not need classrooms. The great planner of Johns Hopkins does not seem to have had as lively a confidence in philosophy as a university pursuit as in some other subjects, for he made rather inadequate provision for it. Yet Johns Hopkins has contributed no greater names than Royce and Dewey among her alumni. George Sylvester Morris, the translator of Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*, was professor of modern languages at the University of Michigan. In 1877 Johns Hopkins employed him as a lecturer on the history of philosophy and ethics to give a half-year of teaching and seminar work. It was in 1881 that G. Stanley Hall, just back from six years of study in Germany, began to give instruction in psychology there. German universities were in their most active period. American students, if their minds were sufficiently eager, were privileged to audit every course and, up to the limit of their strength and the requirements of the calendar, they not infrequently did so. "Free from the narrow, formal, rather dry curriculum of a denominational American college, the stimulus and exhilaration of this liberty of hearing was great." But, though its offering was meager, it was of the same sort of stuff; and there was exhilaration at Johns Hopkins also. Professor Royce writes:

The beginning of Johns Hopkins University was a dawn wherein 'twas bliss to be alive. Freedom and wise counsel one enjoyed together. The air was full of noteworthy work done by the older men of the place and of hopes that one might find a way to get a little working power oneself . . . One longed to be a doer of the word, and not a hearer only, a creator of his own infinitesimal fraction of a product, bound in God's name to produce it when the time came.³

Of their teacher of philosophy John Dewey writes:

²Slosson, Edwin E., *Great American Universities*, N.Y., 1910, p. 374.

³*Scribner's Magazine*, vol. X, p. 383.

I have never known a more single-hearted and whole-souled man—a man of a single piece all the way through . . .

It was impossible that a young and impressionable student unacquainted with any system of thought that satisfied his head and heart should not have been deeply affected to the point at least of a temporary conversion by the enthusiastic devotion of Mr. Morris.

So converted he was to Hegelianism. But his Hegelianism had other sources also. Professor Morris was reinforced by other factors. Before going to Johns Hopkins, young Dewey sent two articles, the one on the "Metaphysics of Materialism," and the other on the "Pantheism of Spinoza," to Dr. W. T. Harris, the leader of the St. Louis group of students of Hegel and editor of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, with the request that Dr. Harris would please advise their author as to whether or not he should study philosophy. The second of these articles is an extraordinary piece, for in it this daring young philosopher, starting from the axioms of Spinoza, proves the existence of an infinite number of substances or attributes and shows that Spinoza failed to prove the existence of one substance. When Dr. Harris read that article he wrote to its young author: "You of all men should study philosophy." This, too, was the time of the conquest of Great Britain by German Idealism. The great leaders, Thomas Hill Green, the two Cairds, William Wallace, and Lord Haldane, were doing their triumphant work of battling down British belief in the idea that individuals are like impervious atoms and that knowledge is wholly due to the impressions of outer things upon the senses. In short, the English-speaking world was being converted to German thought and the attack poured in upon John Dewey from three sides. But the reason which, above all other reasons, persuaded him to Hegelianism was that in it the awful chasm in which New England Puritanism found its be-all and end-all of existence—body versus soul, the world versus God, the natural man versus the spiritual man, the world versus the self, etc.—ceased to exist. These divisions brought painful oppression, nay rather "inward lacerations" of soul.

My earlier philosophic study had been an intellectual gymnastic. Hegel's synthesis of subject and object, matter and spirit, the divine and the human, was, however, no mere intellectual formula; it operated as an immense release, a liberation.⁴

Dewey also says of this time:

Social interests and problems from an early period had to me the intellectual appeal and provided the intellectual sustenance that many seem to have found primarily in religious questions. In undergraduate days I had run across, in the college library, Harriet Martineau's exposition of Comte. I can not remember that his law of "the three stages" affected me particularly; but his idea of the disorganized character of Western modern culture, due to a disintegrative "individ-

⁴See these articles in *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, vol. XVI.

⁵Adams, et al., *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 11-19.

ualism," and his idea of a synthesis of science that should be a regulative method of an organized social life, impressed me deeply. I found, as I thought, the same criticisms combined with a deeper and more far-reaching integration in Hegel. I did not, in those days, when I read Francis Bacon, detect the origin of the Comtean idea in him, and I had not made acquaintance with Condorcet, the connecting link.

I drifted away from Hegelianism in the next fifteen years; the word "drifting" expresses the slow, and for a long time, imperceptible character of the movement, though it does not convey the impression that there was an adequate cause for the change. Nevertheless I should never think of ignoring, what an astute critic occasionally refers to as a novel discovery, that acquaintance with Hegel has left a permanent deposit in my thinking. The form, the schematism, of his system now seem to me artificial to the last degree. But in the content of his ideas there is often an extraordinary depth; in many of his analyses, taken out of their mechanical dialectical setting, an extraordinary acuteness. Were it possible for me to be a devotee of any system, I still should believe that there is a greater richness and greater variety of insight in Hegel than in any other single systematic philosopher, though when I say this I should exclude Plato, who still provides my favorite philosophic reading. For I am unable to find in him that all-comprehensive and overriding system which later interpretation has, it seems to me, conferred upon him as a dubious boon. The ancient skeptics overworked another aspect of Plato's thought when they treated him as their spiritual father, but they were nearer the truth, I think, than those who force him into the frame of a rigidly systematized doctrine. Although I have not the aversion to system as such that is sometimes attributed to me, I am dubious of my own ability to reach inclusive systematic unity, and in consequence, perhaps, of that fact also dubious about my contemporaries. Nothing could be more helpful to present philosophizing than a "back to Plato" movement; but it would have to be back to the dramatic, restless, coöperatively inquiring Plato of the *Dialogues*, trying one mode of attack after another to see what it might yield; back to the Plato whose highest flight of metaphysics always terminated with a social and practical turn, and not to the artificial Plato constructed by unimaginative commentators who treat him as the original university professor.*

Professor Morris took Dr. Dewey to the University of Michigan as instructor in philosophy in 1884. Two years thereafter he was promoted to be assistant professor. In 1888 he went to the University of Minnesota as professor of philosophy. In 1889 he returned to the University of Michigan as professor of philosophy. In 1894 he was called to the University of Chicago as professor and head of the Department of Philosophy, but stipulated before accepting the call that psychology and education should be joined to his responsibility. In 1896, with private funds placed at his disposal for that purpose, he opened the University Elementary School. In 1902 he added to his other responsibilities the directorship of the School of Education of the University of Chicago. In 1904 he became professor of philosophy at Columbia University, where he lectured also on education at Teachers College. In 1919 he lectured on philosophy at the Imperial University of Tokyo, and thereafter for two years in China. His headquarters were at the National University in Peking. But he also lectured on philosophy and education in the capitals of all the coast provinces and of some of the interior provinces as

**Ibid.*, pp. 20 f.

well. The substance of these lectures was printed in Chinese and widely circulated. The esteem in which he is held there is indicated by the citation employed by Dr. Fai Yuenpei, rector of the National University of Peking, in conferring upon him the honorary doctorate of the University. "We honor you as the second Confucius. In China, higher praise is not."

In 1924 Dr. Dewey was invited by the government of Turkey to make a report on the Turkish governmental schools. In 1926 he lectured at the National University of Mexico and made a study of the schools of the Republic. In 1928 he was a member of a delegation of educators which went to Russia to visit childrens' institutions and the universities of Leningrad and Moscow. In the spring of 1929 he gave the Gifford Lectures at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. In 1931 he gave the William James Lectures at Harvard University.

Such a record of work in his own and many other countries is perhaps without its equal on the part of any other man. It is, however, but a part of what Professor Dewey has done. There is beside a long list of public services, a great number of contributions to periodicals and a long list of books. His books include: *Psychology*, 1886; *Leibnitz*, 1888; *Critical Theory of Ethics*, 1894; *Study of Ethics*, 1894; *The Psychology of Number*, 1894; *School and Society*, 1899; *Studies in Logical Theory*, 1903; *How We Think*, 1909; *Ethics* (Dewey and Tufts), 1908; *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy*, 1910; *German Philosophy and Politics*, 1915; *Democracy and Education*, 1916; *Creative Intelligence* (with others), 1917; *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, 1920; *Human Nature and Conduct*, 1922; *Experience and Nature*, 1925; *The Public and Its Problems*, 1927; *Characters and Events*, 1929; *The Quest for Certainty*, 1929; *Individualism, Old and New*, 1930; *Philosophy and Civilization*, 1931; *Art as Experience*, 1934; and *Logic*, 1938.

Professor Dewey married Alice Chipman July 28, 1886. Mrs. Dewey was not only the partner of his life; she was an inspiring fellow philosopher. Six children were born to them, four of whom, together with an adopted son, are living. Mrs. Dewey died in 1927.

Professor Dewey tells us that he "drifted away from Hegelianism." The growth of positive knowledge, and persistent meditation upon its significance, did for him what it has always done in human history, it undermined his confidence in the sufficiency of the traditional thing which claimed to be knowledge. "Metaphysics is a substitute for custom as the source and guarantor of higher moral and social values" and no more reliable than the custom for which it substitutes itself, he came to believe.

As Professor Dewey handled the grandiose certainties of Hegelianism they began to seem more daring than real. As he examined the soil and atmosphere in which it grew, it seemed to him, like Greek philosophy, to be the projection of a nation's hope rather than the distilling of its experience. It was not until science abandoned preoccupation with final causes that it really began to care to study proximate causes. It had to give up the effort to understand everything before it could begin to understand anything.

As absorption in the philosophy of Hegel diminished, the tremendously significant conviction forced itself upon Professor Dewey that the business of philosophy is not a discoursing about Absolute Being, which cometh of vanity, but the clarification of the social and moral strifes of our own day through the setting up by thoughtful men of the objectives they find that life can serve and the means by which it may be brought to serve them, through the construction of the future rather than inner prostration to the past. "Philosophy recovers itself when it ceases to be a device for dealing with the problem of philosophers and becomes a method, cultivated by philosophers for dealing with problems of men."

Of all such problems education is the greatest. It was inevitable, therefore, that with that view of the business of philosophy Professor Dewey should devote himself to education. It has driven him to other interests, as in logic, ethics, psychology, politics, and aesthetics, and in all of them his work has been notable, but in education his contributions have been unequalled. As pointed out, when invited to be head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Chicago he insisted that he should care for instruction in education and psychology as well. It was there that his constructive work in the field of education was done. It flowed from his conception of knowledge:

Education and morals will begin to find themselves on the same road of advance that say chemical industry and medicine have found for themselves when they too learn fully the lesson of whole-hearted and unremitting attention to means and conditions.

In 1896 he opened his experimental school near the University of Chicago. It was a private undertaking but was called the University Elementary School and had in some sense the blessing of the University. Though his colleagues in the faculty were his chief critics, several sent their children to be educated there. It was unlike any other school in existence then, though most schools of the less backward sort today claim to have, and in many cases really have, adopted certain features of it. It was an activity school, not a lesson-saying school. There were no text-books; there were undertakings in which every one in the group took

part. The furniture of the traditional school is made for listening; the furniture of this school was made for work. It was a laboratory, a kitchen, a workshop, for it is natural for children to construct, to create, and as they build they plan and try to figure out and investigate. As they worked in groups there was no rule of silence and no problem of discipline for, not only were they mightily energized by each other, they were regulated by each other and each one tried to make his contribution and to help on the work. The school is a social institution in a twofold sense; it is a coöperation in learning and the learning it is engaged upon is the learning necessitated by the society which it serves. The means and ends are in natural relation. Now, thinking is necessitated by what is undertaken, and information when needed must come from older folks if it can not be supplied by oneself or one's fellows. First comes doing, and the particular doing requires further learning that what is undertaken may go forward successfully. There is telling too, but the telling is by the children who are eager to give an account of their efforts. The teacher writes what each one reports on the blackboard. Each child copies his own sentences in his own book and reads them over to himself and his fellows. Next day's doing adds another sentence to his book. He writes it down and ponders it and, little by little through keeping his own record, he learns to read. Professor Dewey's account of the ideas underlying this, at-the-time-it-was-undertaken, radical experiment in the education of children is to be found in his little book: *The School and Society*. Few undertakings so modest in their beginnings have borne so much good fruit.

In 1902 Professor Dewey was, in addition to his other duties at the University of Chicago, made director of its School of Education. That post gave him a much larger opportunity to carry on his experiment in education. If anyone will take the trouble to consult the recently published bibliography of John Dewey, he will be amazed at the great number of articles which bear on education listed there, and he will have taken in his hands the record of the work of a philosopher who for the first time, at least in modern history, has treated education as seriously worthy of consideration as logic, ethics, metaphysics, or any other of the great departments of philosophy. Professor Dewey continued to lecture on education at Columbia University after leaving Chicago in 1904, and continues his intimate association with teachers and his concern for the work of the schools. In 1916 he published his *Democracy and Education*, putting into it the deposit of thirty years of persistent thinking and making it, by as much as democracy is to be preferred to aristocracy, the greatest book on education ever written.

Professor Dewey's thinking upon the problems of ethics has been no less persistent and has enabled him to make contributions no less significant. It first took published form in the *Outlines of a Critical Theory of Ethics*, printed at Ann Arbor in 1891. Next came *The Study of Ethics: a Syllabus*, in 1894; then came a number of shorter pieces, and in 1908, *Ethics*, by John Dewey and James H. Tufts, and in 1922, *Human Nature and Conduct*.

Morality is not a separate department of life. Every distinguishing of better from worse which we have need to make is a moral judgment. Morality is growth of conduct in meaning, in short, it is education. Our categorical imperative should be: "So act as to increase the meaning of present experience." Morality is a human concern which grows out of specific empirical facts. It is not supernatural; it is human nature engaged in its chief business of growing. Individual life is never insulated; always it is social. The question of morals is not: Shall I or shall I not help my neighbor? It is: How do I help him, and he me? Whether we will it or no, the ties, the relationships are there. The only thing in our power is to make them better or worse.

It follows of necessity that the philosopher who looks upon goodness as the progressive and perpetual development of meaning in the social life should labor to that end, and John Dewey has done that. From the days when he first came to Chicago, he has identified himself with the civilizing work of Hull House, and in New York City he has carried on a kind of ceaseless crusade for freedom of speech and the victims of oppression. Ethics and politics have ever been as closely related to him as the two sides of the same shield, and it is his shield; he carries it. He agrees with Socrates that the account of the essentials of human life is the same in the large letters as in the small, in the small as in the large. It follows that he has made of theoretical politics and public affairs a constant study. *The Public and Its Problems* will not soon be forgotten by anyone who reads it, and the profound discussions of the vexing questions which the Great War left, and of things and conditions equally vexing on the other side of the world, which are brought together in the volumes entitled, *Characters and Events*, will be consulted for many days to come. Not since thinking made of Plato the greatest reformer whom thinking ever commissioned, has thinking driven any other philosopher into such active participation in the affairs of struggling men. It is more than fortunate that at the break-up of the long established organization of life in so many countries, the United States should have been able to supply a counselor of such clear vision

and manifest humanity as Professor Dewey has been to China, Turkey, Mexico, and Russia. He is not a preacher and prophet of righteousness only; he is a soldier in the war for human liberation.

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SHERWOOD EDDY

by

WILLIAM L. STIDGER

HERWOOD EDDY has been a firebrand for social justice, personal relationships, international understanding, and Christian living for more than half a century. He has been called a "Red," a "Communist," a "Socialist," and a "traitor," but he still goes serenely on his way; simple, loving, kindly; battling for what he believes to be the Christian way of living in every personal, national, and international relationship.

In *The Christ of the Mount*, by Stanley Jones, is a startling statement about the influence of Sherwood Eddy, which perhaps gives the core of his career. Stanley Jones says that through Sherwood Eddy's influence three of the greatest leaders of modern India found a deepening of their spiritual life and were given a positive direction in service as leaders of their people. One of these is Bishop Azariah the first Anglican Indian bishop. This bishop has for years been leading in India the greatest mass-movement in the history of that great nation which is now struggling for its freedom. The second, K. T. Paul (deceased), was national secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of India and secretary of the National Missionary Society. The third was Rev. V. Santiago (deceased), former moderator of the South India United Church, whom Stanley Jones says was one of the most rarely beautiful Christian spirits it has ever been his good fortune to know; and one of the greatest leaders of India. Dr. Jones might have mentioned also a fourth, Bishop Abraham of the Mar Thoma Reformed Syrian Church of Travancore. The book *Adventurous Americans*, edited by Devere Allen, says that in one of the earliest service-movements of Eddy's life, when he was traveling-secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement with his classmate, Horace Pitkin (later martyred by Boxers in China), these two men each signed up a hundred college graduates who later went to the foreign field as missionaries. Later Eddy wrote a pamphlet called *The Supreme Decision of the Christian Student*, which in itself won more than an additional hundred men for foreign service.

I use these pictures presented by two penetrating writers to introduce to my readers this strangely fascinating and voluminously active person, Sherwood Eddy. It is no small thing in a lifetime to have so greatly influenced four leaders of India, and in turn to have been directly responsible for send-

ing into the mission field more than two hundred young American college graduates. Now I go back to the beginning of this man's life.

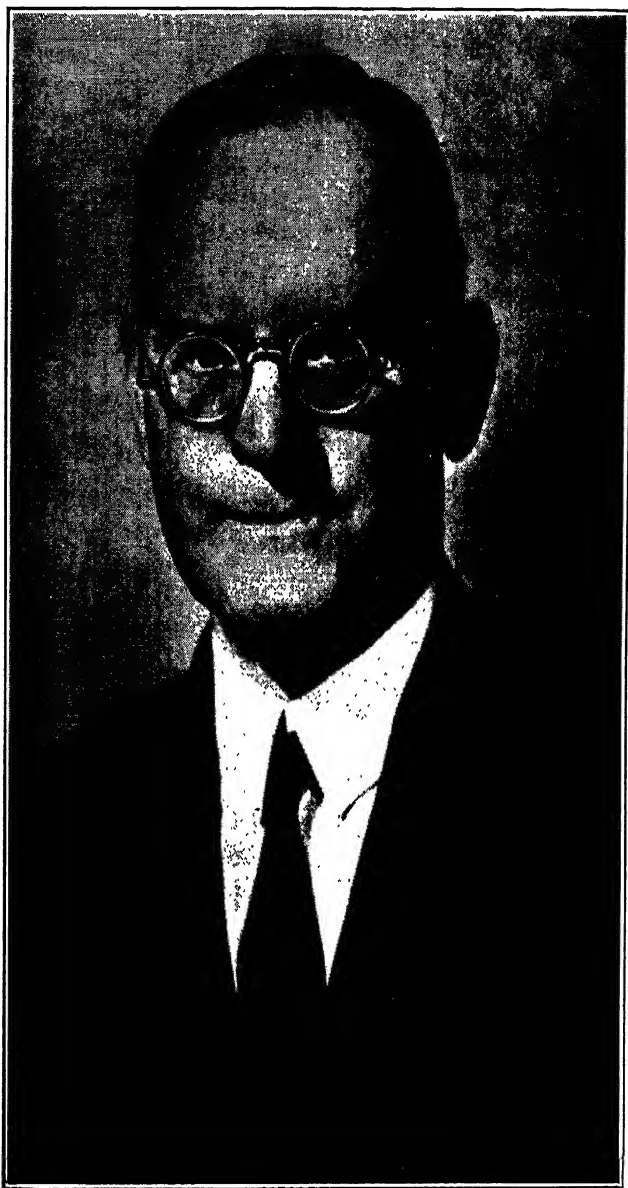
The Eddy family was Pilgrim in its direct line, being direct descendants of Samuel Eddy and of John and Priscilla Alden. Samuel Eddy came to these shores in 1630 in the third Pilgrim ship, "Handmaid." Few American families trace their ancestry back so directly to the Pilgrims.

However, it was in mid-Kansas, in Leavenworth that Sherwood Eddy was born on January 19, 1871. His parents, who were always pioneers in spirit, and freedom-loving, migrated from New England to this new state. They went with the avowed purpose of helping to keep it a free state. Eddy's mother went to school with Buffalo Bill in those early days on this Western frontier. This woman was not only of Pilgrim blood, with a pioneering spirit, but she was also eager for education and worked her way through Elmira and Vassar Colleges by teaching school. Sherwood Eddy has much of his pioneering mother in his make-up.

To know Sherwood Eddy, his character, and his spirit one must know of this Pilgrim, pioneering background and this freedom-loving, adventure-seeking, educated mother; and one must remember that it was no easy achievement in those days to secure an education in such a college as Vassar.

Eddy's educational career, like his mother's has been of the highest. He first graduated from Leavenworth High School in Kansas, after which he was sent back to the New England environment to Andover to do additional preparatory work. With this educational beginning he went to Yale where he earned his bachelor of philosophy degree in 1891; and, strangely enough, when one considers his later career, his Yale education was that of a civil engineer. He followed this with a master of arts degree from Yale in 1916, and with an honorary doctor of laws degree from the College of Wooster the same year. Like his Spartan mother, however, he is always seeking new educational backgrounds and now and then has taken six months or a year off from his strenuous living to go back to some college for additional work in order to keep up with the thought-movements of the day. This trait has always been characteristic of this great international leader. Sherwood Eddy does not want to be called a scholar. He is not an intellectual, nor a philosopher, but he has had a solid foundation in science, economics, theology, and social relationships. In later years he made a scientific study of sex, which caused him much criticism, but through which he has been able to give pioneering leadership to the youth of the nation in this much-abused and little-understood subject.

His brother, Dr. Brewer Eddy, said that Sherwood originally intended, after his graduation from Yale, to go into the lumber business with his



William B. Feakins, Inc.

SHERWOOD EDDY

father in Kansas but that Dwight L. Moody, the evangelist, got hold of him, a religious experience came to him, and he decided to devote his life to Christian service of some definite type.

He went into Young Men's Christian Association work at the famous Twenty-third Street Branch of the Y.M.C.A. in New York City under Robert McBurney, shortly after graduating from Yale. His father, whom he greatly loved, died in 1894, leaving him a small fortune. His social sense brought an uneasiness to his soul because of this fortune; and he and the other heirs met together and decided not to increase the property but to keep enough of the income to live on and give all the remainder to the causes of Christ's kingdom. It is because of this income that Sherwood Eddy has been able during all of his active career to work without salary and to promote world-wide Christian movements. He has spent the entire income of his small fortune in what he tells me is "the project of building a new social order, the Kingdom of God on earth."

Following his experience as a Y.M.C.A. worker under Robert McBurney, he went to India in 1896 as a Y.M.C.A. secretary, and worked both among the students and the despised outcasts for fifteen years. During this time two important things happened to him. He had a serious illness and a new and a renewed religious experience. He also learned the Tamil language so well that he could speak as well in Tamil as he could in his own native tongue. He became such a powerful influence in the life of the common people of India that they came to love him and to look upon him as one of their own people. It was because of this intimate relationship that he was able to influence the outstanding Indian leaders mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this sketch. Those fifteen years in India were the most productive years of his busy life as far as touching individuals is concerned.

It was also at this period that he met, wooed, and married his wife, an English girl, Maude Arden, of Worcestershire, England. Their marriage took place in 1898. Mr. and Mrs. Eddy took a mission station out among the poorest of the poor; this station they kept as long as they were in India. "My wife was the champion cobra-killer," he laughs. "She kept a stick in the corner of every room. During the last few months we were there she killed fifty or sixty cobras."

In 1911 he was appointed secretary for Asia, working under the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A., with India, China, Korea, Japan, and the Near East as his field. As secretary for Asia, Eddy conducted evangelistic campaigns throughout China and the Orient. In twenty cities in China, student audiences in some years ran from one thousand to five thousand a

night. For example, in one year alone in China two hundred thousand students heard Eddy in eight campaigns. After this period he became a Young Men's Christian Association war-work secretary with the English Armies in 1915. He remained at this work until America went into the World War in 1917, when he shifted his service to the American Army.

Eddy's life-work has centered around several great movements, one of which has been that of the student-life of America. It was here that he began his work, before he went to Asia. In the Student Volunteer Movement, of which he was the heart and core, he went like a flaming evangel from college to college, holding great meetings, and securing the conversion of thousands of young college students to some type of Christian service. Probably more young men in India, China, and Japan have been led to a definite commitment to Christian service through the impact upon their lives of Sherwood Eddy than through the direct influence of any other person, American or European.

The second movement with which he was identified was the Young Men's Christian Association, details of which I have already mentioned, with service in New York City, India, then in all Asia, then in the war-work in England, and then in the war-work with our American Army.

The third sphere of his activities is illustrated by the Religious Life Emphasis Movement which started at Des Moines, Iowa, in 1925. Dr. Eddy was a prime mover in this great undertaking. The plan of this meeting and others of like nature, which are a vital religious factor in present-day American life, is for a party of selected speakers to go to some typical American city, and for an entire week to deal, without denominational prejudice, with the matter of presenting Christian ideals as they relate to the individual, to the social life, and to the whole life of the city itself. Forty thousand people attended the Des Moines meeting. Speakers from all over the nation presented these ideas and ideals. The Des Moines meeting attracted the attention of the great newspapers, magazines, and Christian leaders. It lifted the tone of living of that city, according to the city leaders themselves.

Still another sphere of his activities has been the European seminars which he conducted for some twenty years. Each summer Sherwood Eddy took a group of fifty or more educators, called the American Seminar, through all the leading countries of Europe. Prime ministers, foreign ministers, cabinet members, industrial leaders, and economists spoke to them in the different countries from England to Russia. They saw the common people in their daily work and had entree where few parties ever went. A thousand graduates of Eddy's seminars have returned to the United States

to become ambassadors of good will for peace and a better international understanding.

Since Russia had been the focal point of a new world-movement it was also the focal point of the Eddy parties. Sherwood Eddy recognizes the high ideals at the heart of the original Russian Revolution, such as justice for all by all sharing in productive industry. Again, he recognizes the need of a classless society where there should be no more rich and poor, black or white, Jew or Gentile, race or color prejudice. But the Russian experiment, he feels, has passed under a cloud, and there are three deep-rooted and long-lasting evils that make the system for him morally impossible: (1) the denial of civil and political liberties, (2) the violence of continuing revolution, and (3) the harsh dogmatic atheism of the Communist party and of the youth movement.

One of Sherwood Eddy's fields of international activity was during the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and Shanghai, China. Curiously enough, this internationally minded pilgrim is always on hand when anything epochal is happening in contemporary world-history. In his more than a dozen trips around the earth as a disciple of world-peace and understanding he was in China when the Japanese invaded Manchuria, and, with characteristic timeliness he hurried into the field of operations as fast as train and ship and plane would take him. During the trying days of the invasion of Manchuria he was in continual touch with the situation. He sent direct communications to the League of Nations as to what was actually happening. He also sent confidential reports for private information to a host of friends in America.

Sherwood Eddy also kept a certain group of newspapers informed as to what was behind the distorted reports of the professional newspaper correspondents and the stories which got through the Japanese censorship. Later, he went into Japan itself and warned the military group against her unjust invasion of Manchuria. He treated Japanese militarism with the same frankness and truthfulness as he had already treated the Soviet government, criticising and warning where he felt that was the honest thing to do. It is doubtful if there is another man alive today who could have done that very thing in either Russia or in Japan. The reason why he was able to do it in both cases was because both nations recognized in Sherwood Eddy a friend and an honest critic. They knew him to be unselfish, and they knew him to be informed and interested in justice, even when he criticised.

Sherwood Eddy has few hobbies. He has played but little. Early in his young manhood when he was in India he liked to hunt big game, but he

soon became so absorbed in hunting men that he lost interest in hunting animals. He himself says, "Men have always interested me more than big game."

He is a genial fellow to know personally; smiling, cheerful, optimistic. He will go out of his way a day or a mile to see a friend and chat with him. There are thousands of human beings all over the earth who call him friend. He is of medium height, quick, energetic; impassioned in private conversation and in public utterance. I have seen him come into a meeting intended as a celebration of a William Lloyd Garrison anniversary, and throw that meeting into a furor by interjecting into its placid quiet just such a discussion of Communism and Capitalism, as Garrison himself would have given. I have seen several conservatives get up in the middle of such an address and walk out in indignant protest against his liberal utterances. I have admired him for his good sense, his courage, and his everlasting passion for advanced social viewpoints. He is always out ahead. He has been called a "Red", an agitator, a Communist, a traitor, a scoundrel, so many times that I suspect he is beginning to expect it and somewhat to enjoy it. He is never quiet. He is a bundle of restless energy and dreams. He is an idealist in the finest sense of that word, and is always striving to bring in the Kingdom of God; to bring it into personal relationships, into industry, and into international relationships. He is always in trouble because of his liberal views. A few years ago he joined the Socialist party. When he made this announcement he said that, so far, it seemed to be the only political party through which he could express his real sentiments. He believes that the Socialist party comes the nearest to expressing the spirit of Jesus of any of the parties.

As a public speaker he is impassioned. He speaks with animation, his words pour forth like those of Phillips Brooks, like an upturned cloud or a runaway express. But he is full of facts. He has the eloquence of facts, the only type of eloquence that will make any deep and lasting impression on an American audience today. He always came home from his trips to Manchuria and Russia laden like a buccaneering bee with the rich pollen of facts, and he drops this pollen into the soul of every man who hears his voice. He shakes his fists and he waggles his head; he shouts until his voice is harsh and hoarse. He cajoles and he threatens. He challenges and he awakens. No man can ever listen to him speak and remain unmoved. The conservative may get up and leave his audience in protest and anger. The liberal will remain to hear him through but when he goes out of an auditorium he is as mad as the conservative who left in the middle of the address—only, he is mad in a different way. If it is an evangelistic address hundreds are moved to change their lives.

No story of the life of Sherwood Eddy would be complete or informing that does not give a brief story of his writing career. During the period of his work with American college students, as was already stated, he wrote an effective pamphlet, *The Supreme Decision of the Christian Student*. In 1910 Eddy wrote his first book which attracted wide attention. It was called *The Awakening of India*. He was superbly equipped to write this book because of his long years of service in India and the Far East. Those who have read it know that Sherwood Eddy's predictions have been fulfilled in a startling fashion. He foresaw the sleeping continent awakening and threatening the world with its man-power. What he predicted has largely come to pass in recent years. It was his plea that this great continent be educated and evangelized for Christ; that that was the only way to make the world safe.

Then came his research-work for *Sex and Youth*. Following the war when he came back to America, he sensed that one of the vital and pressing problems of youth was that of sex. He found also that that theme was so surrounded with taboos that little scientific truth was available. Therefore, with characteristic frankness and care, he started his research-work and then frankly put down into cold print what he felt were the basic laws of this relationship. His book caused a storm. It was criticised by the maiden ladies, by the church, and by editors. It was first issued in pamphlet form. Sherwood Eddy has always believed in the pamphlet as a medium of dispensing knowledge. He follows John Wesley in using this method. The book was of inestimable value in the field of sex-relationships.

Religion and Social Justice was issued in 1927, and dealt with such vital subjects as "Religion and Social Justice," "Economic Problems," "Racial Problems," "Redeeming the Social Order," and "The Problem of Religion." This book, coming as it did at the very flush of the great inflation period and at the beginning of the depression was a prophetic utterance of what was to come and advanced reasons why it was coming. Once again, before some of the rest of our so-called Christian leaders saw what it all meant to the nation, Sherwood Eddy saw it before it happened. This has been true in four major instances of national and international movements. He foresaw the awakening of Asia before much of the world knew what it all meant, he saw that Christianity and war are incompatible, he saw the need for sex-knowledge before it had become generally recognized, and he foresaw the financial depression and warned the nation of its social consequences before it had swept the country. Because of these evidences I call Sherwood Eddy our greatest living prophet. He is not only a William Lloyd Garrison as a reformer, but he is truly a great seer and prophet, for he sees movements before they come to pass. A reading of his *Religion and Social*

Justice will confirm this. One of the greatest utterances of this pregnant book is:

If the principles of social justice and of Christian ethics are to be applied to industry and business, would they not involve the following results: that the final purpose of industry or business is not primarily the making of money, but the making of men; that the dominant motive in industry should be, not profit but service; that the method prevailing in industry should be, not unregulated competition, but growing coöperation; that the spirit of industry be dominated not by the rule of gold but by the golden rule; and, finally, that the conduct of industry should be, not a paternalistic autocracy but a developing democracy in a growing coöperation for the mutual benefit of all?

The aims of Sherwood Eddy's life are ideals of simplicity, tolerance, and brotherhood: avoiding waste and luxury, practicing the golden rule, participating in no secret order or fraternity which tends to exclusiveness, prejudice, or strife, seeking justice for everyone regardless of caste or color, making peace in place of strife, seeking to outlaw war, redeeming by the principles of love the whole social order, testing its evils and challenging them without fear, and seeking a fresh discovery of God to release new sources of power for mankind.

Mr. Eddy published a book in 1934, *A Pilgrimage of Ideas*, which sets forth for all to read the great dominating philosophies of his long career of service to humanity on many shores and three continents. This book also has the background of an autobiography, for, running through its fabric like a silver thread, one finds the story of his life. Then came *Europe Today* in 1937, followed by *Creative Pioneers* in 1938, and the most revealing and stirring of all of his books, *Revolutionary Christianity*, which was published in 1939.

It has remained for the crucial year of 1940 to bring forth his *I Have Seen God Do It*. Here is a book which is an attempt to summarize his long life of Christian activity around the world. The first chapter is called "I Have Seen God Work in America," in which he tells the story of the influence which Dwight L. Moody had on his life and the lives of other Yale students who had traveled to Northfield. Then he has chapters on "God's Work in Great Britain," "In Czechoslovakia," "In Russia," "In China," "In India," "In Japan," "In The Philippines," ending with some striking chapters in which he says, "I Have Seen God Work in Answer to Prayer," "In History and Social Change." And finally there is a chapter, "I Have Seen God Work in Our War-Torn World Today." For, as is his usual procedure, Sherwood Eddy was right on the job and right on the spot when the second World War began. On September 3, 1939, in London, he personally heard the Prime Minister say: "We are now at war."

Perhaps the most spectacular experiment which Sherwood Eddy has

carried on in his long battle for justice for the under-privileged is the experiment in the Delta region of Mississippi where he and a group of friends established two coöperative farms of some five thousand acres for the share-croppers. The first one was begun in 1936. He says that this enterprise started through the accident of an arrest while he was investigating the needs of share-croppers in Arkansas. He discovered that earnings for share-croppers ranged annually from thirty-eight dollars to eighty-seven dollars per person, or little more than ten cents per day.

As a result of his investigation there have been established producers, consumers, and credit coöperatives in the Delta region of Mississippi, where white and colored on the same farms coöperate and democratically conduct their own organizations. They are raising cotton, corn, and a community vegetable garden. They conduct two dairies, and there is a neighboring coöperative creamery that purchases their products. They have successfully run their own sawmill and subsistence farming and have declared regular dividends from their Rochdale coöperative stores.

Sherwood Eddy has been a veritable Paul, making his missionary journeys around the earth to win men to Christ and to the Christian religion. You may not agree with him, but you can not ignore him. He is one of the great prophetic souls of this century, and no young man or woman can afford to be uninformed on Sherwood Eddy. History will give him a high place among those great pioneering, prophetic souls who have helped to make this a new world.

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DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS SR.

by

FREDRIC P. WOELLNER

N intimate friend of Douglas Fairbanks was once asked, "How would you describe Mr. Fairbanks' work?" Without a moment's hesitation he replied, "Now that you have popped the question, I'll say that he jumps."

This reply makes a good biographical text. Douglas Fairbanks' life-line was a series of dashes. The open spaces were easily cleared by leaps and bounds. He never hesitated.

The perpetual motion of "Doug"—an endearing name once given him only to go bounding around the world—calls to mind a vibrant personality intent upon directing vigorous and overtly expressive energies toward ingenious but nevertheless definite accomplishments. He was ever consciously guiding and directing his steady stream of impulses. However they might appear to the onlooker, his many and varied stunts were anything but haphazard or accidental. His brain seldom blew a fuse and never short-circuited.

Doug made his first appearance on the stage of life in Denver, Colorado, on May 23, 1883. His father, a New York lawyer, happened to go West to look over some mining property and like many others who are enticed by the myriad attractions of the great open spaces, tarried there for many years. His legal and mining interests were not allowed to work their usual restrictions upon him. He read and studied Shakespeare under the inspiration of his friend, Frederick Warde. His profound scholarship and natural insight gave the growing Douglas a literary and theatrical inheritance of no mean value. By an application peculiar to his personality he made capital out of this early stock and early received usurious rates of interest. The lawyer did well by his son in sharing with him a love and study of the most involved and attractive mind in the history of thought. He gave lofty direction to his son's natural bent toward acting.

Doug's mother, Ella Adelaide Marsh, was a woman of unusual merit. She spoke French. She displayed great talent in recitation work. Her interest in the stage led her to take her sons to the shows and to cultivate them in that multiplicity of arts known as "saying pieces." However

we may approach the problem of his original background, we find Doug's inheritance especially encouraging. His superb body and mind did not lack the proper society for its direction and development. In his case, inheritance and early training augured well.

The early childhood of Doug has been analyzed by close observers. It is easy to overdo such study and to magnify the importance of isolated incidents. What normal child, for instance, is not given to pranks, or who has not taken active part in backyard or cellar theatricals? No doubt he did more of these things and perhaps did them better than most children of his age. His bubbling energies must have marked him at an early stage. Occasionally there may have been evidences of extreme variations in conduct.

One writer makes the happy observation that the young Douglas did not smile until he was seven. That may or may not be so. Of one thing we can be certain. For many years he made millions not only smile whenever they saw him or thought of him but even raised them to that superlative stage known as the guffaw. The principle seemed so important that he wrote a good book upon it, *Laugh and Live* (1917). If there be any doubt as to a definite, thoroughly developed and worthy philosophy behind his actions, this book removes it. It gives meaning to every little movement he made.

"School Days" for Doug was written in staccato. The tempo was the same as later. He attended the Jarvis Military Academy, the East Denver High School, and the Colorado School of Mines. A brief experience on the stage persuaded him of the necessity of further education. He entered Harvard as a special student because of his lack of credits for a Freshman enrollment. Five months of elementary French, Latin, and English literature, together with the campus life of that time, were sufficient. He went elsewhere to seek the needed "education in its broader phases."

The checkered career of a man like Fairbanks is only disturbing to those who have great faith in the rituals of life. The disturbance increases with their innocence of what is frequently behind the seemingly aimless meandering of dynamic souls. In Fairbanks there was a search for something he had definitely set to acquire in a minimum of time. He had learned in youth what slower minds conclude in full maturity: that the best mental training comes with meeting the challenges of life in the main stream of life. He believed men learn best by doing—by active participation in the affairs of their interest. And he acted upon the principle. He acted quickly to keep ahead of the proces-



Photograph by Tunbridge, London

DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS SR.

sion. He knew that he who hesitates is bossed—by the less hesitant. His varied activity and animating purpose, his thoughtful application to the problems before him and his decisive conclusions, mark him as a fine example of the modern conception of an educated man.

It may be truthfully said that Mr. Fairbanks began his stage career at the very bottom. After his early amateurish attempts at production and recitation, he insisted upon breaking into the stock company of Denver. He won his place in a unique manner. He scrubbed the stage floor. There you have energy, purpose, determination, and the ever mentioned ground floor. All the prime requisites of assured success. His physique and personality only reinforced his position.

When he was seventeen, the family moved to New York. He lost no time in getting a position under the direction of his father's friend, Frederick Warde. At Richmond, Virginia, he made his first appearance as Florio in *The Duke's Jester* (September 10, 1900). After a few attempts at minor parts he was promoted to the roles of Cassio and Laertes. The press comments were not encouraging. A critic noted that "Mr. Wade's supporting company was bad, but worst of all was Douglas Fairbanks as Laertes."

Unfavorable comment drove the young Thespian to study the causes of his failure. He was never crushed. Obstacles were only opportunities for a high vaulter. Keep jumping! There was nothing else to do if one were intent upon learning how to do it. And smiling would never prove a hindrance. After the five months at Harvard, he returned to Gotham more determined than ever to leap into stardom. On March 3, 1902, he made his first appearance in New York City. He supported Effie Shannon and Herbert Kelcey in *Her Lord and Master*. The stage seemed an impossible barrier to his self-expression. He chose an easier way. With two friends, he left for Europe on a cattleboat. His dramatic tendencies moved him to develop the scrubbiest beard of any on the boat. The experience was a delight and it cost him only fifty dollars and three months.

The trip proved the necessity of an adequate exchequer. He jumped into a frenzied finance. Within six months he became the head of the order department of the brokerage house of De Coppet and Doremus. His success was due more to his dress than to his grasp of the affairs of the market. Wall Street was more of a mystery to him than to his clientele. He resigned before his employers made the discovery that had convinced him of his inevitable failure. Facts always seemed to drive him further than fear.

The gold-lure impelled him to make one more adventure. This time he tried his hand at hardware manufacture. He might have continued indefinitely amid the realm of bolts and nuts had he not made a great discovery. He resigned upon learning that the head of the concern drew but \$10,000 a year. The immediate returns of the stage were decidedly less but offered more opportunities for ultimate fame and fortune. Doug left another detour for the main highway of his energy.

During the play-year of 1902-1903 he supported Alice Fisher in *Mrs. Jack*. His exuberance led him to make too many additions of words and business to suit the manager. Rebukes were registered without result. After one of numerous conferences with the management he resigned his position and determined to forget his Thespian leanings. It took three months of reading law in the offices of E. M. Hollander & Sons to convince him of his inability to pursue his father's profession.

Next he met William A. Brady, who was a kindred spirit, and they joined forces in raising acting to a superlative degree of sound and action. In their first effort, *The Pit*, Doug was allowed to do his stuff without too much guidance. One could hear him above the three hundred extras shouting to make the mob realistic. One could see him jostling about with startling alacrity.

At one time when Brady and Fairbanks were separated because of salary differences, Doug appeared in *Two Little Sailor Boys* and *Fantana*, the latter being his first and last musical production. Japanese operetta was then sweeping the boards. The quality of his voice was more than compensated by its volume. Here, as elsewhere, whatever success he achieved was due to his energetic spirit. His strenuousness amused and pleased even among the fastidious who were otherwise inclined to censure.

After this brief lapse, Mr. Brady was ready with a five-year contract. He offered Fairbanks his first chance at stardom—the lead in *Frenzied Finance*. The play proved to be a flat tire. Other vehicles were found necessary. In rapid succession he tried to support Grace George in *Clothes* and to play leading comedy parts in *The Man of the Hour* and *As Ye Sow*. His persistence in face of mediocre success or positive failure bespoke qualities predestining him to wide acclaim, though they must have been hard on him and audiences at the time.

He returned to Mr. Brady's management as the star of *All for a Girl*. The play was not an enduring success, although it was here that Doug and the public discovered the effect of his smile. All the critics noticed

and gave publicity to it. A beginning was made. He then costarred with Tom Wise in *The Gentleman from Mississippi*, wherein he laid a good foundation for his reputation as a juvenile lead. The show had a year's run in New York (1908-1909). Doug began to look like a winner.

There were still many hurdles to jump. The following productions, *The Cub*, and *A Gentleman of Leisure*, did not come up to anticipations. Doug and Brady parted company. The next morning he began his association with Cohan and Harris. He kept moving—on and up. George M. Cohan held out great hopes for Douglas Fairbanks. He often confessed his ambition to write a special play for him. While one was being prepared, Doug tried vaudeville. He played the leading roles in a sketch, *A Regular Business Man*, and in the successful comedy, *Officer 666*. Many still remember with delight his portrayal of Officer Travers Gladwyn. His friends were increasing. Ere long he was putting life into Cohan's character of Bentley Hamilton Hawthorne in *Hawthorne, U.S.A.*

Fairbanks was not only a sport and an athlete of marked ability, he interwove both lines into his regular reactions. His entrances and exits were always in gymnastic form. In *Hawthorne, U.S.A.*, he made the first attempt to introduce his unusual movements to the public. He made his initial entrance to the stage by vaulting a wall; he made his final exit by springing from a balcony. His alacrity and form brought down the house. But the rest of the show moved too slowly. The fair reception of Hawthorne was rapidly followed by three plays of marked success. *He Comes up Smiling*, *The New Henrietta*, and *The Show Shop* established him as a Broadway star of the first magnitude. He might have continued in this field of popular comedy had it not been for the unfolding of new opportunities in an infant industry of great promise. Doug as Jeraboam Martin left the legitimate stage for the silver screen.

Fairbanks proved an instantaneous success in pictures. The reasons were varied and quite clear to see. He had been a recognized Broadway hit for the past two years at least. He was motion itself. He accepted the direction of D. W. Griffith whose *Birth of a Nation* settled the question of the possibilities of this latest creative art. The first picture, *The Lamb*, lent itself to the kind of expression that found its best exponent in Doug. This first impression was hard to dissipate. As a matter of fact it never ceased to increase in steadiness and amount. For three years, Fairbanks labored under the direction of Mr. Griffith's

company, *The Triangle*. In that time the precedents, traditions, and tendencies of the cinema were being determined. To more than anyone else, one must go to Fairbanks for an explanation of them. The business became a glorified Fairbanks. His rapid shifts in pace and action were introduced, perfected, and broadly adopted. He made pictures—in any sense of the expression.

The Triangle lost no time in taking advantage of their victories. *The Lamb* was followed by *Double Trouble*, *Reggie Mixes In*, *His Picture in the Papers*, *The Americano*, *The Habit of Happiness*, *The Matrimaniac*, *Flirting with Fate*, *The Good Bad Man*, *The Half Breed*, *Manhattan Madness*, and *American Aristocracy*. The enthusiastic reception of these reels by an ever increasing number of fans was due to Doug—his ceaseless action in clever stunts. He proved himself to be a creative as well as a dynamic genius. It is astonishing how many of the gags were of his making.

With success came the usual accompanying involvements. The two thousand dollars a week with an additional five hundred dollars each six months for three years were not sufficiently potent to keep him with Triangle. A definite break with Griffith came.

Fairbanks joined the Famous Players in producing *In Again, Out Again*, *Wild and Woolly*, *Down to Earth*, *Man from Painted Post*, *Reaching for the Moon*, *Modern Musketeer*, *Headin' South*, *Mr. Fixit*, *Say Young Fellow*, *Bound in Morocco*, *He Comes up Smiling*, *Knickerbocker Buckaroo*. The worst that could be said was in the direction of his persistence. Whatever the character role, one could always see the unchanging Doug. He jumped often and far, but never beyond the personality of motion which itself became a fixation in the public mind.

One is impressed by the volume as well as the quality of these productions. In spite of the numerous difficulties of these early attempts at photoplay production, distribution and presentation, and the complications arising from popular demand, Fairbanks kept a steady pace. The public never waited long to witness a new film. He kept in the public eye.

Fairbanks always manifested a flair for business. Early efforts were not very assuring. But he tried once more. He organized his own producing company. Now he could be the whole show himself—actor, director, and manager. The outcome justified the faith of previous years. He was able to do his best work—the best work in the art of producing pictures. In rapid succession came *His Majesty the American*, *When*

the Clouds Roll By, The Mollycoddle, The Mark of Zorro, The Nut, and The Three Musketeers.

The tremendous success of *The Mark of Zorro* and *The Three Musketeers* proved the movies to be a worthy competitor of the older arts. This infant art was beginning to boast of classics. What would it do when its tendencies were more refined? The older arts had centuries behind them. This one but a decade or two. Whatever the outcome, it was beginning to appear that the name of Fairbanks would occupy a large place in its early history. His productions partook of the nature of film classics. He himself was beginning to look like the great artist of a new and rapidly developing art.

Beginnings had been made. With great zeal and high purpose, Fairbanks now attempted productions on a grand scale. The outcome won the world to his side. He truly became the best-known man in the world. *The Thief of Bagdad, Robin Hood, Don Q, Son of Zorro, The Black Pirate, The Gaucho, and The Iron Mask* were masterpieces. The captivating story, the magnificent scenic background, the numerous accessories of business and personnel carried the superlative Fairbanks to the acme of popular acclaim and dramatic worth. As entertainments of sheer delight they were unsurpassed. The adverse criticism of the American cinema is especially wanting in reference to these productions of Fairbanks. A priori standards or future developments may lead to definite censure. A choleric disposition may never be pleased. But few could deny the wholesome fun of these pastime pictures. They energized the onlooker beyond critical analysis.

The old interest in Shakespeare led Fairbanks to present *The Taming of the Shrew*. Mary Pickford, his wife at that time, costarred with him. This production was not in line with his previous successes. He then produced *Around the World in Eighty Minutes*. Speed had gone the limit.

Fairbanks was once asked to account for the wholesomeness of his pictures. His reply should be considered by every producer. "I've got to think of Young America when I plan my pictures." No better standard could be kept in mind. Doug thought of the child. So ought we.

Fairbanks' success was not more accidental than that of most celebrities. As a matter of fact few men played their parts with more preconception and determined principles. His philosophy has been ably presented in numerous magazine articles and three books of value. The optimism and wit of *Laugh and Live, Making Life Worth While, and Youth Points the Way* have a style and content of their own. Between

the lines one may catch glimpses of sincerity and purpose often lacking in the obviously more profound volumes.

The written and graphic presentations of Fairbanks are charged with implication worthy of universal consideration and application. In private and professional life he exhibited the ways for meeting the world's greatest needs—to defy overawing fate and to overcome paralyzing fear by zeal, good cheer, and self-expression. His translations of routine existence into pulsating romance gave hope and courage for others to go and do likewise.

Mr. Fairbanks was married three times. His first wife was Anna Beth Sully. Their son is Douglas Fairbanks Jr., who is so ably carrying on the finer qualities which his father brought to the screen. His second wife was Mary Pickford, known at the time of her greatest fame as "America's Sweetheart." His third wife, and his widow, was the former Lady Sylvia Ashley, of England.

Douglas Fairbanks' death on December 11, 1939, shocked the world. Although he had been retired from the acting side of the screen for some years, that lively and exuberant spirit which characterized his films could not be forgotten. Typical of the generosity he displayed in life was a bequest of \$10,000 that he made to the Motion Picture Relief Fund.

That his life-work was of supreme importance to the industry he helped to build was made clear after his death, at the twelfth annual meeting of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. His son was presented with a special commemorative award with the following citation:

To Douglas Fairbanks, first president of the Academy, in grateful recognition of his unique and outstanding contribution to the development of the art of the motion picture.

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HENRY FORD

HENRY FORD

by

WILLIAM L. STIDGER

NE morning Henry Ford was driving through Dearborn, Michigan, where he was born and where he has always lived. It was about six o'clock and day was just breaking, for it was midwinter. He was driving by his boyhood home which he still owns and likes to maintain just about as it was when he was a boy. As he drove past the old barn a watchman was rather roughly leading a young boy out by the arm and scolding him vehemently. Mr. Ford saw this procedure and stopped.

"What's the matter here?" he asked, winking at the watchman, so that his identity would not be revealed.

"This boy has been sleeping in the barn and it's against the rules," replied the watchman.

Then Mr. Ford turned to the boy and said, with a kindly smile: "Well, son, what have you to say?"

The boy replied, with righteous indignation: "Well, I've gotta sleep some place. I've been trying for a month to get work in Detroit and I can't get it. I left Detroit to try to make my way back home to Minneapolis and got this far and had no place to sleep. I crawled in under the hay in that barn."

Then the watchman interjected: "We can't allow that. Some night they'll set the barn on fire."

Henry Ford paid little attention to the words of the watchman but turned again to the boy and asked him if he had had any breakfast. The boy replied that he had not.

"Here's a dollar. Jump in with me and I'll take you down to the village and show you where to get some breakfast. Then if you'll go to an address I'll give you, I think you may be able to get a job."

Mr. Ford took the boy to the village of Dearborn, showed him the restaurant where he could get breakfast, gave him the address where he might get a job, and then hurried over to his own office. When he got to his own office he telephoned the address where he had told the boy to hunt for a job and gave orders that the boy be given a job when he arrived.

Two weeks later that boy showed up at the barn where he had been so abruptly ejected, and hunted up the watchman.

"Can you tell me the name of that tall, thin, grey-haired man who loaned me a dollar two weeks ago?" he asked the watchman.

"I do not know his name, but I know him when I see him," replied the watchman, following out the rules of the Ford organization not to divulge Mr. Ford's name in a case like this.

"Well, that guy loaned me that dollar and he helped me get a job, and I want to pay back the dollar I borrowed from him now that I have my first pay," said the boy.

"Well," said the watchman, smiling to himself, "He often comes by this way and I will be glad to give him the dollar."

"Thanks!" said the boy: "Here it is! And thank him for me and tell him I have a good job and am going along finely."

That boy is now one of the biggest men in the Ford industry and is closer to Mr. Henry Ford than any man in the entire organization. A good deal of the material which is in this sketch of the life of Henry Ford came from that boy. The story itself is typical of the personal side of Mr. Henry Ford, even if not of the industrial side of his make-up. He is one of the kindest men personally one would ever meet. His industrial expression of that kindness has never had any organized chance. By that, I mean that while he is paternal and kindly in a personal way, his industry is a great, brutal, anti-social machine. He has never put into his industry even a respectable social service plan. He is charitable, personally, but he has not seen the light of the social vision brightly enough to see to it that his personal feelings find industrial expression.

No reader of this chapter will know the real Henry Ford until he knows these two things about him: that his personal attitude is kindly and social; but that the industrial expression of that personal feeling has not as yet found any adequate expression.

However, having known him for about twenty years, I have a feeling that in the last years there has been a ripening and a mellowing process going on inside of his soul. This has perhaps been because of the general conditions incident to unemployment, depression, and industrial stagnation. Perhaps out of this period will come a softer, kinder, industrial genius.

Henry Ford has had several major movements in his rather hectic life. The invention and marketing of a moderate-priced automobile has, of course, been the major event. It was this moderate-priced car that gave the common man a chance to ride in an automobile fifty years before he

would otherwise have had that privilege. Dr. William E. Barton, father of Bruce Barton, once said to me, speaking of this fact:

When Mr. Henry Ford produced a low-priced automobile he made the greatest social contribution to humanity that has been made since Karl Marx; in that he took a vehicle of transportation which might have been the property of the rich for a hundred years, thereby widening class-distinctions and class-consciousness, and made it the property of the common people. I consider that a great social contribution, perhaps the most significant social contribution of the century.

The second major event of his life was the organization and the growth of the Ford Motor Works. Mr. James Couzens, the late Senator Couzens, had much to do with the early organization of the Ford company. But after a few years he and the other stockholders sold out their holdings to Mr. Henry Ford himself, and he and his son Edsel are now the sole owners of this great organization. However, it is only fair to say that all the original stockholders became immensely wealthy in the process; their investments of a few thousand dollars having turned into millions of dollars in the few years between the organization of the company and the day they sold out to Mr. Ford.

The third major event in his life was his "peace-ship." He conceived of the idea of sending a "peace-ship" to Europe to stop the World War and to "get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas." He was ridiculed, maligned, cartooned, and caricatured for this venture. However, he said to me in defense of that idealistic, if unsuccessful venture, "At least I tried to stop the war, and about all you preachers did was to promote the war." That seemed to me to be a good answer.

The great anti-Jewish crusade which he carried on through his weekly magazine, *The Dearborn Independent*, could, perhaps, be called the fourth venture of his unusual life. That, too, was a failure and caused him a good deal of unhappiness and misery. However, be it said to his credit, in the end he withdrew his charges against the Jews, abolishing the magazine through which he had carried on the racial criticisms, and apologized to the world. It took courage to make that gesture of friendliness.

Without doubt the production and launching of the Ford eight-cylinder car was the fifth venture of his career. This was contrary to a lifelong insistence that he would never manufacture anything but a Model T car along the old lines; that it would "be any color, so it was black"; that it would always be a four-cylinder car; and that he would never advertise the car. A man in his sixties, he changed his mind on all these positive assertions, proving his alertness and the essential youth and pliability of his mind.

The sixth major influence in Henry Ford's life has been the friendship of Thomas Edison, a friendship which lasted from Mr. Ford's boyhood

days up to the time of Edison's death. That friendship was one of the most beautiful things that ever came into Henry Ford's life. These two great creative geniuses had mutual respect and affection for each other.

After this simple introduction in which I have tried to give a mental picture of the real Henry Ford as his friends know him and the main influences and movements in his life, I come back to the chronological events of this interesting life. Side by side with the chronological movements of his life I want to carry the story of his industry, his ideas, ideals, and personal eccentricities, so that the reader will have a fairly accurate picture of the man, his career, his goals, his peculiarities, his religious interests, the growth of his industry, his influence on American life, and his attitude toward his fellow citizens.

The Civil War storm had broken.

Black clouds were overhead; the tempest was on; and in those ominous days Henry Ford was living his boyhood days in a little country town named Greenfield, Michigan.

July 30, 1863, was the date of his birth, which means that Henry Ford is still in his intellectual prime; still the master-mind, still the genius of industry; still the conquering king of gigantic enterprises; and not an old man, as some think him to be. Indeed, due to the fact that he has never habitually overeaten and indulged in the luxurious living that he could so well afford, and that rich men often fall into, Henry Ford is, physically, one of the fittest men with whom I have ever had personal contact.

A broken watch started it all. When he was just a boy a neighbor brought him a watch to fix and he liked to tinker with its "innards." Mr. Ford was always interested in mechanics even as a boy. He fixed the watch so well that other neighbors brought theirs and he had all of the work that he wished to do, just fixing watches. In fact, he did this with more enthusiasm than he attended to his studies in the grammar-school.

Two episodes stand out in his early boyhood which mark the way the wind was blowing for this boy wonder: the first being the watch episode, and the second being a trip to Detroit with his father one day, when they met a great road-engine chugging along the highway. This engine that propelled itself on wheels frightened his father's horses. They stopped the buggy and Henry begged to be allowed to examine that road-engine. The man who was running the engine let the boy climb up and manipulate the gears and the lever. This was a high moment in young Henry Ford's life. He never forgot that day and he never forgot

the feel of that lever in his long, slender hands; hands of a violinist rather than hands of a mechanic.

On April 11, 1888, Henry Ford married Clara J. Bryant, of Greenfield, one of the village girls whom he had known from childhood and whom he had secretly admired, and later, whom he had courted like any other country boy. Mr. Ford still loves to get into an old-fashioned sleigh and take Clara Bryant Ford for a ride on a cold winter evening. He likes to take this same Clara Bryant Ford out on the little pond they have at the Dearborn home and skate of an evening. He is old-fashioned enough for that.

I recall one winter that Mr. Ford took his wife up to a little Michigan town where one of his old fiddling friends lives and they had an old-time round dance until midnight. Mr. Ford danced with his wife and the other women of the party to the music of that old-time fiddler and when the dance was over they all bundled into an old-time sled, with sleigh-bells ringing merrily, and rode over the snow for two hours with the weather at zero. That is the kind of play that Henry Ford likes.

It is common custom for Mr. Ford to invite a few of his old Dearborn neighbors in for a taffy-pulling party. The Fords do not pay any attention at all to so-called social events and one may live in Detroit to the end of his days and never see the Ford name mentioned in the society columns of the Sunday papers. They simply do not go in for that particular type of pleasure. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Ford care for what is commonly called "society." They are just old-fashioned Americans who love the old friends and the old ways and the old, simple things of American life.

There is in Dearborn an institution that few people know anything about, which is another illustration of the fine Americanism of Henry Ford, and that is what he calls his "Smithsonian Institute." Here is a museum of Americanism. This, to me, is the most characteristic institution that Mr. Ford owns. It is more representative of him than any other one thing. In this museum you will find that everything he has collected has some marked American slant. There is nothing European in that museum although there must be ten thousand exhibits. He has a hobby for old things—old American things. He sends all over the world for things; but they must be American things. Not that he does not buy some things of the past which are not distinctly American. He does. But his chief interest lies in saving these historical American relics for posterity.

His purchase of the Wayside Inn at Sudbury, Massachusetts, is characteristic of this spirit of Americanism in his soul. He has had the Wayside Inn made over so that it is exactly as it was when Longfellow wrote "The Psalm of Life." The same thing he has done with the Wayside Inn he has also done with the home of his own mother and father near Dearborn. He has had that old home rehabilitated and refurnished so that it is exactly as he remembers it when a boy. He sent all over America to get precisely the same kind of furnishings, the same kind of curtains, the same kind of stove, which were in that beloved home when he was a boy.

He even went so far as to have workmen dig up the earth around the house to a depth of six feet to unearth old spoons, cooking-utensils, and other mementoes of his boyhood days. This is one of the most pleasing things about the great automobile-manufacturer—that overwhelming desire he has to keep alive the memories of the beautiful past.

In his museum at Dearborn Henry Ford has the evolution of dolls, from the types that the Pilgrim children played with to the most modern dolls that talk and say "mama" when you squeeze them. He has the evolution of lamps, from the old hurricane lamps, with a candle burning in them, up to the most modern electric lights. He has the evolution of melodeons, organs, horns, trumpets, and every type of musical instrument. He has the evolution of stoves, from foot-warmers to electric stoves.

After marrying Clara Bryant, Henry Ford went straight to Detroit to learn the mechanic's trade. He worked at the Edison Electric plant and from 1887 up to the time he organized the Ford Motor Works (1903) he was the chief engineer of the Edison Company.

The Ford Motor Works has grown by leaps and bounds each year until it is now the largest automobile-manufacturing company in the world, and is indeed world-wide in its scope. The Ford Company has its plants now in the great industrial centers of the United States and in nearly every country on the globe.

In Detroit there are two great plants: the original plant at Highland Park, which is the show plant of the organization, the plant through which visitors are taken; and the River Rouge plant, which is between Detroit and Dearborn. The Highland Park plant is stupendous in its size and terrifying to the visitor on his first visit. The great system of efficiency in manufacturing was worked out in this plant. Here it was that the first great strides of the industry were taken. Here the famous assembly-line was instituted and developed—that assembly-line that attracted so much attention at the Panama-Pacific International

Exposition at San Francisco. This was one of the most unique contributions to manufacturing efficiency. This is the famous "line" where the parts of a Ford car are assembled.

One man puts on the wheels to the body as it runs along a track, another man puts on the seat, another the battery, another the tires, another the steering-gear, another the wind-shield, another the top, and at the end of the line the last man shoots in a gallon of gasoline, jumps in, and off goes the car on its own power, like a thing of magic! It is one of the most fascinating adventures in American industry to watch this process, as millions have watched it. The Ford Company encourages visitors to the Highland Park plant and thousands take advantage of this free service every week. They are taken through the plant by specially trained guides.

But the great River Rouge plant makes the Highland Park plant look like a playhouse. It is here, close to his Dearborn home, close to his boyhood play-place, that Mr. Ford works out his biggest plans. Along the winding River Rouge Henry Ford played as a boy. He knows every inch of its way. He has swum in its deep holes in summer time, hunted through the woods that flank its winding way, skated on its ice-bound surface in the winter. He has walked across the Indian trails that run along the River Rouge from earliest boyhood days and now he is building his most stupendous plants within sight of his own home and within sight of his birthplace.

It is a striking cycle that he works out in this plant. From his own coal-fields in West Virginia and Kentucky, he hauls coal in his own specially made coal-cars, and in his own ships, and dumps his own iron-ore from his own mines up at Iron Mountain, Michigan, and he dumps these huge piles of iron-ore back of the blast-furnace at the River Rouge. He cuts his own timber from his own forests up in Michigan; hauls it in his own ships, over his own roads, and in his own cars, and dumps it in great stacks back of the blast-furnace at the River Rouge.

I stood on the top of the blast-furnace one winter's day with Edwin Markham, the great American poet, and to our back we saw four immense piles of raw material: iron-ore, limestone, coal, and lumber. Turning around we could see about half a mile away finished tractors running out of the factory on their own wheels and under their own power. From where we stood we could see the miracle under our very eyes! They dumped that raw material into the blast-furnace. It was melted into flowing metal by direct process. That flowing metal was run in streams into the foundry which was just below us and in front of us. There it was molded into engines. These in turn were shot into the

tractor factory and within forty-eight hours those four piles of raw material were converted into tractors by the thousands.

"Talk about the miracle of the loaves and fishes," said Edwin Markham, "this is more of a miracle than that. This is the great industrial miracle of all time going on before our very eyes this day as we look down upon it."

Mr. Ford has been a leader, not only in industrial efficiency, but also in paying high wages to his employees. It was he who startled the world, first of all, by announcing a profit-sharing plan in 1914 which meant a distribution of from ten to thirty million dollars annually among his employees, whom he calls his "pardners" and will have no other term applied to them.

"People before profits" is the motto of his organization. He has never announced himself in favor of "Industrial Democracy," but he is not far from this social millenium when he looks upon his workers as his "pardners" and when he insists upon their receiving a fair share of the income of the company.

His industrial bank system is another expression of industrial justice which has interested the industrial world. He allows his employees to deposit in a bank a certain percentage of their wages on every pay-day. They are given certificates of deposit. They have always received at least 10 per cent on their deposits and sometimes as high as 15.

When his minimum-wage scale of five dollars a day was announced, it was considered revolutionary but today many of the great industrial plants have followed his leadership. Nobody doubts that Henry Ford has greatly lifted the standards of living since he entered the industrial world with his humane ideas about a fair and a living wage. The rest of the country has had to follow.

A good illustration of this was his purchase of a glass plant in Pittsburgh. Immediately upon purchasing this plant he announced that Ford wages would go into operation at once. There was consternation in industrial circles in the Pittsburgh area, especially in the glass-manufacturing end of it. This meant a sudden leap upward of 90 per cent in the wage scale over what was being paid at that time. It took the glass industry in the Pittsburgh area a long time to adjust itself to this living wage scale.

Mr. Ford said to me at that time: "I am merely putting the regular Ford wages into operation. I have no intention of doing anything revolutionary. I am not trying to create a sensation."

"Start where you stand!" is one of Mr. Ford's famous sentences.

He was talking to an ex-convict when he said it. The convict had come to him for work and was speaking of his past, and of how he wanted to make good. Mr. Ford was not interested in his past. He was only interested in the man's future and he said: "I don't care about your past. I don't even care about your criminal record. Start where you stand!"

That is the spirit of the Ford industry.

There is a place for two thousand tuberculars, with well-lighted, well-ventilated rooms and a special menu. There is a place for the blind, and they receive as high wages as a man who can see. There is a place for men who have lost their arms or their legs or their hands. There is a place for the widow who has to stay at home and care for her children. Work is carried to her home so that she can work there and not have to go to the factories.

Mr. Ford is doing more to carry Christian principles into industry than any other large industrial executive in America. He is doing all that the Church Federation in the social creed of the churches asks for except industrial democracy and he is going a long way in that direction.

"A chance but no charity," is another one of his mottoes which is deeply Christian and which is greatly misunderstood. He does not give much money as an outright gift; but he believes in giving every man a chance to work out his own salvation.

"What are you going to do with your money, Mr. Ford?" I once asked him, at the suggestion of the late Mr. Siddal of the *American Magazine*. He said:

I care nothing for money as such. It is merely the driving shaft of our industry. I want to build more factories so that more and more people can get a chance to work for a living wage and work out their own salvation. That's what I am going to do with my money. I am going to put it back into the industry in order to give more people a chance for independence and hope.

Mr. Ford is a professed Christian. He likes to hear a sermon. He says: "I like to hear anybody preach. It always helps me. I need it."

He believes in the Bible. He has one in every room in his home. He reads it. He once took a pledge with President Wilson to read the Bible every day. He believes that the Bible ought to be put back into the public schools and that it ought to be read there every day. He says: "All of the sense of justice and right that I have, I got out of the Bible as it was being read in the schools when I was a boy."

He believes in the church and all that the church stands for. He

believes in God and Christ, and says that the Sermon on the Mount is the covenant of his business.

He said to me one day: "Take the Sermon on the Mount and you can set it down in industry any place and it will work. You don't have to lead up to it. It will work at once."

Mr. Ford is a member of the Episcopal Church. He is a member of the Palestine Lodge in Detroit, which is the largest Masonic Lodge in the world.

He reads constantly and he has, in addition to his library, his own favorite little reading-table whereon he keeps books that he is in the process of reading; and not a day goes by that he does not read something. Emerson is his favorite writer, and you can not talk with him very long that you do not hear him talk of Emerson and that you do not hear the ring of that valiant soul reëchoed in the spirit of Mr. Ford.

"Trust thyself! Every heart vibrates to that iron string," is one of his favorite Emerson quotations.

Like Lincoln he is a man of few books; and those are good ones.

Mr. Ford loves his home and his son Edsel and his grandchildren more than anything on earth. He seldom spends an evening away from his home. Although one of the richest men on earth and one of the richest men who ever was on earth he has never had any of the scandals of the average rich to spot his white record of personal decency and purity. He seldom attends the theater and his chief recreation is that of having his neighbors in for an evening's play.

He enjoys the radio and has built himself one of the best in America.

Mr. Ford walks regularly for exercise and for years has seemed to be immune to the ordinary ills of mankind. In bitterly cold weather, when I was bundled up to the hilt with overshoes, heavy coat, and hat, Mr. Ford walked from his office to a little lunch-room across from the Dearborn office without hat, overcoat, or overshoes. He steps lightly and has a stride like a panther when he comes into a room. He glides rather than walks. He has a twinkle in his eyes most of the time, but when he is thinking about some problem or when he is worried his face sets in an inscrutable mask, like the face of a gambler. Then his face is unlighted. But generally it is animated and lighted. He is good to look at when his eyes twinkle.

He loves wild things and has built bird-houses all over his farm. He watches the birds come back each spring and knows birds as well as his old friend John Burroughs used to know them. One spring he told me

from time to time what birds had come back from the South. He has hundreds of deer on his own place.

He walks a lot and keeps in the best of health, as he claims, because he does not overload his stomach. One of his rich friends was chiding him about being so slim. That rich friend said: "What's the matter, Mr. Ford, are you too stingy to eat enough to keep you fat?"

Mr. Ford said: "I have a big hospital in Detroit. I never go there except to see the doctors carve up fat, over-fed fellows like you."

"I look forward to the future with hope and optimism and confidence. I am an optimist at heart. I believe that 'today is better than yesterday,' as some writer has said, and that 'tomorrow will be better than today.'"

That about sums up Mr. Ford's spirit. He is an optimist but a sane and a practical one.

Politically Mr. Ford has always been a power in Michigan. The famous Ford-Newbury senatorial race was made at the solicitation of President Wilson, or Mr. Ford would never have consented to run. That case has gone down in history and Mr. Newbury's repudiation has vindicated Mr. Ford in every way.

Several of the presidents who have influenced American life in recent years have been glad of Mr. Ford's friendship and advice. Theodore Roosevelt sought Ford out when he came to Detroit. At that time he said to a few friends in the Detroit Athletic Club: "A formidable candidate for the presidency in 1924 will be your fellow townsman, Henry Ford." Mr. Ford refused to see former President Theodore Roosevelt at that time because he did not want to go to the Detroit Athletic Club. He said that he would be glad to see him at his own home or at the plant. It is to be regretted that these two great men did not meet. President Harding welcomed Mr. Ford at the White House several times, and he was a welcome visitor there during President Coolidge's term, as he was under former President Hoover. But during the regime of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mr. Ford has not been an admirer of either the President or the New Deal.

The Ford Hospital is perhaps the finest expression of Mr. Ford's best self, his idealism. *The New Republic* calls Mr. Ford a "Hard-boiled Idealist" and I think I know what that paper means. It means that he is an idealist but that he knows what he is doing. He is not a silly sentimentalist, but in his idealism he insists upon getting results, just as he does in his business ventures. The Ford Hospital was started as a public subscription enterprise. Mr. Ford made a generous subscription toward

it. Those who were building it got into financial difficulties and came to him again. Then Mr. Ford said: "I'll take the whole thing over. I'll pay off those who have already subscribed. I'll build the hospital myself." To date he has put about seven and a half million dollars in this great hospital, one of the best-equipped plants in the world at the present time. It is what is called a "closed hospital," which means that doctors not on the regular staff are not permitted to operate in the hospital. He has a large staff of highly paid experts and they do all of the work, but in coöperation with the family physician and giving him access to all records and facts.

Mr. Ford says he built the hospital for the common, every-day middle-class American. He says that the very rich can buy the best hospital service because they have money; and that the very poor are well-cared for in the average American city by charity; but that the middle-class man, the small home-owner, the clerk, the small business man, is hard pressed. It takes the savings of a lifetime for him if he has to go through an operation. It is for the middle group that Mr. Ford has built the hospital, giving service at cost.

The Henry Ford Hospital is, as I have said, the flower of Mr. Ford's practical kind of religion. It is his way of giving a man a chance but not charity. He says that a sick man has no chance. A well man can take care of himself. Even convalescents in this hospital, if they are poor and are worrying about money, are given a chance to work. The Ford Company sends nuts and bolts to the hospital, gives the patient a black rubber cloth to go over his bed and lets him sort and fit nuts and bolts while he gets well. For this service the patients are paid five dollars a day, and they have contented minds while they are getting well because they are self-supporting.

Mr. Ford's religion and philanthropy are sane and lead to a self-respecting recipient. The Ford Hospital is a working out of his finest ideas and ideals. It sums up the man, and no person has a right to judge Mr. Ford without taking the Ford Hospital into consideration.

Mr. Ford's past has been full of romance, adventure, and achievement; his present is brimming over with it. No man is more written about, as the clipping bureaus prove; and no man on earth is more interesting to humanity. His office at Dearborn is the Mecca of the world's great men. His guest-book reads like a roster of the great of the earth. Great authors, dramatists, kings, bishops, financial leaders, industrial giants, poets, and statesmen make a beaten foot-path to his door.

I interviewed Mr. Ford on his seventy-sixth birthday and found him as

hearty and firm physically, and as clear-minded and alert in his thinking as he was when I first knew him twenty years ago. He was even then making plans for a new venture for which he has since broken ground, a great factory for making airplanes. A few years ago he began the manufacture of great duralumin planes and also had plans for small passenger-planes which he called "flivver-planes," but gave up those ventures after a few years. However, in this new venture he will not manufacture complete planes but just engines for planes. And in the process it is his intention to train thousands of American boys as aviation engineers.

Another new venture which has come in his seventies is the use of radio as a medium of advertising, propaganda, and public service. Twenty years ago Mr. Ford had his own broadcasting-station, but, as in the case of the building of airplanes, he soon gave that up. However, in recent years he has carried on the "Ford Sunday-Evening Hour" in which he brings to the American public the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, some singer of note, and Mr. William J. Cameron, his well-known executive, who speaks for five minutes. The statement is made that the broadcast is presented by Henry Ford, founder, and Edsel Ford, president of the Ford Motor Company. More than a million dollars a year is spent in this radio presentation, and Mr. Ford considers the money well spent, because of the good-will the program creates for his company and for the service his company is able to render the American public through this presentation of great music.

Mr. Ford is an unusual man in every way. He has never lost his zest for life and adventure; he changed his car and his ways of thinking with the changing times; and yet, through all the changes he has held fast and still holds fast to the "ancient and beautiful things" and to the old integrities of the soul.

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Photo by Harold Stem

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

by

ALLAN A. HUNTER



vibrant, middle-sized man with blue eyes and a shock of restless, curly hair, mounted the pulpit of the famous cathedral in Geneva, Switzerland, where centuries before Calvin and Knox had thundered. It was Harry Emerson Fosdick, who by many is considered America's foremost preacher. Looking up at him from their pews were delegates to the League of Nations Assembly and visitors from across the seven seas. The audience represented the world's hope and machinery for establishing law to take the place of the old international anarchy. The guest from America represented the dormant conscience of half a billion Christians on the leading issue of our time.

As he glanced over that cosmopolitan audience, perhaps there flashed into memory a proud afternoon by the shore of Lake Erie when as adjutant, full-panoplied for war, he stepped smartly forward, saluted the major and presented to him the high-school battalion; or that excited moment three or four years later when he criticized a favorite professor for not being more enthusiastic about the Spanish-American War, which then seemed romantic, glorious, noble.

He had been deceived once. He would not be deceived again. Had he not witnessed the unadorned reality with his own eyes? No one could see what he had seen and then stand before an assembly like this, offering pretty phrases. These patriots before him, from nearly every nation, they too must see and feel the ugly thing for what it was. As his grandfather had rowed escaping Negroes across the Niagara River to liberty in the days before the Civil War, so he would unshrinkingly do his part to release mankind from the tyranny of Mars.

Congregations, as soon as the text is announced, sometimes go dead. Not this one. In a few moments the Scriptures, "He that taketh the sword will perish with the sword," was implacably working its way into the consciousness of those who could not help but listen. The speaker through his audience was appealing to Christendom against "the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts mankind." He was challenging the half-billion Christians of the world to put the Kingdom of God above nationalism and allow conscience no longer to be tied to the chariot wheels of quarreling states. "A modern war to protect the weak?" he thrust. "That

is a grim jest. See how modern war protects the weak; ten million dead soldiers; three million presumed dead soldiers; nine million war-orphans; five million war widows; ten million refugees! What can we mean—modern war protecting the weak?" There was no oratorical bidding for attention, just a ruthless hammering home of what every man before him who had experienced war must have known deep down in his heart was so: war was "a more blatant denial of every Christian doctrine about God and man than all the theoretical atheists on earth could ever devise."

It was a spiritual as well as a literal son of the American Revolution who startled Geneva that day; and what he said carried far beyond the peace capital of the world.

Ever since this historic address at Geneva in 1925, Dr. Fosdick has been growing more and more outspoken about the war-system. Six years later, at a public dinner he made this clean-cut stand:

I hate war. I hate war because I have seen it. I hate war for what it does to our own men. I have seen them come in freshly gassed from the front-line trenches. I have watched the long trains loaded with their mutilated bodies. I have heard the raving of those who were crazed and the cries of those who wanted to die and could not. I hate war for what it forces us to do to our enemies, slaying their children with our blockades, bombing their mothers in their villages, and laughing at our breakfast tables over our coffee cups at every damnable and devilish thing we have been able to do to them. I hate war for its consequences, for the lies it lives on and propagates, for the undying hatreds it arouses, for the dictatorships it puts in the place of democracies, and for the starvation that stalks after it. I hate war, and never again will I sanction or support another.

That "Here I stand . . . I can do no other," Dr. Fosdick has kept reaffirming with equal determination up till now. A few months before the second World War broke out, thousands of peace workers over the country gained courage from his declaration:

Satan can not cast out Satan. All history is a running commentary on that. The means determine the end. The salvation of the world depends on men and women who will take *this* risk, to face ill will with good will, to try to break the vicious circle of evil's sequence where wrong answers wrong, and when two blows must be given to take both rather than give one.

On October 1, 1939, he announced that the new war was the sorriest public tragedy of his life, that never again would he prostitute his ministry to the idealizing of any war. Six weeks later he made it clear from his pulpit, with tens of thousands listening in, that it would not do to put the scarlet robe with its symbolism of military power upon Jesus again. "And as I must take the scarlet robe off Christ, I must take it off myself."

Conscription he resolutely opposed over the radio with all the force of his faith in democracy. Thousands of fellow ministers joined him in his declaration of independence from the war spirit imposed in peace time

with its suppression of civil liberties and its overriding of conscience. In resisting and personally outlawing the war-method he has found a healthy channel for the passion to overcome obstacles that blazes in his blood.

An ancestor of Dr. Fosdick ventured across the sea nearly three centuries before to settle in Massachusetts. His great-grandfather braved the bitter denunciations of the Baptist Church, of which he was a member, to protest against the hoary dogma of hell-fire and everlasting torment. They excommunicated him, but he kept on blazing his trail toward a clearing in the forest of doctrines where the mind could be free. In time he took his family in a covered wagon through the wilderness of northern New York to the frontier town of Buffalo. He carried on the tradition of serving the community with an independent, unweakened conscience, by throwing himself into the cause of emancipating the slaves. While he sewed leather for his neighbors' shoes or planed timber for their doors, he kept an open Latin grammar before him and memorized conjugations. Later he became superintendent of schools in the growing town beside Niagara Falls.

His son, Frank, the father of Harry Emerson, carried this same adventuresomeness of mind into his work as teacher in the Buffalo schools. He maintained discipline in his classrooms, but it was the discipline of decisions self-imposed rather than arbitrarily enforced. The boys and girls knew that they were on their honor to play fair, and that there was one inescapable rule for them: every boy was to be a gentleman and every girl a lady. He could be indignant over a breach of trust, terrifyingly and unforgettably indignant. But so effective and wide-spread was his influence over the generations of students that studied under him, that the boy Harry, walking down the street with his father, found it simpler to carry his cap in his hand than to be constantly lifting it in recognition of the former students who saluted their old teacher. This father had a great passion for truth and liberty of thinking. Small wonder that the son today refuses to "knuckle under" to any system, no matter how customary or acceptable to others, which he considers inhuman or false.

This trait of nailing his flag to the mast and keeping it there once got Dr. Fosdick into quite a bit of trouble—and out again, as we shall see. For several years, in addition to teaching at Union Theological Seminary and writing books and magazine articles, he had been preaching in the First Presbyterian Church of New York City. Because he was a Baptist occupying the pulpit of a different tradition, he came to be known as a happy illustration of intersectarian good will. Furthermore, he championed the reconciliation of religion with science. Students flocked to hear

this genial, dynamic man who was against stuffiness, who was not afraid to open windows, even stained-glass ones. Why worry about pneumonia? Here was a leader who could come to grips with the vital problems of students in simple, conversational terms without showmanship or quibbling; an appreciative realist who could bring to the surface their suppressed doubts, state them more definitely than they themselves could, and then answer those doubts with the only authority that the younger generation will listen to: the authority of experience. He himself had gone through the deep waters of campus sophistication and cynicism. And now he could recall with a smile, that was not at all patronizing, how once, about to be a Sophomore, he came home on vacation with the world-shaking announcement that Darwin was right. But the family was not properly shocked; the bombshell was just a dud. "Son," the father had replied quietly and a little quizzically, "I believed in evolution before you were born."

A man who goes down into the thick of life has to travel light. Dr. Fosdick learned that lesson in France. While speaking face to face with "Yanks" and "Ozzies" and "Tommies" in the trenches where one shirt was enough and extra socks were thrown away, he learned to drop superfluous dogmas. Two years after the war he came back from a summer's lecture-tour in Japan and China with a sense of expanding horizons. To him most of the denominational wrangles over theology were unimportant scuffles; those arguing were like football players who have not yet discovered that the ball has been carried a long way down the field. But there was something confronting the churches challenging enough to call out all their powers of team-work, and that was the coöperative task of making this a better world to live in, a world where scientific truth would be welcomed by religious folk instead of shunned, a world where people would expect God to speak to them today just as surely as once He spoke to residents of Palestine. Such was the idea of the young-minded prophet on Fifth Avenue.

There were dogmatists, however, who angrily disagreed. From California to Vermont they opened fire on this man who wanted theology to be ozone in the soul, not an encumbrance on the back. He endured their recriminations with surprising patience for two years. Then one Sunday morning he threw down his gauntlet with a sermon that became famous, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?" There was little if any intolerance in what he had to say, mostly a forthright plea for church-members to use the brains their Creator had given them and to recognize the progressive revelation of God in the Bible and in all of life. The purpose of the Bible was not to teach geology or biology; it was to lead men to more abundant

life. In the Bible could be traced an experience of God which was relevant today. It would abide through the centuries. The prescientific theories about the flatness of the world or the suddenness with which man appeared on the scene, may have been adequate to good people living before Copernicus. They were no more adequate to our own times than an oxcart would be on Broadway.

In the church that morning was a publicity man who had the complete address printed and broadcast. An uproar followed in the opposing camp. Before long Dr. Fosdick became a symbol of conflict. His people were heartily with him. But this particular Presbyterian Church along with the national body had to stand by the rules and regulations. Dr. Fosdick resigned.

The Baptist Church of which John D. Rockefeller Jr. was a member, welcomed him—with this present result. A few hundred yards from Columbia University and almost within earshot of International House and Union Theological Seminary, beside an educational highway over which passes more traffic of the mind than perhaps anywhere else in the world, there stands above the Hudson River and commanding the sky-line, a massive Gothic structure. From the carillon tower you can see twenty miles in each direction. Here on Sunday mornings a veteran interdenominationalist speaks for an inclusive church. Not only those who have been baptized in other groups but those also who have not yet found themselves theologically, are made to feel at home. Quakers have their silent meetings. The dramatically disposed put on their evening pageants. Einstein, standing for a measureless universe, is figured in bas-relief. The issue is not that of sect or creed, but "religion versus irreligion, God as against no God." Dr. Fosdick is out to save men from the hell of being preoccupied with peccadilloes, so that they can feel at home, no matter how far the horizons stretch.

One significant feature of that fellowship is the emphasis on individual persons. With William James, Dr. Fosdick, in spite of the annual church budget of hundreds of thousands of dollars, is inclined to be against bigness and on the side of those tiny molecular forces which work "from individual to individual, stealing through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets."

In the morning he works at home; in the afternoon he can be seen stepping buoyantly into the elevator to his study on the eighteenth floor of the church which overlooks the Hudson. Incidentally, there is something exhilarating in just riding a moment in an elevator with Dr. Fosdick. He leaves you, as one of his students put it, "feeling like a million all the

rest of the day." The week-day schedule is something like this: three hours or more of solid study (he believes in thorough preparation); a lecture at the Seminary; then an afternoon of personal interviews with people pouring out the troubles they have been trying for months or years to hide from their families and themselves.

Dr. Fosdick has made himself famous as a Voice speaking out fearlessly against war and doctrinalism. Today he is becoming famous also as an Ear open to the confessions that only priests and psychiatrists hear. A few years ago he surprised the ecclesiastic world by urging a return to the confessional. Why, he asked, should the Roman Catholic Church have a monopoly on ministering to sick souls with a technique that has been tested and found useful? For several years this proposition that startled conventional Protestants has been a program with Dr. Fosdick. Before he left the Old First Church on Fifth Avenue he had unforgettable experiences with individuals desperately seeking from him spiritual counsel.

One Sunday morning an ex-newspaper reporter dropped in to hear the preacher who considers every sermon a wrestling with individuals over matters of life and death. The casual visitor had an hour or so before checked out of his hotel and started on what he thought would be his last journey. Life to him was but a tale told by an idiot, signifying nothing. There appeared to his tired, discouraged imagination only one way out. In a drug-store he purchased the deadliest poison he knew and walked on, looking for a convenient place to finish the job. But at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twelfth Street, he observed a small crowd standing outside a church door. The sight aroused his old journalistic curiosity. What was there inside that could make those people willing to wait outside for a chance to squeeze in? He would find out. Pushing his way up into the gallery he stood through the service. Now Dr. Fosdick is nothing if not expansive. He makes you face reality but it is reality with doors opening to those who knock. The man went out of the service with his head erect. Later, in an interview, he confided to Dr. Fosdick that as soon after the service as he could find a sewer-manhole, he emptied out his bottle of poison.

Dr. Fosdick suggests that the test of a sermon is whether someone afterwards asks of the preacher, "May I see you?" To him preaching is emphatically not a matter of putting something over on people; it is rather an adventure in thinking through with them the problems which they as individuals embody.

This interest in reaching back of masks to where men live he must have caught from his father who would spend patient hours listening to the

financial worries and puppy-love perplexities of his pupils and who had such wisdom that once, when the son was a bit too rebellious, he took Harry off for a day's fishing to talk things over while the perch nibbled absent-mindedly. But the technique of acting as confessor to people in trouble, Dr. Fosdick mostly learned out of his own hard experience, beginning as a student at Union Theological Seminary. Realizing that the only way to learn to preach was to preach and keep on preaching, he used to speak night after night in a mission by the Bowery, where he dealt directly with men who were obviously "down" but whom he refused to consider "out." The extra strain of that work broke him nervously for a time. But it opened his eyes to what no courses in college or seminary could possibly teach him: that what goes on inside of human beings is terribly important. Out of his own experience he knew what it was to feel deeply frustrated, to step on the gas and find the engine sputtering.

In his earlier efforts to help people pull themselves together he had his quota of blunders. Once, a boy off the track was brought to him by frantic parents. The young prophet gave the lad a mental and emotional hiding. The outburst of indignation, he now confesses, made him feel good but it did the victim no good. Today he listens and seeks to understand. Extreme cases he sends to psychiatrists who collaborate with him. There are instances where youths headed toward a criminal way of life have found through his guidance the more exciting path of being socially useful. "There is no worse imprisonment," says a wise psychologist, "than inability to repent." Dr. Fosdick believes men can make a right-about-face. He has done so himself more than once.

The new direction to which he points is coöperation, what M. P. Follett calls the new "power with people" in place of the old "power over people." It is under our own roofs that most of us have the great chance of expressing this creative spirit. That was where Dr. Fosdick learned the meaning of the democracy he now preaches. There was little or no possessiveness or domination in his upbringing. The family group decided things together. And the father and mother stood together. He has said:

We could never play one off against the other or find anywhere a rift between them. While my mother for years was a semi-invalid and my father had at least one serious breakdown from overwork, and the financial struggle to educate their children was exceedingly difficult, always beneath the stress and anxiety of special crises we knew that the home itself was as secure as the orbits of the stars.

He confesses to reading present-day apologies for trial-marriage and illicit love with an unconvinced mind, and suspects that such views of marriage are the result not of intelligence but of unhappy experiments

or unfortunate childhood training. His belief in permanent loyalty between husband and wife springs not from argument but from his own experience of a partnership that has given him deep and abiding satisfaction. When he speaks of marriage he speaks with authority. Here is an opportunity, he urges, "the most beautiful opportunity that life knows . . . to create a friendship stronger than death." He comes out frankly for eugenics, voluntary parenthood, and sane sex-education.

Dr. Fosdick seems to be uncorrupted by success. When the author was a student in his classes, we students observed that, instead of picking a more comfortable and secluded place to live in, he made his home in the least quiet apartment available, on the first floor, adjoining our dormitory. But he did not seem to mind the racket we made as we passed by his open window. He also rode to church in the subway. There was no swagger of dress, accent, or pedantry.

Right here the reader may as well take a peep through "Who's Who." Harry Emerson Fosdick was born May 24, 1878. In 1900 he received his bachelor of arts degree from Colgate University; in 1904 his bachelor of divinity degree from Union Theological Seminary; in 1908 his master's degree from Columbia University. His alma mater honored him with a doctorate in divinity in 1914, and other universities have conferred upon him the same degree. The University of Michigan in 1923 awarded him a LL.D., as did the University of Rochester in 1925. In the same year Ohio University honored him with the rather unusual S.T.D. He carries a Phi Beta Kappa key.

At the age of twenty-five, Dr. Fosdick became an ordained minister of the Baptist faith. His first church was in Montclair, New Jersey, where he remained from the time of graduation at Union Seminary during the next eleven years. Two of his most famous books were written in the thick of that busy pastorate. During the last few years there he also instructed students at his Seminary in homiletics, or the art of preaching. Since 1925 he has been professor of practical theology at "Union." Under auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association in France he spoke to British and American troops. Shortly after the war and until March, 1925, when, as we have seen, he resigned, he was stated preacher in the First Presbyterian Church of New York. Meanwhile, in the summer of 1921, he addressed missionary conferences in China and Japan, and in 1924 he preached and lectured in England and Scotland. In 1925 he went abroad fourteen months; it was on this trip that he preached in Geneva and wrote *A Pilgrimage to Palestine*. He assumed in 1926 the pastorate of Park Avenue Baptist Church which is now merged in the great Riverside Church. At

the age of twenty-six he married Miss Florence Allen Whitney of Worcester, Massachusetts, who collaborates with her husband in advancing significant movements. Their two daughters are named Elinor Whitney and Dorothy.

And now let us leave "Who's Who" and look again into this man's inner life, and some its enthusiasms. The "wine-dark sea" he loves. He generally spends his summers writing on an island off the Maine coast. Golf he enjoys, though he insists with a twinkle that his form is getting worse and worse. One Saturday he did eighteen holes with a stranger. The two had a fine chat on the course. As they put up their clubs in the locker his partner invited him to try it again the following morning. "But I can't," Dr. Fosdick demurred, "I have to work." "My word!" replied the man, "yours must be a hell of a job." Just as good agriculture replaces the soil it uses, so the wholeheartedness of his attack gives him back the energy he shares with people. "The human soul," he says, "is made for thrills—an aeolian harp that every hour the wind should waken to responsiveness." His is that originality of genius admired by Ruskin, which we vaguely call genuineness but which another referred to as "the single eye."

He is a painstaking craftsman and yet he has managed since 1908 to publish nearly twenty books, which have sold more than a million copies in the English language as well as in French, Swedish, Russian, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Hindustani, and Arabic. That perfection of man which Swedenborg described as "the love of use" he practices in his literary output. First his insight is broadcast to the congregation. Then it is condensed for a chapel service to the theologues of the seminary. Later perhaps it takes the air over a national hook-up. His Sunday Vesper half-hour is heard by millions. Before long in more journalistic form it appears in some popular magazine. At last it comes out between the covers of a best-selling book. Within a year what he has to say about prohibition or world-peace or family limitation, or man's place on "this wandering planet of the sky," is reverberating here and abroad from fifty thousand pulpits. I remember Dr. Fosdick greeting his class with the remark that out on the street he had just noticed on a passing automobile what had seemed to be a very wobbly wheel. But on closer observation he discovered that it was not loose. The hub and spokes and rim were in perfectly good shape. Only the tire on the outside needed attention. "I can't relate that to anything just now," he exclaimed wistfully, "but some day it will make a fine simile."

The question is often asked whether a prophet with such high-powered

financial support and facilities can remain a prophet. Won't he become just a priest of the status quo? Dr. Fosdick, with many working years ahead of him, is not blind to the risk of becoming an old-minded friend of Mammon. He does not pretend to be an expert on economics. None the less, he knows he must face the underlying social fact that a few citizens have far too much cake, while a great mass of people can get hardly a handful of bread-crumbs. When a cobbler and a fishmonger in 1927 were about to be electrocuted for what seemed to be their working-class sympathy, he protested with no uncertain force against the judicial murder that is still on Boston's conscience. And until Tom Mooney was pardoned, he spoke out boldly in his behalf, as he still does for the disinherited anywhere. He will not manicure his speech and flatter those who look on smugly while a public tragedy is going on. Religion must not be an opiate. He agrees with J. B. S. Haldane of Cambridge, "Personality is the great central fact of the universe." A man's soul has intimately to do with dollars and cents and the holding of economic power. "Money," he declares, "is not simply money; it is food and freedom from fear and life for little children and an opportunity for education." When he is thinking money he is "thinking people."

To the men of business who maintain the Riverside Church, he used to urge unemployment-insurance. He still wants to know why we can not stop repeating "that insane formula about competition being the life of trade in a new age when obviously competition is the death of trade and begin drawing the basic industries of our nation together in coöperative planning under wise social control?"

Crying him down are those on the one side who care not a straw whether jobless men stand in New York bread-lines or strikers' wives starve on the picket-line of Kentucky mines. On the other side are the extremists who for the sake of brotherhood later on demand violence now. Whenever a man makes a Christian stand on any question he is under fire from the group who feel he has gone too far and from the group who are sure he has not gone far enough. Certain peace-makers would like to see Dr. Fosdick focus on the peace question. Some are impatient that he does not throw all his efforts into the cause of industrial democracy. "Why" question others, "does he not devote his full time to the confessional, to the untangling of personality conflicts, or to the communion between God and the soul?"

But his job, as he sees it, is to "speak the truth in love," as much of it as he can possibly attain and help others to reach. Into this job, with courage, humility, and skill, he pours all of himself.

Results?

The man of God does not ask for results. But friends around the world, many of whom Dr. Fosdick has never seen, could point to a tangible difference in their lives.

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WILLIAM GREEN

by

THOMAS LE GRAND HARRIS

IT was said long ago that the laborer is worthy of his hire. This is a great truth that society has been slow to recognize. For generations and centuries the greater portion of the labor of the world was performed by serfs or slaves. When all men became free in the most progressive countries of the world and a labor problem presented itself, government at first gave it no consideration. Statesmen in all English-speaking countries said that men should be restrained from injuring one another and made to keep their contracts. In other words, if government kept order, enforced contracts, and guarded the state against foreign invasion its whole duty was done. Competition and the selfish interests of men, it was said, would do the rest without governmental interference of any kind.

The fallacy of this view, however, was soon seen. When population increased and industry developed in the great producing countries of the world, employers and capitalists, greedy and inhuman as Shylock ever was, exacted from labor long hours of toil in mines and factories for wages that were barely enough to keep the laborer's soul and body together. No account was taken of conditions destructive of health or morals. Tasks were imposed on women and children that would have been unfit for beasts of burden.

With the development of the humanitarian idea, however, and the abandonment of the principle that there should be only the barest minimum of governmental interference in the affairs of men, a better day for labor began to dawn. Under the leadership of enlightened and progressive statesmen, labor legislation for the benefit of the workers began to be enacted for the first time in human history. Hours of labor for women and children were shortened. Conditions under which work was done in mines and factories were regulated.

With the increase of population and the development of a more complex social structure in all industrial countries, more and greater problems of Capital and Labor have presented themselves for solution. Organization with concerted action was seen to be the only method by which labor could protect its interests. At first not all governments would tolerate this method of redressing labor's grievances. But as time

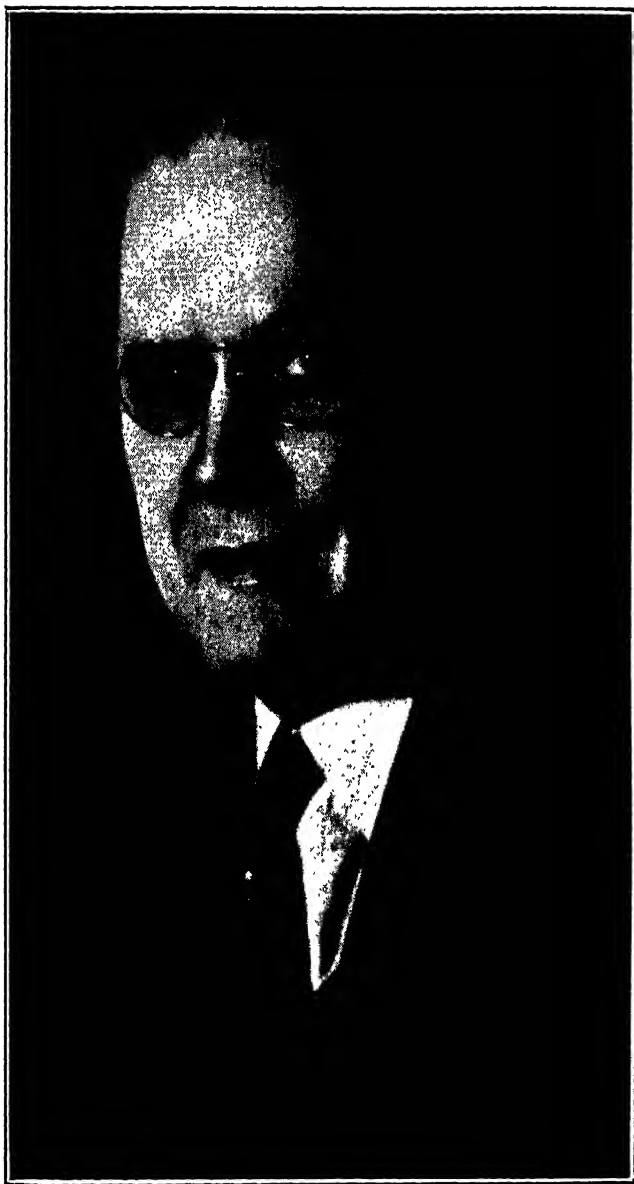
has gone by governments and public opinion have become more kindly disposed toward the toilers.

The labor leader, too, has come into his own. The names of men like Lord Shaftesbury in England and Samuel Gompers in America are held in honor by workers of the present generation.

In the spring of 1924 Mr. Gompers' physicians warned him that he had but a few months to live. Refusing to give up the office of president of the American Federation of Labor, which he had held for more than forty years, he deliberately chose to die on the job. With his remaining strength he gave his attention to the tactics of his great organization in the presidential campaign of 1924 and also to the choice of a successor who would continue his policies. His choice it seems was James Duncan, president of the Granite Cutters' Union and first vice-president of the national organization. It was pretty generally understood that Duncan would be chosen until the next annual convention, when it was expected that a younger and more nearly permanent leader would succeed him. It was supposed that the smaller, more skilled, and more "aristocratic" unions would dictate the choice. Politics decides choices, however, in labor organizations as well as in others. By a combination of the leaders of the larger unions within the American Federation, the choice fell upon William Green, who had been an officer in the United Mine Workers for nearly twenty years.

The career of this worthy man is an illustration of the great truth that America is only another name for opportunity and that the humble and poor may become great. Born of poor but respectable Welsh parents at Coshocton, Ohio, March 3, 1873, he left school at the age of fourteen to go with his father to the mines and become one of the great army of workers in the adopted country of his parents. His decided Welsh accent acquired in the days of his youth still betrays his humble origin. While yet a youth only a few weeks past twenty-one years of age, he was married to Jennie Mobley, a young woman of his native town. Together and most happily they have faced the responsibilities of wedded life. An interesting family of five daughters and one son has blessed their home.

Never afraid of hard work or responsibility and always popular with his associates on account of his personality and qualities of leadership, "Billy" Green became subdistrict president of the United Mine Workers of America in 1900, at the age of twenty-seven. This was the beginning of a great career as a labor leader. Six years later he became president of the Ohio district of the mine-workers' organization and later international secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, a position



Courtesy of Maurice Seymour, Photographer

WILLIAM GREEN

which he held continuously until elected president of the American Federation of Labor on December 19, 1924.

Green is not a political wire-puller in labor organizations. He has never sought office or preferment. Whatever has come to him as a labor leader has been due to his sterling character and unusual ability to get things done in a thorough and satisfactory manner. In the language of labor leaders, this is "going through." He was in no sense a candidate for the position which he now holds. It was a case where the office sought the man; not the man, the office.

The universal esteem in which he is held is apparent in the report of his election as told in a great metropolitan newspaper. Reporters and photographers waited long and patiently in an anteroom for the announcement of the successor of the late Samuel Gompers. Noon came, then one o'clock, later two. It was a raw December day. Everyone was anxious for lunch and in a mood of irritation. Suddenly the door of the conference room was opened; there was a rush toward it which stopped short when William Green was introduced as the new president. There was an instant change. Reporters forgot their hunger and that it was time for the next edition; the photographers at once became respectful and when snap-shots were obtained, the one who had been loudest in his complaints yelled, "Three cheers for President Green." They were instantly given with a hearty good will as if each one were celebrating a personal triumph.

President Green's public work has not been limited to his efforts to promote the interests of labor alone. He is a devout and faithful member of the Baptist Church. Being a total abstainer from the use of intoxicating liquors, he has exerted a good influence on all other members of his organization. In these respects he is just the opposite of Mr. Gompers, who was without formal church connections and who was "wet" both in practice and in speech.

When we reflect that the President of the American Federation of Labor is at the head of one of the greatest organizations in this country, it is only natural that there should be much public interest in him.

Physically he is not a large man, being a little less than six feet in height but with stocky figure, broad shoulders, bold, clear-cut features, and smooth-shaven face. From his dress and manner one would almost suppose him to be a small-town professional man, always modest and unassuming. He likes to entertain his friends but always in a quiet way and without pretense.

He has been an active Democrat with an honorable record of service as a delegate from Ohio to the Democratic national convention at Balti-

more in 1912 and as an alternate-at-large from Ohio at his party's national convention at San Francisco in 1920, and again at New York in 1924. He was also a member of the Ohio Senate two terms, 1905 to 1911, and part of this time its presiding-officer.

While Green was a member of this body his position was constantly used to further the interests of labor. It is related that on one occasion while he was presiding, an important bill vital to the interests of labor was offered. Taking advantage of the temporary absence of a large number of its friends, one of its opponents made a parliamentary move which would kill it if sustained by the chair, or by a majority vote of the Senate on an appeal from the decision of its presiding-officer. Taking in the situation after a glance at the numerous empty seats, Green announced that the point was an involved one and that he must beg the indulgence of the house while he consulted precedents. Huge tomes were hurriedly brought out by page boys and time was consumed in looking through them while friends of the measure hurried into the halls and committee-rooms to bring back absent members whose votes might be needed in the emergency. At length when the right moment had arrived, the vigorous use of the chairman's gavel restored order again to the disorderly Senate. He then announced with an innocent smile that the point of procedure under consideration had not been well taken. Any appeal from the decision of the chair by the enemies of the bill would not have been sustained. By strategy of this kind an important measure in the interests of labor was saved from an untimely death.

Senator Green's services were not limited to keeping such bills alive while they were under consideration. He drafted and pressed to passage two very important laws. One was the Ohio Workman's Compensation Law, now universally regarded as one of the best of its kind that has ever been enacted. The other is known as the Anti-Screen Law. Previous to its enactment miners were paid only for coal that was screened. This new law compelled payment for all coal mined. A bitter fight was waged against it by the operators. They declared that it would ruin their business. Once in operation, however, they seem to be entirely satisfied with it. No moves have been made toward repealing it. In like manner the employers of labor generally fought Senator Green's Compensation Law under which the insuring of workers is done by the state, but now they would not repeal it if they could. Under its conditions insurance not only costs less than that provided for in other plans but it also gives greater compensation to the injured one or his dependents. Being personally and politically dry, Senator Green gave active and efficient aid to the Ohio

Anti-Saloon League in its successful fight to secure the enactment of a county option law. His record as a member of the Ohio Senate is one in which he takes more pride than in his many other achievements.

As president of the great American Federation of Labor he occupies one of the seats of the mighty. His position is of as great importance as that of the great political leaders or the highest governmental officials. His statements of policy on any important labor or other question are always given the widest publicity on the front pages of the great newspapers.

He is a tactful and careful progressive in all matters pertaining to the interests of labor. His sympathy is not with radicals of socialistic tendencies nor with conservatives who, like the old English Tories, never forget anything and never learn anything. He is master of a fluent English style and wields a facile pen. It seems that he does not desire to leave anyone in doubt as to his views. Articles from his pen are constantly appearing in the most important periodicals of the country. In this way as well as in his statements and public addresses he endeavors to keep the people informed concerning the views and policy of his organization as formulated by himself and his associates.

A very important matter in the labor world is its attitude toward the Russian Soviet and Communism. A test was made in the very first meeting of the American Federation of Labor over which President Green presided. A British fraternal delegate appeared and made a plea in favor of endorsing the Russian labor policy. Among other things he said:

Americans . . . have been most slow in accepting new social and political ideas. We must not be afraid of new ideas. You workers have much to learn from Russia. I have been there and am proud of the genius for organization which Russian workers have displayed. The times we live in are too big, too fraught with fate, to permit of little prejudices barring the way to human relationships. Russia is a very big place. It is an enormous factor in the world, a tremendously powerful factor. The Russian people are a great people, strong, patient, hard-working and clever; they are building up a new economy and a new life. I do hope that from now on the organized workers of America will establish the closest fraternal relations with the organized workers of Russia.

Here was a clear-cut issue. The radical and Communist members of the Federation had long desired a test of its sentiment concerning their views. What the fraternal delegate said to the convention greatly pleased them. They now had their long-desired opportunity. What would the answer be? It was a supreme moment in the history of American labor, but President Green was equal to the occasion. Without a moment's hesitation he said in reply:

We in America know something of the teachings of Communism and the control the Communist party exercises over the so-called Russian International.

We know, here in America, that influence emanating from Moscow is seeking, as it has always sought, not to coöperate with us but to capture and control us.

Well, the working people of America are not easily led by these strange utterances. They demand something substantial. We are not ready to accept Communism, and we wish that our friend might take back to the Russian Red International this message: "That the American labor movement will not affiliate with an organization which preaches that doctrine or stands for that philosophy."

In this plain, blunt way an insidious attempt to spread Red propaganda was headed off. More than a score of the great newspapers of the country were emphatic in their praise of the new president of the American Federation of Labor. On the other hand, the chief organ of the Communists in America denounced the incident as "an international scandal" for which a "labor traitor" was responsible.

Another idea to which President Green holds firmly is that there should not be too much governmental control of industry, as is the case in Italy, Germany, and Russia. This, he says, applies to both the employers and the employed. Independence of thought and action should be preserved to the individual. These are taken away when the state undertakes to regulate the things which concern the private lives of the people. Such paternalism may be well meant but is bad for all concerned because it retards intellectual development and growth as well as initiative in other matters. Industrial freedom and personal freedom are inseparable and any interference with the former is equally bad for the latter. Industrial freedom underlies all other freedom in the case of any people. The restrictions placed upon labor by Fascism are most repressive and a complete hindrance to its progress. American labor is opposed to any measures which will restrict its freedom of consultation and discussion of differences of opinion and agreement as to what is to be done by all concerned in any case. Nothing less than this will assure progress and individual development.

If the state imposes rigid decrees and regulations upon individuals by which their lives are controlled, it prevents progress and development. Loss of freedom will result whether autocracy is imposed by the state or by any controlling group within it. There should be no limitation on the right of workers in any country to organize into free democratic trade-unions and to bargain collectively with employers.

Another idea of which much has been made in recent years and which finds no favor with President Green is that of giving the workers a share in the profits of the employer or of the concern which they serve. The reasons usually given for it are to secure greater coöperation, to forestall unionism, and to offer greater incentives for the increase of the workers' compensation. The initiative for profit-sharing must of necessity come from

the employer. He usually desires it as a substitute for a trade-union. The usual form which it takes is that of a bonus in addition to wages, the former depending, of course, upon the amount of profits made in any given period. Another form is that of requiring or encouraging stock ownership by the worker in the concern which employs him. The chief objection to securing coöperation on the part of workers by profit-sharing is that it usurps a function which properly belongs to the union and that it secures to the employers all of the benefits of coöperation while denying freedom in this matter to the employed.

Profit-sharing in the form of bonus payments in addition to wages has been urged as a safe method of preventing differences between workers whose living is dependent on wages and those whose incomes are derived from ownership or management. In prosperous times a "share in the profits" is added to regular but not increased wages. Incomes are made larger in this way without permanently increasing responsibility of the management by making larger the wage rates.

President Green's idea is that when employers can afford to pay more money to workers it should always be in the form of increased wage rates. This will enable new standards to be established and make new gains permanent, thereby stabilizing new social and industrial relationships in accordance with each new and higher level of prosperity and production. Profit-sharing is too much of a one-sided matter since it means that the bonus can be withdrawn when profits are less, or at any other time. It prevents an advance in the basic wage rate and makes the increase in income merely a matter of favor which may be only a temporary and uncertain benefit to the workers. A much more satisfactory agency for sharing the prosperity of industry is an increase in wage rates.

Other arguments against the bonus are that it does not necessarily increase production, as proved by cases where it has been withdrawn after being given a trial, and that it appeals to wrong incentives. Workers will be more concerned in the stability of their incomes than in the elimination of wastes and improved production. The bad effects of personal rivalry and selfish gain rather than efficiency in production can be handled in a more satisfactory way by the payment of steady, sufficient, and dependable wages.

Another form of what in reality is profit-sharing to which President Green objects is that of stock ownership in the concern which employs labor. The workers can not know the financial responsibility of the concern whose stocks they buy. For one to own stock in the same company which pays him wages is like putting all of one's eggs in a single basket. In

the case of those companies which arrange for employee-ownership, the workers are not given any option since part of their wages are in the form of stocks. In such cases where prices decline and their stocks are transferable, the wage-earners may become panic-stricken and sell their holdings at losing prices. Not many persons who work for wages have the specialized knowledge that is necessary for successful dealing in stocks. Hence the terrors of the unknown are constantly before them. Stock ownership then is a very uncertain way to share in profits. Furthermore, any substantial sharing of profits would have to come by means of common stocks, which are liable to the greatest fluctuations in value. Stock dividends are of the "common" variety. They merely add to the workers' problem, since the substantial portion of their income must of necessity come from wages.

Stock ownership limits the freedom of the workers to organize or to ask for higher wages and to that extent their buying power is limited and higher standards of living prevented. Another strong argument is that status in industry is given by the trade-union. It is in a position to assume responsibility and to speak the collective will of the workers. Coöperation by means of union management results in improvement of interest in work, elimination of waste, and more satisfactory results to employers. The conclusion to which this leads is that the rewards of industry as a result of greater efficiency should be returned to the workers in the form of increased wage scales and not in the form of profit-sharing. Economic and social justice will always be the result of such a policy in industry.

Another idea which has been greatly stressed by President Green is that of peace in industry. The vast majority of the people of our country are engaged in physical labor. The necessities required by our modern civilization are not only produced by the workers but their own needs represent a great potential buying power. As long as their purchasing power permits they will buy and consume freely. Production as well as consumption are increased with every increase in wages. This permits a higher standard of living with a will to do better work and to render better service.

The American Federation of Labor is a powerful representative of the people of our country who work with their hands or their bodies. It is founded on American principles and seeks to adjust itself to the constantly changing industrial life of the country. If Capital seeks to grind Labor, this great organization seeks to have justice done. Low wages and small pay-envelopes hurt the workers much worse than reduced earnings and small dividends injure the capitalist. To the workers and their families wages are the means of living, of life, and of happiness. To this class,

then, strikes and lockouts mean great suffering and a test of endurance with doubtful results. To Capital it means only a temporary loss and perhaps inconvenience, but not actual suffering. War in industry, therefore, should be avoided. Mutual understanding, coöperative effort, and collective bargaining carried on in a proper spirit are the means by which peace may be secured in industry. It is as necessary and as desirable as peace among the nations of the world.

The American Federation of Labor is fortunate in having a leader who places great emphasis on education for workers. Good public schools supported and encouraged by the working classes are the means by which their children may have "an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life." Special educational training for working men and women as well as higher education for promising youths are included in the program which President Green advocates.

Another important idea for which he stands is that of nonpolitical methods to secure what labor desires rather than to form a political party with the expectation of winning elections and controlling the governmental policy of the country. He prefers that labor use its influence with the great political parties in order to get what it wants.

In recent years the interests of organized labor have been promoted by acts of Congress. There was incorporated in the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 the famous Section 7a which gave employees the right to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. This was the first time in American history that organized labor had behind it the force of federal law. While this was hailed as a great victory it was only temporary. The Act was annulled by a decision of the Supreme Court. The rights and advantages secured to labor in this first act were embodied in the later National Labor Relations Act, sponsored by Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York. It was fully upheld by the Supreme Court in a noted decision handed down on April 12, 1937. President Green's influence in securing these acts of Congress in favor of labor was paramount.

In 1935 there split off from the Federation a rival, the Committee for Industrial Organization, under the leadership of John L. Lewis. It includes in its membership all employees within an industry without respect to crafts or trades and has a stronger appeal to the more radical elements of labor than does the more conservative Federation and its president.

President Green has remained faithful to the traditions of his organization. He believes firmly in the capitalist system and has confined his efforts, within that framework, to securing for labor a larger share of its earnings. The end in view is shorter hours and higher pay. It is only natural that

he should dislike greedy and unscrupulous capitalists, but he positively hates Socialists and Communists. They have absolutely no place in his organization so far as his influence can prevent it.

He believes that continued business opportunity can be far better assured by American democracy than by a totalitarian state and that the unemployed can be put back to work when our democracy assures to industries the necessary conditions.

His policy toward industrial warfare is to reduce it to a minimum. He would never surrender the right of labor to strike or any of its other economic powers but would have it seek to avoid industrial disputes, to promote good will between employers and employees and by means of collective bargaining to settle wage scales around the conference table.

The Federation's president never refuses a call to duty or to service. He was appointed a member of the Advisory Council to the Committee on Economic Security by President Roosevelt in 1934, and served on the governing board of the International Labor Organization, 1935-1937. When Ohio decided to build a new state office building costing \$6,000,000, at Columbus, he was made a member of the building committee. Other activities of this kind might also be mentioned.

His motto might well be that of a former Prince of Wales, "*Ich diene*," I serve.

In any field of endeavor William Green would have risen to a high place. His character, ability, and qualities of leadership would have insured success. Not only the American Federation of Labor but the people of our country as a whole may take pride in the achievements of this man.

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EDGAR A. GUEST

by

WILLIAM L. STIDGER

IN Birmingham, England, one of the world's great manufacturing cities, where smoke-stacks belch out black grime, and thousands of human beings carry dinner-pails through the streets; a city of every-day laboring people, in recent years George Grey Barnard's much discussed statue of Abraham Lincoln was installed. In Birmingham, also, a friend of the common people of today was born on August 20, 1881. His name is Edgar A. Guest. To the imaginative soul it is strangely prophetic that the poet of the people, he who has interpreted the woes, wants, and dreams of every-day men and every-day life, should have had for his immediate ancestors, workmen of England. He himself confesses that it was this background which gave him a deep and lasting sympathy for toiling people.

For ten years, from 1881 to 1891, in the most impressionable period of his life, he lived in this city of toilers; amid the humble homes of the every-day people.

When he was ten years of age his parents came to the United States and he found himself a resident of what was then a small American city, Detroit. During the active period of his life that city has grown overnight to a city of more than a million people because it so happened that the automobile industry centered in that city.

In a strange and dramatic fashion two personalities have expressed America: Henry Ford, the industrial America which has grown up around the automobile; and Edgar Guest, the every-day America which has developed coincident with the growth of that industry. The lives of these two great personalities have had strikingly parallel lines. Each came from the common people, Ford to give the common people a vehicle for transportation, Guest to give them an expression for their emotions through verse.

Mr. Guest attended Detroit grammar and high schools but never went to college. During his days in high school he was a reporter on the *Detroit Free Press*. But previous to that, when a grammar-school boy in Detroit, he ran an elevator in the old Free Press Building. While he was a "chauffeur for the elevator" as he himself puts it, he used to write little verses and slip them under the door of the city editor of the *Free Press*, without signing his name. The city editor liked these verses and got into the habit of publishing them in a column he was conducting. Then he discovered that

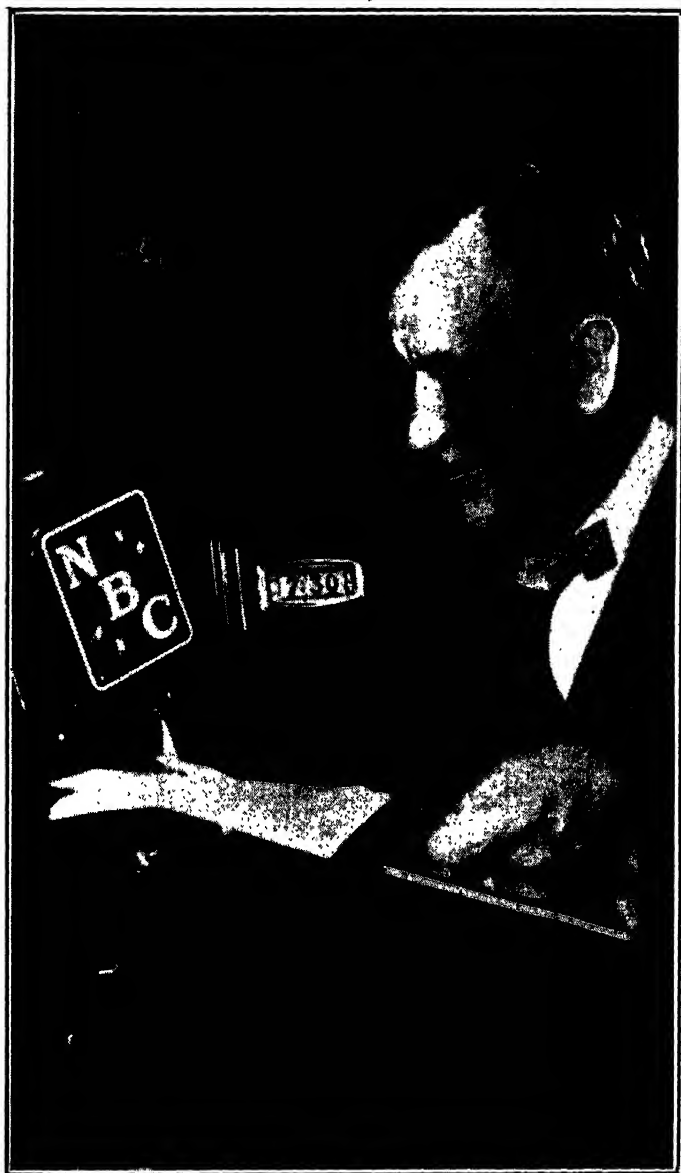
the elevator-boy was writing these clever, human verses, and asked him if he didn't want a job as a reporter. Mr. Guest jumped at this affluence and this chance to better his status of living. He never did like that elevator-job. He had, somehow, always wanted to be a writer. The newspaper office fascinated him. He has never left the Detroit *Free Press*. To this day, although he has been offered exorbitant sums, he has never left the *Free Press* office and still does his daily verse for that paper.

His first writing job on the *Free Press* was reporting. He did the police-court as a cub reporter and then feature stories. Finally, they gave him a column of his own to write and he has been at it for more than a quarter of a century. It was one of the first great and widely known newspaper columns in America. He still edits it every day of his life, winter and summer, wherever he is, and likes it. The people who read the *Free Press* help him edit that column. It is full of humor and humanity. In addition to this column Edgar Guest writes a poem every day which is syndicated in more than three hundred newspapers and is read by millions of people all over the nation. Edgar Guest fans are everywhere, and they swear by him because he expresses for them in language they can understand their hopes and failures; their every emotion.

On June 28, 1906, after having worked in a drug-store, as elevator-boy, office-boy, and reporter, finally, having arrived at the place where he felt that he could marry, he took as his bride the girl he loved, Nellie Crossman, of Detroit, and that marriage has held fast through the years. Those who read his verses will be familiar with the name "Nellie," for it occurs frequently in his poems. To this union have been born two children, Edgar and Janet. The boy is nicknamed "Bud," and he too appears frequently as the hero of his father's verses, as does Janet. During the early years of his marriage Mr. Guest adopted a little girl, but she died—a great tragedy to America's poet. That tragedy has been expressed in several of his verses, for he has shared all of his laughter, humor, and tragedy with his fellow men. He has done this, he tells me, because he believes that all the emotions of life which are shared with others are made more beautiful in their sharing.

His first book was privately printed in Detroit. He had a hard time getting money enough to put it out, but his brother helped in that enterprise and it sold so rapidly that a second edition became necessary in a few months' time. That also sold out quickly. Then it was that the attention of The Reilly and Lee Company of Chicago was called to him. This publishing-house asked for Mr. Guest's next book and published it. Since then his books have sold by hundreds of thousands of copies.

His first book of verse, *A Heap o' Livin'*, came out in 1916, ten years



Acme Photo

EDGAR A. GUEST

after he had married Nellie Crossman and started his own home. It sold several hundred thousand copies and made him famous. Since then there have been several books of verse and prose volumes, all of which have been sent into many editions. The books of verse are: *Just Folks*, 1917; *Over Here*, 1918; *Path to Home*, 1919; *When Day is Done*, 1921; *All That Matters*, 1922; *The Passing Throng*, 1923; *Rhymes of Childhood*, 1924; *The Light of Faith*, 1926; *Harbor Lights of Home*, 1928; *The Friendly Way*, 1931; *Life's Highway*, 1933; *Collected Verse*, 1934; *All in a Lifetime*, 1938.

We never know an author until we know what his creative and productive life has been. Mr. Guest's productive life has been varied in its scope. His first love, of course, as I have said, is the Detroit *Free Press*, where he has produced a column a day for more than thirty years. His second field of expression has been the verse a day he writes for the syndicate. His third field has been magazine articles, and in this field he has been prolific. The *American Magazine*, for obvious reasons, has been the chief outlet for this type of prose-writing. Motto-cards have been the fourth field of production. He has had a lucrative contract for many years to produce beautifully ornamented motto-cards for one of America's greatest publishers, and these cards adorn the homes of the common people of the nation by the hundreds of thousands. The fifth special field has been the phonograph. For several years he read his verses for phonograph records. The sixth field was that of the motion pictures. Several of his poems have been put into the motion pictures, with beautiful interpretations, and have been very popular as fillers in city programs.

The seventh avenue of his productive activities has been that of the lecture-platform, whereon he was as much of a success in his day as Mark Twain in his day—and he hated it just as intensely. One of the highest-priced lyceum and chautauqua lecturers and readers in America, a man who could command three thousand dollars a reading; he long since gave it up, for the simple and understandable reason that he hated to be away from home, from Mrs. Guest and his children. His poetry about home is not only poetry. But in spite of his dislike for his lecture trips he made several tours of the nation from California to Massachusetts which were continual ovations. It was the ordinary procedure for his managers to take the great civic center auditoriums, and fill them to their limits. Wherever Edgar Guest spoke, his vast public of every-day people was awaiting him with an ovation.

The seventh field of Edgar Guest's productive activities has in later years been replaced by an eighth, the radio, which in its recent developments has been a godsend to him. This man who hated to travel and to be away from

home, and yet who loved and loves the people, now has a medium through which he can reach the millions where formerly he could but reach the thousands on a lecture-tour. He is now one of the most popular radio speakers and has as many contracts as he wishes to fill in this realm. He sits in his beautiful Detroit home, with his family and his beloved books about him, and talks to "Just Folks" about "Home":

It takes a heap o' livin' in a house t' make it home,
A heap o' sun an' shadder, an' ye sometimes has t' roam
Afore ye really 'preciate the things ye lef' behind,
An' hunger for 'em somehow, with 'em allus on yer mind.
It don't make any differunce how rich ye get t' be,
How much yer chairs an' tables cost, how great yer luxury;
It ain't home t' ye, though it be the palace of a king,
Until somehow yer soul is sort o' wrapped round everything.

Home ain't a place that gold can buy or get up in a minute;
Afore it's home there's got to be a heap o' livin' in it;
Within the walls there's got t' be some babies born, and then
Right there ye've got t' bring 'em up t' women good, and men;
And gradjerly, as time goes on, ye find ye wouldn't part
With anything they ever used—they've grown into yer heart:
The old high chairs, the playthings, too, the little shoes they wore
Ye hoard; an' if ye could ye'd keep the thumb-marks on the door.

Ye've got t' weep t' make it home, ye've got t' sit and sigh
An' watch beside a loved one's bed, an' know that Death is nigh;
An' in the stillness o' the night, t' see Death's angel come,
An' close the eyes o' her that smiled, an' leave her sweet voice dumb;
Fer these are scenes that grip the heart, an' when yer tears are dried,
Ye find the house is dearer than it was—an' sanctified;
An' tuggin' at ye always are the pleasant memories
O' her that was an' is no more—ye can't escape from these.

Ye've got t' sing an' dance fer years, ye've got t' romp an' play,
An' learn t' love the things ye have by usin' 'em each day;
Even the roses 'round the porch must blossom year by year
Afore they 'come a part o' ye, suggestin' someone dear
Who used t' love 'em long ago, an' trained 'em jes' t' run
The way they do, so's they would get the early mornin' sun;
Ye've got t' love each brick an' stone from cellar up t' dome;
It takes a heap o' livin' in a house to make it home.

Next, I want to suggest to the reader the five most popular of all of his poems; poems which have literally gone to the ends of the earth; and the lines of which have come to be familiar to all America. The one which I have just quoted is the first of these. Another, "Ma and The Auto," has made millions laugh, for it expressed early in the reign of the automobile the philosophy of "the back-seat driver." "When Pa Comes Home," "What a Baby Costs," and "It Couldn't Be Done" are his other best-known poems.

Some time ago in a radio reading of his poems, Mr. Guest gave Mr.

Henry Ford credit for having inspired this famous verse, which has come to be one of the best-known expressions in American life:

Somebody said that it couldn't be done,
But he with a chuckle replied
That "maybe it couldn't," but he would be one
Who wouldn't say so till he'd tried.
So he buckled right in with the trace of a grin
On his face, If he worried he hid it.
He started to sing as he tackled the thing
That couldn't be done, and he did it.

Somebody scoffed: "Oh, you'll never do that;
At least no one ever has done it."
But he took off his coat and he took off his hat,
And the first thing we knew he'd begun it.
With a lift of his chin and a bit of a grin,
Without any doubting or quiddit,
He started to sing as he tackled the thing
That couldn't be done, and he did it.

There are thousands to tell you it can not be done,
There are thousands to prophesy failure;
There are thousands to point out to you one by one,
The dangers that wait to assail you.
But just buckle in with a bit of a grin,
Just take off your coat and go to it;
Just start in to sing as you tackle the thing
That "can not be done," and you'll do it.

I wish now to sketch briefly the chief interests in his life. His first interest centers around his home. Those who are familiar with his poems know that 90 per cent of his writing centers about home, children, wife, parents, birth, death, love. It is for this reason that his poems are universally loved and quoted. His second interest is his friends. He has the friendship of the great as well as the humble of the nation. Everybody in Detroit calls him "Eddie." He can not walk down the streets of his home town, or ride, or appear any place that he is not universally hailed by that nickname. He belongs to Detroit and Detroit loves him. He is "Eddie" to office-boy, reporter, policeman, preacher, politician; to mayors, senators, and bishops. I have never known a man so universally loved as he.

He not only has the friendship of a great city and the friendship of the common people, but he numbers among his intimates the great of the nation. I have already mentioned his lifelong friendship with Henry Ford, a friendship which has ripened through the years because the two men are essentially of the same type, commoners; and I speak of that term in the highest sense that it may be used. William Lyon Phelps, the great literary critic, and Mr. Guest spend their summers together as neighbors at Point Aux Barques, Michigan. They play golf together daily in July and August. Dr. Phelps and Edgar Guest go to the little country church near Point Aux Barques, and Dr. Phelps preaches. Mr. Guest has a part in the service each Sunday

and that has come to be a tradition in that part of Michigan. The church is packed with people.

This leads naturally to Mr. Guest's third major interest—the church. He has always been religious, and has always belonged to church—he and his family. He has always been a great defender of the church in his prose-writings. Over a period of five years' ministry in Detroit I had each year an "Eddie Guest Night." The church was heavily in debt and a poor man's church; so Mr. Guest graciously gave his services for nothing as he has done for hundreds of churches in his lifetime. On that night we always crowded three thousand people into that great edifice and then had an overflow meeting in the basement. That night came to be one of the Detroit church traditions.

Mr. Guest's fourth major interest in life has been the Detroit *Free Press* newspaper office. Every day for more than thirty years this has been his office and his focal point of existence. There he has gone regularly like any other reporter, to do his stint of daily labor. In this he has never failed.

From the beginning of the existence of noonday lunch-clubs he has been a member of the Rotary of Detroit, and to these business men as to all others he is "Eddie." He comes and goes as any other member and keeps his attendance record clean. Masonry has also been one of his major interests. In addition to having gone through all the chairs, and finished the active work of Masonry, he has had conferred upon him the thirty-third degree.

Golf is his hobby. He plays it from early April to late November. He is a par golfer, and has written some of his best verses around the game of golf, expressing for that vast and growing host of golfers their ups and downs, their hopes and tragedies. He likes golf so much that he has within recent years erected a beautiful home on the very edge of the Detroit Golf Club so that he can dress in his own home and step out of his back yard to the first tee. When summer comes, he may be found on the golf-course any time between noon and midnight, rain or shine. He is what some reckless people call "a golf-fiend." Through golf he gets his human contacts and his recreation for the year. He gets a heavy tan and carries it over into the winter months. Those who know him intimately have come to expect to see always an Eddie Guest tanned to a deep chestnut-brown like an Indian. He is an out-of-doors man, with a shock of hair that falls into his eyes when he is golfing or lecturing; a boyish-looking human being whom an audience or an individual takes to his heart at first sight; rather slight of stature, a bit bent as he speaks; shy, modest, and altogether wholesome and clean-looking. He has an infectious laugh, both on and off stage and wins an audience at once with this smile and laughter.

In days of disaster and dismay, of depression and defeat it is good to have a writer like Edgar Guest abroad in the land with his note of good cheer and hope. He is an antidote for the pessimism of faithless times. He is no pollyanna philosopher. He is an exponent of that old and beautiful phrase: "Keep ever shining before thy vagrant footsteps, the kindly light of hope." He has himself expressed this philosophy, in a poem which he calls "Songs of Rejoicin'":

Songs of rejoicin',
Of love and of cheer,
Are the songs that I'm yearnin' for
Year after year.
The songs about children
Who laugh in their glee
Are the songs worth the singin',
The bright songs for me.

Songs of rejoicin',
Of kisses and love.
Of faith in the Father
Who sends from above
The sunbeams to scatter
The gloom and the fear;
The songs worth the singin'
Are the songs of good cheer.

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WALTER HAMPDEN

by

HARRY B. GOUGH

HIGH achievement challenges. When in a field of art one wins wide fame, we naturally wonder how he did it. That is just another way of saying that when we see effects in human lives, we are curious to find the causes. We yearn to copy those who gain a merited place and so we seek to learn the means employed.

Now, when a man bulks as a giant in that most complex of all arts—the stage presentation of the classic drama—his attainment is peculiarly significant; for that art involves all other arts. And in it the road to eminence is long and difficult almost beyond compare.

The man who bears the stage-name of Walter Hampden affords an outstanding illustration of this truth. To find the hidden sources of his greatness is not an easy task. We have an axiom, to be sure, that a man is heredity, environment, and personality. But when that law is applied to this great actor, the interplay of these elements is found to be strikingly singular. There is a tradition, for instance, that great actors spring only from a family of actors. Not so with this man Hampden. His father, John Hampden Daugherty, was a prominent lawyer of New York. He served in the Cabinet of the reform mayor, Seth Low, and was appointed by Governor Hughes (now Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court) to draft the Revised Charter of the Greater City of New York. An older brother of Walter became a painter, especially of marine views. Fair to state, this lawyer-father had a passion for the classics and recited them at length. But however much of inspiration and of direction his gifted Irish parentage afforded, the tradition about the heredity of the actor breaks down in the case of Walter Hampden. His consuming passion, early manifest for the theater, no one for a moment can doubt.

The brief story of his life runs in this way. He was born in Brooklyn June 30, 1879; as a Freshman at the age of seventeen he attended Harvard; in 1900 he was graduated from Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute where he directed largely student dramatic activities; then came a year of study in Paris; then three years in the famous Benson Company, playing in classical repertory out in the English provinces. In "Merry England" the people love their world-famous dramatist, Shakespeare.

It is significant that through the entire period of the first World War the dramas of the greatest of playwrights were presented in "London town." As a member of this troupe young Hampden played seventy different roles. For three seasons he was leading man in the theatrical company playing at the Adelphi Theatre, London. There in 1905, at the age of twenty-five, he first played the part of Hamlet, succeeding the younger Irving.

In 1907 Hampden returned to the United States, where he created a deep impression with leading roles in Ibsen's *The Master Builder*, Kennedy's *The Servant in the House*, which enjoyed a run of more than two years, *The Yellow Jacket*, *The Tempest*, and *Cyrano de Bergerac*. From 1925 until 1928, under his own management, he gave notable performances of *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *Richelieu*, *Caponsacchi*, and *The Enemy of the People*. In 1931 with his own company he toured this country presenting Barrie's *The Admirable Crichton*.

Cyrano de Bergerac again and again became a popular vehicle for Hampden's genius. In 1932 and again in 1936 he toured the country carrying the lead in this play. In 1935 at the Forty-fourth Street Theater, New York City, Mr. Hampden played in *Richard III* and *Achilles Had a Heel*. He has since played character roles in motion pictures such as *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* in 1939 and, in 1940, *North-west Mounted Police*.

In recognition of his contribution to the American stage Mr. Hampden has been honored signally. From Williams College in 1924 he received the honorary degree of master of arts. In the same year he was presented with the medal of the National Institute of Social Sciences. In 1925 because of the excellence of his diction he was awarded the first gold medal of the American Academy of Arts and Letters. In 1926 from Brown University he received the honorary degree of doctor of letters.

It is evident that the labors of this man enabled him early to bring to his work the enrichment of a varied experience. But it must not be inferred that he thus achieved without a struggle. The story of his life is aglow with heroic fortitude. You will recall that a maxim which we mentioned alludes to "environment"—meaning the conditions generally under which one works. This man has met seemingly insuperable problems; and in the large he has mastered them.

Any fair consideration of a great actor must take into account the medium through which he may present to the people his art. It must



Courtesy of Empire Photographers

WALTER HAMPDEN

be borne in mind that the theater is a fickle goddess, smiting in sheer caprice the many, smiling on but few. She holds a mirror not to nature, but to the whims of the multitude. And so she changes even as our fashions change. And then, too, it must be held in mind always that the actor can not, like the painter or musician, practice his art alone. In modern times, for instance, he who would present Hamlet as Shakespeare pictures him, is dependent largely upon a supporting company of players and upon scenery, lighting, and the mechanical equipment of the stage. The actor can not act alone. His art is most complex. Partly for these reasons four of every five plays presented on Broadway do not succeed. Failure to all concerned with a production is a common experience. Now, Hampden desired to present some of the heavy dramas of Shakespeare, Ibsen, and others. He stoutly disdained the tawdry, the inartistic, the trivial. But classic plays were not the vogue. Because of their peculiarities in thought, language, and construction, the adequate production of them is difficult. It was argued further that for three centuries many an able man had tried out his powers at Hamlet and Macbeth, and that many an able man had met with very doubtful success, if not with public disdain. It was suggested, too, that more than sixty rival theaters in New York alone would make a large Shakespearean adventure hazardous indeed. Moreover, Mr. Hampden himself wrote at the time about the stupendous production problems confronting him. For illustration, tradition held that rigid, highly decorated scenery must be employed. For a Shakespearean repertory such as he proposed elaborate settings were of course required. In no theater in all Manhattan were adequate storage facilities available. For this equipment additional space somehow must be had. When the stage settings of one play were removed for the production of the next drama on the program, they must be taken a considerable distance for safe keeping; and then as needed they must be brought back and placed in position on the stage again. Haulage was involved. More stage-hands must be employed. But Mr. Hampden chose to thrust tradition aside. Simple yet adequate settings of drapes and walls were devised. The terrifyingly greater expense was incurred; and in spite of the strain upon the actors rehearsing forthcoming plays at the same time they were giving eight performances a week, he resolutely set forth with his plans. The critics, some of them, shouted that it could not be done!

These and many other problems tested Hampden.

Now, when we seek the means by which the great achieve, we usually find that certain simple qualities of character mark their lives. Assuming

large native ability and a compelling passion for his work, the great actor must attain his high position through the intensive employment of these homely virtues. So it has been with Hampden.

In the first place, from what has been stated here it must be evident that he is a man of tremendous industry. He works prodigiously. Through relentless toil he has acquired an amazing histrionic power. It is true that the first part of his life-story suggests that for a time he seemed to follow somewhat blindly a compelling lure the stage held for him. And then he seemed to set his heart like flint to the accomplishment of his great task. According to a friend, he attended perhaps twenty performances by Modjeska of *Lady Macbeth*. He studied intensively her technique. In order that he might the better appreciate her almost matchless interpretations, he set to work to learn the entire drama by heart! He diligently followed the work of the great dramatic artists: Irving, Terry, Joseph Jefferson, and Richard Mansfield. On his own initiative he read eagerly the dramas of the entire Elizabethan Period. With a friend or two he tramped the streets of "London town" recalling the dreams of playwrights long since dead. In France he interested himself in art and architecture, and some of the results of his devotion to his calling are seen in his stupendous productions of later years. He trained with masters of the arts of voice and diction, fencing, and acting. Then, as already suggested, he served for three years as an apprentice in the company of F. R. Benson, touring the English provinces with Shakespearean dramas; but we did not state that he pursued that rigorous training at a salary of five dollars a week! He assiduously directed his powers of analysis toward a better understanding and interpretation of that baffling character called Hamlet. As an "understudy" of that role with the younger Irving he toiled with infinite pains. As a result of his indefatigable work he was able, when his master suddenly lost his voice, to carry the part of the mysterious Hamlet on the stage of the old Adelphi Theatre in London. And after a long and triumphant portrayal of that Shakespearean character, for twelve years more he continued perseveringly the study before he appeared in the role again. It is evident, surely, that Mr. Hampden knows full well what it means to work, and to work hard, and to pursue relentlessly that work through long years!

In the second place, he has shown himself to be a man of self-discipline. High achievement in any art depends largely upon the willingness to master infinite details. Of course we assume that the person has good ability. For illustration, the fundamentals of acting, as of all interpreta-

tion, are four: bodily action, voice, diction, and directed emotional power. In varying degree these elements are possessed by all normal beings. These fundamentals are capable of large development. But the actor who would interpret adequately the almost inscrutable characters of the mightiest dramas of all time, must, through infinite attention to detail, gain the mastery of these powers. He must discipline himself relentlessly. Paradoxically, he who would achieve greatness as an actor must bring himself "under the yoke"; that is, he must subjugate himself at whatever cost to himself; he must in spite of pain and difficulty develop these means of expression. Nor should it be inferred that the cultivation of these elements in any sense can be, as it were, "plastered on" from without. The true artist knows that the process is slow growth from within. He knows, too, that the cardinal sin against the very spirit of adequate expression is a distraction pointing to the artist himself or even to the methods he employs. The aim of the great actor, then, is the training of his powers, not for self-exploitation, but for self-obliteration. In a sense he must banish himself from the picture in order that the characters portrayed may through him live again. The runner trains hard, that he may win a prize; but the real artist-actor disciplines himself that he may become the medium for the expression of the beautiful and the true. That Mr. Hampden has directed his energies and has devoted his talents to these high purposes is abundantly evidenced. Long years of discipline have yielded unassumed grace and masterful restraint. Now in the scene with Ophelia he is a veritable "human tempest," but he is a "human tempest" under fine control. And now he is a resourceful Crichton, imperturbable, but appropriately aloof, and obeisant to superiors. His voice, too, reveals long years of patient training. On occasion it imparts even to a word a hidden meaning, sweet and strange; and on occasion, amid the clangor of swords and spears crashing against shields, it conveys dynamic authority. And the perfection of his diction is evidenced in the award to him of the medal by the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

It is manifest that Mr. Hampden bodies forth in action, voice, diction, and emotional control a fine discipline of his powers.

In the third place, Mr. Hampden has convinced the world generally that he is a man of courageous faith. When the art of the actor is probably of all the arts in greatest chaos, he publicly affirms his faith that in the end the true and beautiful prevail. At the very time the American stage is given largely to the trivial, the temporary, and the fashionably vulgar, he devotes himself to the serious, the enduring, the eternally

challenging dramas. When managers account the production of classic plays venturesome, if not folly, he affirms his faith that Shakespeare has not yet come to his own and projects a prodigious repertory of heavy dramas. When traditional methods stand in the way he thrusts them aside. Asked why he prefers the classic dramas, he replies characteristically, "Perhaps to humble myself. There is nothing in English so difficult as Shakespeare." When in America everything concerned with the professional stage too largely is prostituted to "box-office receipts," Mr. Hampden dares in no uncertain terms to condemn the rule of the ticket-brokers, and the monopolistic plundering of the public by theatrical racketeers.

But hard work, self-discipline, and courageous faith are not enough to make an actor great. Conceivably a knavish one might have as much.

Mr. Hampden has shown in the fourth place that he is a man of high ideals. These words are not idly written of him. His unmitigated industry, his rigorous self-discipline, and his undimmed faith have back of them a mighty drive, a kind of "divine discontent," a vast, inscrutable yearning for achievement higher yet.

Now an ideal is not easy to define. We commonly say that it is "a mental picture of something that one would like to do, or to become, or to possess, or to enjoy." To put it another way, we are trying to say that every forward-looking person is "haunted with a sense of supreme good." There is something vastly better on beyond. And so the individual with a worthy ideal is "taunted with a picture into which he desires his image changed." Every boy has in his "mental eye" a vision of an ideal man, like whom he would be. The picture is often vague; and it changes every time it is approached.

But how does the pursuit of an uplifting ideal manifest itself in the life of the great actor? The answer to that query is more important than the definition of the word.

In the first place, because of his vision of the ideal, there comes to the actor-artist, as we have already stated, "a creative impatience" with what he is and with what he does. He is dissatisfied even with what the critics account his highest achievement! In the presence of his picture of what he ought to be and do—a great ideal—the actor is ashamed. Phillips Brooks once put the truth in this way: "Every really able man considers his work far short of what it should be!" He accordingly "renounces the incomplete." Such an actor Mr. Hampden has shown himself to be. One need but read the story of his unceasing toil to find abundant warrant for this statement.

In the second place, the intensive pursuit of a high ideal by the actor helps him to lay hold more intelligently upon opportunity. Edward Rowland Sill in a poem pictures a coward hanging along the battle-edge, complaining about his blunt sword, then breaking it, and flinging it away. Then the prince comes. He is wounded and hard pressed by his foes; but he snatches up this broken blade and with it wins a victory. Some, thus envious of the opportunities of others, fail to seize their own. Just so, many an actor with unworthy ideals, takes a diffident attitude toward the ceaseless development of his own powers. Many an actor without this compelling picture of what he ought to be and do, becomes inattentive to the infinite detail so necessary to the development of his action, voice, and diction. And in this very way he loses his chance. On the other hand, with native ability no greater, perhaps, another actor persistently in pursuit of a worthy ideal wrings even from adverse circumstances a yet stronger will to be and do. The long-continued self-discipline of Mr. Hampden is evidence enough of his intelligent use of opportunity.

And in the third place, the actor affords inspiration to others in his pursuit of a lofty ideal. Struggle toward a high place in the baffling art of portraying adequately the mighty characters of the classic drama is after all contagious. His high devotion to the elevation of the stage, his attempts to rid it of the evils gathering about it, his tremendous contribution to the general recognition of the place, especially of the classic drama in the theater of our time—these achievements by Mr. Hampden have afforded inspiration to many another actor, amateur and professional. Confessedly, other actor-artists, catching somewhat of his dynamic spirit, have set their wills to high purposes, too. Nor does his influence die when the great actor dies. A part of the glory of all the truly great, who long ago endured hardship to realize a compelling vision, is in those who later take up the unfinished work and carry on. Because they held to their vision of a better day and struggled heroically to bring it to the people of their time, those long since dead encourage us to struggle on. Mr. Hampden and his work are still with us. But his influence will not die with his death. The story of his courageous faith, for instance, here too briefly told, will light the way for many a downcast struggler.

Industry, self-discipline, courageous faith, and a tenacious pursuit of ideals have enabled this famous actor to make a notable contribution to the American stage.

With due regard for any imperfections this man may have, the reader of

his story may well wonder whether Hampden could have wrought more worthily.

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OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

by

THEODORE O. WEDEL



ON March 8, 1931, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, still an active member of the Supreme Court of the United States, celebrated his ninetieth birthday. An entire nation honored the occasion. For twenty-eight years he had been a Supreme Court justice. He had won for himself the great distinction of becoming a beloved name, not only to the legal profession, but to the masters of those who know everywhere, even to the man in the street. The achievement was really noteworthy. To the average citizen the Supreme Court of the United States is an abstraction merely, honored as a mystic symbol of justice in the land, or as the one institution in our democracy untouched by winds of fashion or of propaganda, but for the most part depersonalized. With the exception of Chief Justice Marshall of school-book fame, or Chief Justice Taney, notorious for the Dred Scott decision, most of us would find it difficult to remember a single one of the long line of men who have watched over the sanctity of law in this Holy of Holies of government, unless, to be sure, we think of Justice Taft or Justice Hughes, known as actors in the political arena. Justice Holmes never figured in politics. He never wrote a popular book. He remained all his days a legal specialist. Yet he thrust his way through the isolation and technical aloofness surrounding courts and law. His popularity was the triumph of a great character and of sheer excellence. It did honor to his own genius and the discernment of his fellow citizens.

The intimate biographical details of his long career are as yet meagerly recorded. In his early life three influences are of importance—the aristocratic traditions of his New England home, his father, and the Civil War. He was born on March 8, 1841, eldest son of Oliver Wendell Holmes, a practicing physician of Boston, better known to a later generation as a writer, author of the “Chambered Nautilus,” *Elsie Venner*, and *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*. To have a literary man as a father is of decided advantage even for a future devotee of the crabbed technicalities of the law. Son as well as father became a master of words. If any daughter of the Muses ever presides over lawyer’s briefs, she must have visited the cradle in this Boston home. Certainly the father’s pen took an interest in the young Oliver’s activities at several stages of his life. On the day of his birth a letter from Dr. Holmes to his sister announced the arrival of a baby who, as he said, might some day be known as the Honorable Holmes, Member of Congress,

or His Excellency, President Holmes, but who contented himself for the present with sucking his finger and scratching his face.

The father's sober hopes may not have run quite so high. Years afterwards, when the son had ascended to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, the good Doctor expressed a sufficient feeling of awe and exclaimed over the fact that his little boy was now a judge and able to send him to jail if he didn't behave himself!

Boston in the 1850's was a notable place, and the Doctor's home was the center for the best society which its aristocratic tradition could produce, particularly an intimacy with the great figures in our literary history—Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell. The boy went to a school on Boylston Street. Summers were spent in the country, first at Pittsfield, later at Beverly Farms. His college career at Harvard was foreordained. The father had been class poet in 1829; the son was to be class poet in 1861. The Civil War was in the offing, and commencement was not long over before Oliver Wendell, along with his classmates, found himself shouldering a musket and marching off to the battle-fields. The Civil War was for the future justice the great experience of his life. Echoes of its cannonading, its heroisms and baptisms of fire can be found in most of his later writings. Nor was his contact with the war a superficial one. He was thrice wounded, at Ball's Bluff, Antietam, and Fredericksburg. The wounding at Antietam gave occasion for one of the notable productions from the elder Holmes's pen. He had gone to fetch home his injured son, and described his journeyings in an article for the *Atlantic Monthly*, "My Hunt After the Captain." The search took some time and led through border towns and over battle-fields. The meeting between father and son came finally in a railroad train. The elder Holmes walked through the cars looking to this side and that. In the forward car, on the fourth seat to the right, he saw the Captain:

My first-born, whom I had sought through many cities.

"How are you, Boy?"

"How are you, Dad?"

Such are the proprieties of life, as they are observed among us Anglo-Saxons of the nineteenth century, decently disguising those natural impulses that made Joseph, the prime minister of Egypt, weep aloud so that the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard—nay, which had once overcome his shaggy old uncle Esau so entirely that he fell on his brother's neck and cried like a baby in the presence of all women.

The Civil War, far from producing in the young man a cynical disgust such as the Great War has left with our literary generation, brought to him instead a noble faith, the faith of the soldier in honor and sacrifice. The speeches and opinions of his later years are full of allusions to this



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OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

chivalric creed, the moral lodestar of his life. One of his vivid paragraphs reads thus:

High and dangerous action teaches us to believe as right beyond dispute things for which our doubting minds are slow to find words of proof. Out of heroism grows faith in the worth of heroism. The proof comes later, and even may never come. Therefore I rejoice at every dangerous sport which I see pursued . . . I gaze with delight upon our polo-players. If once in a while in our rough riding a neck is broken, I regard it, not as a waste, but as a price well paid for the breeding of a race fit for leadership and command.

Or again:

The power of honor to bind men's lives is not less now than it was in the Middle Ages. Now as then it is the breath of our nostrils; it is that for which we live, for which, if need be, we are willing to die.

The Civil War over, Oliver Wendell Holmes soon found himself in the routine grooves of a professional career. He had chosen the law, though with misgivings. He was an aristocrat, with a leaning toward philosophy, a reader of Plato, a member of the Brahmin caste of Boston. The law is a plunge into vulgar turmoil. "How can the laborious study of a dry and technical system," so he generalized his doubts later, "the greedy watch for clients and practice of shopkeepers' arts, the mannerless conflicts over often sordid interests make out a life?" In truth, vulgar circumstance never did make out his life. He soon found himself interested in the law, not for its obvious rewards, but for its philosophical significance, discovering "that a man may live greatly in the law as elsewhere." "Of course, the law is not the place for the artist or the poet. The law is the calling of thinkers." "There as well as elsewhere a man may wreak himself upon life, may drink the bitter cup of heroism, may wear his heart out after the unattainable." One of the notable traits, surely, in the character of the youthful Oliver Wendell Holmes was his willingness to submit to the disciplines of a specialist's calling, refusing to scatter his energies, and bringing to it the diversity of cultural talents with which he was endowed. In later years he could speak of the law in terms of lyric splendor:

I see a princess mightier than she who once wrought at Bayeux, eternally weaving into her web dim figures of the ever lengthening past—figures too dim to be noticed by the idle, too symbolic to be interpreted except by her pupils, but to the discerning eye disclosing every painful step and every world-shaking contest by which mankind has fought and worked its way from savage isolation to organic social life.

The early years of the young lawyer's path to fame were marked by dignified progress, though not by spectacular success. He was graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1866, was admitted to the bar in 1867; after some years as member of a law firm, he became instructor, lecturer, and then professor in Harvard, meanwhile editing for a time the *American Law Journal*, and Kent's four-volume *Commentaries on American Law*.

On June 17, 1872, he was married to Miss Fanny Dixwell, daughter of the headmaster of the Latin School he had attended as a boy. It was a happy marriage. When she died on April 30, 1929—Justice Holmes was then eighty-eight years old—friends said that a fifty-six-year honeymoon was ended. The professorial period of Holmes's career was not merely one of academic leisure, but of hard study, a preparation for the harvest years ahead. He learned to become the heroic thinker, the explorer, in the world of ideas, of unpath'd waters, untried shores. As the Justice later told an undergraduate audience:

No man has earned the right to intellectual ambition until he has learned to lay his course by a star which he has never seen—to dig by the divining-rod for springs which he may never reach. In saying this, I point to that which will make your study heroic. For I say to you in all sadness of conviction that to think great thoughts you must be heroes as well as idealists. Only when you have worked alone—when you have felt around you a great gulf of solitude more isolating than that which surrounds the dying man, and in hope and in despair have trusted to your own unshaken will—then only will you have achieved.

The years of cloistered study bore fruit in a book, *The Common Law*, published when he was forty years old, though, as is proper in Boston, delivered in the form of Lowell Lectures a year earlier. Apart from speeches and judicial opinions and products of editorial labors, it is the one book of his life, a venture into the philosophy of jurisprudence, a book full of wit and wisdom, which even the layman finds it profitable to read. It became known soon internationally, and has stood ever since as a landmark both in legal science and in the author's rise to a position of leadership. In 1882 Mr. Holmes turned into Justice Holmes, severing with some reluctance his connection with Harvard to become a member of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. He was to be known as Justice Holmes for fifty years, with two promotions merely marking milestones in his long career on the bench. In 1899 he became chief justice of the Massachusetts Court, and in 1902, justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, an appointee of President Theodore Roosevelt. Chosen by Roosevelt because he gave promise of favoring the newly launched campaign against monopolies, he shortly gave an exhibition of judicial independence by voting in dissent and contrary to the President's wishes in the Northern Securities Case. Another thirty years of writing decisions with his winged pen lay before him, probably to his own surprise. When, every year he took a fledgling graduate from the Harvard Law School to be his secretary for a twelvemonth, he exacted a promise not to become engaged during the period. "But I reserve the right," the Justice used to add with a twinkle, "to die or resign." His resignation, however, did not arrive until January 11, 1932, and his death until March 6, 1935.

Among the personal traits of the Justice, none was more characteristic

than his sense of humor, that gift of the gods which makes specialists civilized and brings to old men a draught from the fountain of youth. He was unmistakably the cultured aristocrat, prepared to flay the ignoble equation of high and low. He said:

When the passion for equality is not content with founding social intercourse upon universal human sympathy, and a community of interest in which all may share, but attacks the lines of Nature which establish orders and degrees among the souls of men—it is not only wrong, but ignobly wrong.

Yet his democracy, on the levels of life where distinctions have no place, was equally evident. "The deepest cause we have to love our country," he said, "is that instinct, that spark, that makes the American unable to meet his fellow man otherwise than simply as a man, eye to eye, hand to hand, and foot to foot, wrestling naked on the sand." What he called "the tempestuous untamed streaming of the world," or "the palpitating manifoldness of a truly civilized life," was for him an ever fresh adventure. The absence in him of snobbery, even the snobbery of age and superior wisdom, accounts for the enthusiasm with which successive generations of youth greeted him. He read the latest as well as the oldest of books, though newspapers were barred from his home. He once suggested, when chief justice, that the lawyers of the state would do well to take a course in risqué French novels and so learn to speak in innuendo rather than at length. His wit was a perennial joy, in his writings and in his talk—his saying, for example, that the novels of Zola, which were shocking the good ladies of Boston, were "improving but dull." The dignity of his office, indeed, did not overawe him, and his impromptu remarks enlivened the solemn proceedings of the bench to the delight of newspaper reporters. A lawyer arguing before the Court and interrupted by a disturbing question was rescued by the interjected advice of Justice Holmes: "I would not answer that question if I were you." His tall figure was for years a picturesque object of interest in our national capital. The remark of a distinguished judge—"There is Holmes, and there are all the other judges"—could be taken as a symbol of the esteem which appeared to be naturally his due.

To come to grips with Justice Holmes as a legal thinker, to wrestle with his court opinions, stylistically brilliant and unburdened with technicalities though they are, is a severe exercise in mental gymnastics. The specific place which he will occupy in the history of constitutional law obviously can not be assigned him by laymen in juristic lore. But even a rule-of-thumb evaluation of his social philosophy is a business fraught with danger. Was he a liberal or a conservative? Did he uphold the traditional rights of property, or, with Justice Brandeis, consistently subordinate them to community needs? A simple formula is not easy to find, though the thinking of Justice Holmes was evidently consistent, and not a mere yielding to

the expediency of the moment. If by liberal we mean a welcoming of experiments in government, particularly on the part of the individual states, Justice Holmes was indeed a liberal. Free speech had in him a staunch defender. He said:

When men have realized that time has upset many fighting beliefs, they may come to believe even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market, and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out. That, at any rate, is the theory of our Constitution. It is an experiment, as all life is an experiment.

His faith in reason and its power to prevail among reasonable men was vividly stated in another oft-quoted sentence: "With effervescing opinions, as with not yet forgotten champagnes, the quickest way to let them get flat is to let them get exposed to the air." Yet even on the subject of free speech, Justice Holmes stopped short of fanaticism. "The most stringent protection of free speech," he said in one of his opinions, "would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic."¹

A generous acceptance of experiment in life and in thought—even of such a thing as radical pacifism, as in the trial of Rosika Schwimmer—was, indeed, a never failing mark of Justice Holmes. But if by liberalism is meant a tendency, however shaded, toward the newer sentimental faiths, be they Communism or Socialism, or any schematic salvation of society, Justice Holmes was quick to dissent. A Justice Brandeis was ready to say that "above all rights rises duty to the community." Justice Holmes could be cited in rebuttal:

I do not believe that we must justify our pursuits by the motive of social well-being . . . I think it one of the glories of man that he does not sow seed and weave cloth and produce all the other economic means simply to sustain and multiply other sowers and weavers that they in their turn may multiply, and so *ad infinitum*, but that on the contrary he devotes a certain part of his economic means to uneconomic ends—ends, too, which he finds in himself and not elsewhere.

The fight, furthermore, waged by social reformers against property in the form of great fortunes secured little comfort from Justice Holmes. His barbed sentences cut their way through the thick underbrush of well-meant but sentimental thinking. It was no wonder that he said, "We must think things and not words." "I have no belief in panaceas, and almost none in sudden ruin."

I hold to a few articles of a creed that I do not expect to see popular in my day. I believe that the wholesale social regeneration which so many now seem to expect, if it can be helped by conscious, coördinated human effort, can not be affected appreciably by tinkering with the institution of property, but only by taking in hand life and trying to build a race. That would be my starting point for an

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ideal for the law. The notion that with socialized property we should have women free and a piano for everybody seems to me an empty humbug.

Or again:

The real problem is not who owns, but who consumes, the annual product . . . I conceive that economically it does not matter whether you call Rockefeller or the United States owner of all the wheat in the United States, if that wheat is annually consumed by the body of the people.

A clue to the ultimate philosophical principles guiding Justice Holmes may be found by thinking of him, with all his manifest idealism, as a sceptic. Now scepticism, in the high and severe meaning of the word, is a rare thing in the world, a monopoly of disciplined wisdom. Socrates in ancient Athens, defining his key to the temple of wisdom as "knowing that he did not know," found few men to agree with him. Scepticism means a denial of absolutes, and avoidance of dogmatic certitude, a falling back upon merely relative truth, and yet refusing to set up even relativity as a philosophic god. The radical's crusade for a new society is as impossible for the sceptic as the philistine's trust in things as they are. An atheist is not a sceptic; his creed is an astounding pretension to knowledge. The sceptic, in his search for truth, must resort to the golden mean of common sense, the simple convictions of mankind's immemorial experience. He may or may not take refuge in a positive religious faith, but he will not confuse faith or romantic dreaming with realistic fact. Hence, in approaching the problem of society, he is ready to deal with men as they are and not as they ought to be. He may even appear to the sentimentalist to be something of a cynic.

All these marks of the unsentimental sceptic were found in Justice Holmes. "To have doubted one's own first principles," so he generalized his questioning attitude, "is the mark of a civilized man." Absolute truth is not for fallible human nature. "I believe that we are in the belly of the universe, not it in us." "As there are many things that I can not help doing that the universe can, I do not venture to assume that my inabilities of thought are inabilities of the universe. I therefore define truth as the system of my inabilities, and leave absolute truth for those who are better equipped. With absolute truth I leave absolute ideals of conduct equally on one side." "It seems to me that my only promising activity is to make *my* universe coherent and livable, not to babble about *the* universe." With absolute truth ruled out of court, legal absolutes and ideals are equally taboo. At the beginning of his *Common Law* stands the sentence, "The life of the law has not been logic; it has been experience." Law is to be viewed as realistically as truth. It does not pretend to be equivalent to morality, or even to preach a lofty unselfishness. It is a social device, that is all. "It seems to me clear"—I am quoting from *Common Law* once more—"that the *ultima ratio*, not only of kings, but of private persons, is force, and that at the

bottom of all private relations, however tempered by sympathy and all the social feelings, is a justifiable self-preference . . . No rules founded on a theory of absolute unselfishness can be laid down without a breach between law and working beliefs." Such pronouncements may shock through their naked exactness, but they clear the air. Perhaps the extent to which Justice Holmes permitted his realistic view of life to oppose the dreams of humanitarian reformers can be seen in his belief, stated as he said in all humility, that "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might" is of far greater importance than the vain effort to "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

In the midst of this sceptical questioning, this refusal to let the law run away from the brute facts of human selfishness and ignorance into optimistic chimeras, does it follow that Justice Holmes lived without ideals set above the crowd's ignoble strife? Clearly not. The title of one of his speeches, "Doubts and Ideals," can be interpreted as significant. Of positive religious conviction he had, perhaps, none. But his lifelong love of Plato was not in vain. However vaguely formulated, a mystic faith runs like a thread of scarlet through the realistic weaving of his thought. There is always the soldier's creed of honor, of work heroically done. There is trust, in a world of relative truth, in the wise experience of mankind, of which the law is one of the great deposits. Life is a game with rules. "Doubt as to the value of some of those rules," said Justice Holmes, "is no sufficient reason why they should not be followed by the courts." The universe, so his scepticism argued, "may be indeed too great a swell to condescend to have a meaning." But this is no cause for despair. It does not follow that without absolute ideals "we have nothing to do but to sit still and let time run over us." "Every year, if not every day, we have to wager our salvation upon some prophecy based upon imperfect knowledge." Even in a world of ignorance we can hold fast to the conviction "that one's final judge is one's self." "Without ideals, what is life worth?" Here and there in some of his more intimate self-revelations Justice Holmes even rises to the faith of the world's great mystics—"faith in a universe not measured by our fears, a universe that has thought and more than thought inside of it." Once, in a funeral oration commemorating a friend of many years, he spoke words which clearly express his own Stoic convictions about life:

What is any remembrance of men to our high ambitions? Sooner or later the race of men will die; but we demand an eternal record. We have it. What we have done is woven forever in the great vibrating web of the world. The eye that can read the import of its motion can decipher the story of all our deeds, of all our thoughts.

One can use, as a closing comment on Justice Holmes, one of his own favorite quotations from the poems of George Herbert:

Who sweeps a room as for Thy laws,
Makes that and the action fine.

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HERBERT HOOVER

HERBERT HOOVER

by

ERIK MCKINLEY ERIKSSON

SUCCESSFUL engineer and business man, great humanitarian, administrator extraordinary, exemplar of individualism, and defender of the "American way of life"—these are terms which may fittingly be applied to Herbert Clark Hoover, thirty-first president of the United States. His career is but another demonstration that in the United States there is genuine equality of opportunity. As he himself said in 1928 when informed that he had been nominated as the Republican candidate for the office of president, "In no other land could a boy from a country village, without inheritance or influential friends, look forward with unbounded hope." His rise to greatness was not an accident or the result of "luck." By his industry he prepared himself to take advantage of opportunities when they presented themselves; by his thoroughness, perseverance, and efficiency he paved the way for advancement step by step until, finally, he was elected to the highest office in the land, that of president of the United States.

The country village in which he was born on August 10, 1874, was West Branch, Iowa. His parents were Jesse Clark and Hulda Randall Hoover. The future president belonged to the sixth generation of Hoovers in America, for he was descended from Andrew Hoover who had located in Maryland as early as 1740. The Hoovers were Quakers as were the other residents of West Branch. Jesse Hoover was a blacksmith and a dealer in agricultural implements.

By the time he was ten years old, Herbert Hoover was orphaned by the death of his father and mother, whereupon he was taken into the home of his uncle, Allan Hoover, a farmer. After a short time he went to live with another uncle, John Minthorn, in Oregon. This uncle was an educator who conducted an academy at Newberg. Later, Mr. Minthorn moved to Salem where he engaged in the real-estate business. Before going to Oregon, young Hoover, in accordance with Quaker practice, had already learned the meaning of the word "work." Naturally, in his new Western home he made himself useful by "doing the chores" and performing other duties for his uncle.

Becoming interested in science, Hoover decided to enter the newly established Leland Stanford University in 1891. Throughout his four years there he financed himself by performing various kinds of work. During

several summer vacations he found employment with the federal Geological Survey, thus earning money while, at the same time, gaining practical experience in the field of science in which he was particularly interested. In 1895 he graduated with the degree of bachelor of arts in engineering. This was the first of many degrees which he was eventually to receive. After his rise to fame, educational institutions in the United States and abroad were proud to award him honorary degrees. By 1940 he had received such degrees from forty-nine colleges and universities.

At Stanford he gained much more than his scientific training and his first degree. It was there that he met Miss Lou Henry of Monterey, California, who became his wife on February 10, 1899.

After leaving Stanford, Hoover secured employment as a laborer pushing a hand-car in the Mayflower Mine at Grass Valley in northern California. Within a short time he secured a better position with Louis Janin, an outstanding mining engineer in San Francisco. As Janin's representative he visited and made reports on mines not only in California but also in the neighboring states of Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Colorado. Janin was so pleased with his work that he recommended him to the international mining firm of Bewick Moreing and Company for a position in Australia. At the time Hoover was only twenty-three years of age, but Janin is reported to have stated his age to be thirty-five in order to further his chance for the appointment.

In western Australia, Hoover introduced American machinery and methods in the mining of gold. He next successfully aided in the development of the mineral resources of China. This led, in 1902, to an offer of a partnership in the firm of Bewick Moreing and Company. Thereafter his work took him to Japan, New Zealand, India, South Africa, Egypt, the Malay States, and Italy.

By 1908 he had attained such success in his chosen profession that he was able to set himself up as both a consulting and operative engineer, with the whole world as his field. In 1909 he established metallurgical plants in Russia, together with railroads and ships necessary to serve them. During that same year he also did metallurgical work in Korea, Germany, and France. Two years later he was engaged in the development of the mineral resources of Russian Siberia. By that time his activities required him to go practically around the globe each year. He maintained offices in London, New York, San Francisco, and St. Petersburg, as well as in at least eight cities in the Far East. By 1913 he was an executive in at least six companies located on five continents and he was a consulting engineer for many other companies. Through his efforts he had amassed a fortune.

Had it not been for the first World War which broke out in 1914, Hoover might have spent the rest of his life in his chosen profession. But the war changed his career completely, causing him to turn from private enterprise to public service when he was at the height of his business and professional success.

Despite the pressure of his work, Hoover had made it a habit to spend a month or more almost every year in the United States. His interest in things American was demonstrated by the long list of professional and social organizations with which he affiliated. Not least of his American interests was his alma mater of which he became a trustee in 1912, a position he has continued to hold ever since.

In 1913 the Hoovers left London, where they had lived for some time, and returned to Palo Alto, California, in order that their two sons, Herbert Clark and Allan Henry, might be educated in American schools. They had hardly become settled there before the officials of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, which was scheduled to be held in San Francisco in 1915, asked him to return to Europe to persuade European governments to participate in the affair. Thus it came about that he was in London when the war broke out.

The crisis caused hundreds of Americans to be stranded in Europe and particularly in England. Even though they had ample resources in the United States, people found it difficult to secure the money necessary to maintain themselves and to pay their passage home. Hoover did not hesitate but immediately created the American Relief Committee. For a period extending into 1915, he directed the work of this Committee, personally endorsing the paper of Americans so that they could receive cash at a designated London bank. The record shows that the Committee accepted personal paper to the extent of \$1,500,000 and suffered a loss of only \$400.

When the Committee's work had been largely completed the Hoovers prepared once more to return to Palo Alto. Mrs. Hoover and her sons actually sailed but, before Mr. Hoover could follow, a delegation arrived from Belgium seeking relief for the people of the country who were facing starvation. Again, it was natural to turn to the man who had shown such a genius for organization to direct the relief efforts. Hoover accepted without hesitation the responsibility and proceeded to organize the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which he headed from 1915 to 1919. His task was not merely to raise money with which to buy food but to persuade the British, on the one hand, to relax their sea blockade so as to permit the food to enter Belgium and, on the other hand, to secure a pledge from the

German officials that the relief materials would not be confiscated. How well Hoover succeeded in this mighty task is a matter of history. By his diplomacy and persuasiveness he secured the necessary coöperation of both the British and the Germans. The Commission secured millions of dollars from private individuals in the United States but its task was too great for private charity. Within two years, Hoover was able to secure one hundred million dollars from the British government and twice that amount from the French government. Before the Commission's work was ended, about one billion dollars had been spent for supplies to feed approximately half the population of Belgium and northern France. All the accounts of the organization were carefully audited at Hoover's insistence. The administrative expense amounted to only about one-half of one per cent of the whole expenditure.

While he was still engaged in the Belgian relief work, Hoover was called back to the United States, after this nation entered the war, to become food administrator, a position which he held from June 1917 to July 1, 1919. His task as administrator was threefold: to stimulate the production of foodstuffs so that it would be possible to feed the American civilian population, the American armed forces, and the Allies; to encourage the conservation of food through such expedients as "meatless days" and "wheatless days"; and to prevent the prices of foodstuffs from becoming too high. This was not a program designed to make a man popular, but Hoover performed his task with characteristic thoroughness and efficiency. To aid in carrying on the work of the Food Administration, Hoover organized and headed the United States Grain Corporation and the United States Sugar Equalization Board.

During the period of the war he also found time to serve as a member of the War Trade Council and as chairman of the Interallied Food Council, the Supreme Economic Council, and the European Coal Council.

Five days after the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, ending the World War fighting, Hoover was again on his way to Europe as chairman of the newly created American Relief Commission. At first this Administration was but a branch of the Food Administration designed to dispose of surplus American food products for the relief of needy people in countries with which the United States had not been at war. Congress appropriated one hundred million dollars for this relief work. Later, Hoover transformed the Relief Administration into a private agency and raised thirty-five million dollars in the United States through private donations to carry on relief throughout Europe. The relief work was extended from Western Europe to Poland and to Russia. Hoover managed

to secure about twelve million dollars in gold from the Soviet government for the relief work.

The world has never seen such an amazing demonstration of humanitarianism as that for which Hoover was chiefly responsible during and after the World War. Literally millions of people escaped starvation because of his unselfish devotion to the task of relief. Yet this was the man whom the American people were to remove from the presidency as a result of the election of 1932, because they were afraid that he could not cope with depression conditions.

Due to his numerous activities in all parts of the world, Hoover was able to give little attention to American politics before 1921. Because of his service as food administrator under President Wilson, many had assumed that he was a Democrat. But he had always been a Republican. As early as 1909 he had joined the National Republican Club. It was his distinguished record that thrust him into politics. He was frequently mentioned as a possible presidential candidate in 1920. He actually received thirteen votes in the Republican national convention in June of that year.

His obvious popularity among the people if not among the professional politicians caused a position in the Cabinet of President Harding to be offered Hoover. He accepted and on March 5, 1921, entered upon his duties as secretary of commerce. He was reappointed to this office by President Coolidge and continued to serve until June 1928, when he resigned due to his nomination as the Republican candidate for the presidency.

When Hoover assumed the office, the Department of Commerce was regarded as the most insignificant of the ten departments; when he left his position, it was considered as one of the most important. This was due to the fact that, through the application of the Hoover genius for organization, the Department became what it was intended to be—a real aid to the American business men and industrialists.

Under Hoover's direction, the existing bureaus in his Department were vitalized and made to serve the public more efficiently. The Bureau of Navigation became more diligent in safeguarding travel by water; the Bureau of the Census was transformed into a great fact-finding agency; the Bureau of Fisheries was developed into an organization devoted to the promotion of both marine and game fishing; the Bureau of Mines was expanded so as to prevent more effectively mine accidents; and the Bureau of Patents, instead of being about a year and a half behind in its work, was enabled to pass on patent applications soon after they were filed.

Particularly important was the transformation wrought in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. After consultations with leading

manufacturers, Hoover set up within the Bureau about forty commodity divisions, each devoted to a definite commodity such as steel or automobiles and each headed by an experienced business man nominated by the industry concerned. Then special commercial attaches, trade commissions, and trade commissioners were sent to all parts of the world to report on possible markets for American goods. To make it easier for American business men to avail themselves of the information gathered, twenty-three regional offices were scattered over the United States. Because of these developments the number of inquiries by business men for information increased from two hundred thousand to about two million four hundred thousand a year.

In the Bureau of Standards Hoover created a Division of Commercial Standards. This Division gave special attention to the promotion of "simplified practice" in industry. Through consultation and coöperation freely extended rather than through the medium of laws, the variety of many industrial products was greatly reduced, with consequent saving to the manufacturers and greater convenience to the consumers. For example, the number of sizes of paving bricks was reduced from sixty-six to five, and bed sizes were reduced from seventy-four to four. Before Hoover left office, no less than eighty-six industries had been benefited by the adoption of his "simplified practice."

While thus building up the Department of Commerce, Hoover found time for numerous other important tasks. On September 20, 1921, he was appointed chairman of the President's Conference on Unemployment. This Conference was able to devise plans whereby unemployment, resulting from the primary post-war depression of 1921, was greatly lessened. In November 1921, he was appointed a member of the Advisory Committee of the Limitation of Armaments Conference, otherwise known as the Washington Conference. Because of his intimate knowledge of conditions in Europe, he was appointed in 1923 as a member of the Foreign Debt Commission, authorized by Congress to negotiate terms of settlement for the World War and post-war debts owed this country by various European countries. He also served as chairman of the Colorado River Commission representing seven states. As a result of the work of this Commission an interstate compact was adopted which made possible the great Hoover Dam—later renamed Boulder Dam by hostile politicians. In addition to the important activities mentioned, Hoover presided over the St. Lawrence Waterway Commission, and in 1927 he served as chairman of the Mississippi Flood Commission which brought relief to thousands of people driven from their homes by the great flood of that year. He also presided over the International Radio Conference which formulated principles for the government of radio, then a new type of communication. As secretary of

commerce, Hoover had issued the first broadcasting licenses in this country.

But this was not all. In 1922 he became an organizer and first president of an unofficial society known as "Better Homes in America," which by 1927 had about three thousand six hundred chapters. He found time to serve in 1920 as president of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers; in 1921 as president of the American Engineering Council; and in 1922 as president of the American Child Health Association. Somehow, he found time in 1922 to write a book entitled, *American Individualism*.

In view of his notable record as an engineer, business man, humanitarian, and administrator, Herbert Hoover was the logical choice of the Republican party as its presidential candidate in 1928. Though he had a formidable opponent in Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic candidate, Hoover won an overwhelming victory. He carried all but eight states and secured the votes of over twenty-one million persons or 58 per cent of all the votes cast.

Hoover had been in the White House only a few months before the "great depression" began. His political opponents quickly took advantage of the situation and, instead of coöperating with the President in efforts to halt the economic decline, put every possible obstruction in his way. A "smear Hoover" campaign was inaugurated which had as its purpose the discrediting of the Hoover administration and of President Hoover personally. He was blamed for the depression, though any fair-minded and intelligent person must know that it was due to world-unsettlement growing out of the World War, to speculation, and other causes beyond the President's control. Then it was charged that he was a "do-nothing" president incapable of exercising the kind of leadership needed to cope with the crisis. Yet, the President had a program which might have accomplished much more than it did had he received needed coöperation instead of bitter and unreasoning opposition. Even in the face of this opposition his program achieved results for, by the middle of 1932, the country began to show signs of recovery—signs which were quickly obliterated after Hoover's defeat for reelection in November of that year.

Only the main outlines of the Hoover recovery program can be given here. This program was made possible only by marked extensions of federal activity. Yet, as Hoover later pointed out, his measures "were within the Constitution of the United States."

In the early stages of the depression, President Hoover believed that industry and business could, through coöperative efforts, cope with the situation. Therefore, in November and December 1929, he summoned to

the White House leaders in the nation's economic life. He secured from them promises to expand construction projects and to maintain the existing wage scales—promises that were kept for a few months only.

To aid business, he recommended to Congress that taxes should be reduced. The results were disappointing. Beginning in the fiscal year 1930-1931, the federal government began to incur deficits with the result that borrowing became necessary. Consequently the national debt grew from \$16,185,000,000 in 1930 to \$20,858,055,366 by the time Hoover left office on March 4, 1933. Though President Hoover was accused of gross extravagance, the fact is that the annual rate of debt increase in the last three years of the Hoover administration was only about one-half the rate during the succeeding administration.

While President Hoover was willing to have the federal government finance public works for the purpose of creating employment, he insisted that the works undertaken must be "of sound economic purpose," that they must have been "subject to searching technical investigation," and that they must have "been given adequate consideration by the Congress."

To say that he was opposed to relief for the needy would be very unfair. No man had ever demonstrated a greater understanding of the problem of relief than had this great humanitarian. Yet, because he was true to his oath to uphold the Constitution which, in his opinion, did not permit the federal government to enter directly into the field of relief, he was vilified as one who had no sympathy with the victims of the depression. Though he was insistent that the state and local governments should not be allowed to lose their sense of responsibility for the relief problem, he did consent in 1932, under strong political pressure, to a measure which provided for loans, up to a total of \$300,000,000, to states unable to finance their own relief programs.

In 1931, as conditions became worse, President Hoover was chiefly instrumental in arranging a one-year moratorium on all interallied debts and on German reparation payments. This moratorium probably prevented a complete economic collapse in Germany and Europe generally.

Then, in December 1931, he presented to Congress a formidable program for dealing with the depression. In spite of the bitter hostility of the national legislative body, important parts of his program were accepted. Foremost among these was the proposal for a federal lending agency called the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This agency, set up in February 1932, was continued during the succeeding administration. Undoubtedly, it was one of the most effective agencies set up to cope with the depression.

Also on President Hoover's recommendation, Congress in 1932 created

the federal Home Loan Bank system, designed to liberalize the financing of homes. The federal Land Bank System, created in 1916, was revived and credit expansion was secured as further results of the President's recommendations. Other proposals were rejected or ignored by the hostile Congress.

President Hoover was much interested in aiding the farmers. Shortly after his inauguration in 1929, he called a special session of Congress and recommended the enactment of farm legislation. The result was the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 which was designed to promote coöperation by farmers and which set up the Farm Board to handle farm surpluses. Increasingly bad economic conditions prevented this Board from solving the nation's agricultural problems.

By 1932 the "smear Hoover" campaign had accomplished the results desired by its political sponsors. President Hoover was renominated for the presidency by the Republican party with practically no opposition. But in the November election he was defeated by a vote as overwhelming as that by which he had achieved the victory four years earlier. His opponent carried forty-two states and received over 57 per cent of the popular vote.

To be thus repudiated was naturally a great blow to President Hoover. His last weeks in the White House were made even darker than before by a bank panic which began in February 1933. This panic might have been averted or quickly stopped had his political opponents shown any inclination to coöperate.

After his successor entered the White House and undertook one measure after another which had the effect of stretching or even breaking the Constitution (as the Supreme Court later ruled), former President Hoover withheld public criticism. Finally, late in the summer of 1934, unable longer to tolerate the centralization of government and the concentration of power in the hands of the Chief Executive and of special bureaucratic agencies, Hoover published a series of articles in the *Saturday Evening Post* under the title, "The Challenge To Liberty." Later these articles appeared in book form under the same title.

Since 1934 former President Hoover has been probably the most effective critic of the New Deal. Stung by the fickleness, the ingratitude, and the lack of understanding of the American public, he has shown no desire to run for the presidency again, though he received votes in the 1940 Republican national convention.

Between his numerous speeches, which he delivers with telling effect, he finds time for fishing, a sport which he greatly enjoys. He also finds time to fulfill his duties as a trustee of Stanford University, Mills College, the

Carnegie Institution of Washington, and the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, as well as those of a director of the New York Life Insurance Company.

When Russia invaded Finland in December 1939, it was natural that Hoover should become head of the Finnish relief work in the United States. By the summer of 1940 he was busy seeking ways and means to bring relief to the civilians threatened with famine in the countries conquered by Germany. Though others were indifferent, Herbert Hoover was once again assuming the role as the world's greatest humanitarian.

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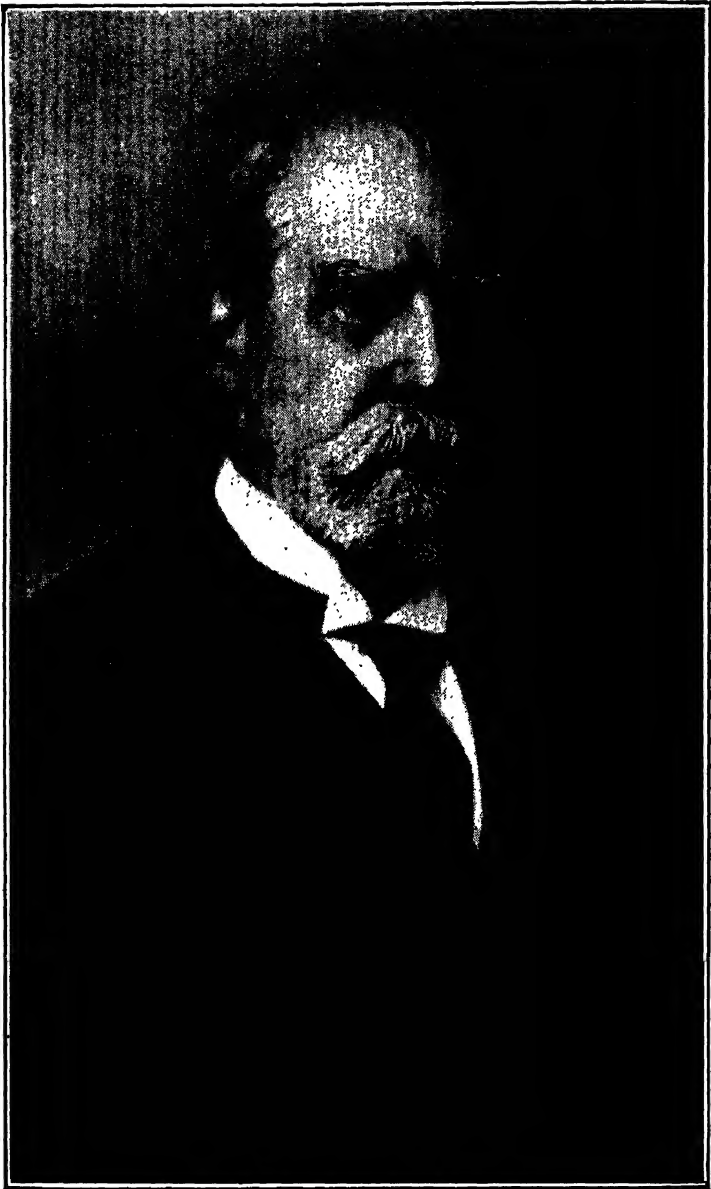
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CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

by

ROSCOE LEWIS ASHLEY



AMONG American public men of the twentieth century none is more truly representative than Charles Evans Hughes. When he entered a public career, in 1905, the United States was in the midst of a period of frenzied finance and political corruption. Against the forces of evil in business and in politics Hughes was one of the most earnest and serious of the reformers of that age of reform. He was not the earliest of these prophets of a new day nor was he the most radical, but he might easily be considered typical.

Surging reform yielded to a milder and broader movement for public welfare. Hughes, now a justice of the United States Supreme Court, might seem far removed from the field of action. On the contrary it was our highest tribunal that gave tone, endorsement, and effect to this pre-war humanitarian experience of the new social democracy.

After the tumult and the shouting died came reconstruction and reaction. International coöperation had been necessary during the world-crisis, but America as well as Europe sought refuge from a world of change and threatened chaos in nationalism of the old type. First government and then business turned to Hughes as the most capable person to analyze its problems, direct its policies, and present its arguments. First as secretary of state, later as leader of the American bar, Hughes represented this new "Big Business" American nationalism as the need of the time and the wish of the people.

From the lofty position of chief justice of the United States Supreme Court Hughes stands as the arbiter of a new age and an unknown destiny. The times are uncertain and critical. When he assumed the position, blatant nationalism had had its day and "Big Business" its way. Internationalism and humanitarianism were coming into their own. Who better than Hughes, the deep, clear thinker, with an equipment of vast knowledge, with a background of service and a vision of world-coöperation, to redirect the legal and constitutional policies of the American people?

The early years of the boy were spent in a good home which gave him the finest kind of Christian training. The home lacked the picturesqueness of the frontier cabin; the training was more conventional than that given by the contacts of an East Side Manhattan tenement. Charles' father, the

Rev. David C. Hughes, was a Baptist clergyman, his mother, Mary Connelly Hughes, a former school-teacher. Charles was born at Glens Falls, New York, April 11, 1862.

From the beginning his preparation was ideal for the high office he occupies today. Characteristic of his whole life was an experience of his first, and only, week in primary school. At the end of the third day he placed on his father's desk a paper entitled, "Charles E. Hughes, His Plan of Study." Then and there he argued and won his first case. Thenceforth he pursued his own self-directed study under the guidance of his mother. Throughout life we find the same careful planning and attention to essentials. A secretary of state who had the same lunch daily, with exactly nineteen minutes for the detail, was the natural successor of the lad who worked by schedule, long hours toward definite goals. Like many another successful scholar in other fields, he specialized in mathematics. The careful, elaborate reasoning of legal argument and judicial decision bears frequent evidence of this early training. The seriousness of the lad is revealed in his fondness for thoughtful literature. Especially enlightening is his boyhood essay on the "Limitations of the Human Mind." Until maturity fiction was beneath his notice.

Representative, Hughes may have been as a public man; typical, he certainly has not been. Few have inherited more than a tithe of his brains, or have achieved a small measure of his unflagging industry or almost appalling thoroughness. Imagine being debarred from the Freshman class at college at the tender age of thirteen, because of youth! Yet at fourteen he did enter the Sophomore class at Madison College, (now Colgate University) transferring later to Brown University, from which he received the degree of bachelor of arts in 1881, at the age of nineteen. Three years later he was graduated with honors from the Columbia School of Law.

Silent years were the score from bar admission to the first public service. He was Prize Fellow at Columbia 1884-1887. In 1888 he married Antoinette Carter, a woman of unusual charm and dignity. The family circle included one son and three daughters. For a time there was a break in the career as attorney. For two years the classroom called him, when he taught in the Cornell School of Law. The appeal of teaching continued, as he gave special lectures on law in more than one university. The law practice that took most of his time during these years from 1884 to 1905 was devoted chiefly to small cases, particularly those of business men of moderate means. As a child he had had few luxuries, for his father enjoyed only a modest income. Hughes referred to himself as "a poor man's man." Even in years of great success he did not lose sight of the problems and needs of the common people.

The temper of the man is shown by his first and second, rather reluctant, experiences in the lime-light. When in 1905 the Stevens Committee of the New York Legislature wanted an investigator of the New York City Gas Trust, the members again and again urged Hughes to accept the task. His reluctance was due solely to his fear that he might be asked to work against his conscience. Again the next year, when the Armstrong Committee requested his assistance in probing scandals in some of the insurance companies, he accepted the responsibility with characteristic directness. He must be absolutely unhampered and under no obligation whatsoever. Friend and foe stood amazed at the vastness of the information he gathered, at his skill in penetrating to the heart of his problem, at his power of interpreting the meaning of intricate and involved masses of apparently unrelated materials.

With the investigation of the Equitable Life Insurance Company Hughes retired from private life for good. For weeks his revelations occupied front-page space in the daily press. Under a merciless fire of questions, life-insurance officials revealed evils unsuspected by the public in what was really a huge savings and investment trust. Night after night Hughes went over great masses of documents or other evidence, or conferred with those who had information to give. It was a crusade against business mulcting the public, a crusade particularly needed in that transition to an age of "Big Business." From the recommendations of Hughes to the Armstrong Committee came reform legislation. Policies became standardized. Salaries, premiums, and surpluses have been regulated. Control was shifted from executives to policy-holders. Every widow and orphan, every investor in insurance, owes a big debt to this zealous advocate of righteous administration of public funds.

Versatility has been the product of an unusual series of experiences in public service. The man Hughes was requisitioned again and again for an especially difficult or delicate task. Three times executive office was the position which Hughes alone seemed competent to fill. In New York State in 1906 and 1908 as Republican candidate for governor, the call came because of his courage, absolute integrity, and loyalty to people's needs. The politicians did not want him then, never have wanted him. He was always out to win, not by finesse or by playing politics, but by the earnestness of his appeal and by the rightness of his cause. He won in 1906 against William Randolph Hearst. He alone of Republicans was chosen to state executive office. He carried the ticket with him up-state but in Greater New York eighty-cent gas and honest life-insurance turned the tide for him but not for his colleagues.

In office Hughes fought a good fight against the "Albany gang" and the die-hards of an older economic and political regime. He won against

race-track gambling and started a direct primary election law on its way. The lawyer in him made him oppose ratification of the Income-Tax Amendment on what seems to a layman a technicality. But his two terms as governor of the Empire State showed much reform legislation and many victories for the people. For him this was a time of severe criticism and of repeated honors. In the period several universities conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws.

Before the second term was over, he was asked in 1910 by President Taft to fill a vacancy in the United States Supreme Court. A major transition this, from the battle-field of state politics to the dignity and serenity of our highest national tribunal. Successful fighter and exhorter as he was, he was by training and by temperament even better fitted for a task that demanded impartiality, a profound knowledge of law, and a capacity to comprehend permanent principles of the American constitutional system.

Hughes had been suggested as a candidate for the presidency in 1912 but was too wise to consider that possibility. In 1916 the case was different. The Progressive movement had almost disappeared even if the Progressive organization remained. The two wings of the Republican party met in Chicago on June 7, in the hope of uniting on a candidate if not a platform. Who more acceptable than Charles E. Hughes? During the party schism he had been aloof from partisan controversies. By legal training and experience he was conservative, a conformer. By temperament and again by experience, he was liberal, a reformer. When he was nominated by the Republicans, he resigned from the Supreme Court. In commending Republican policies he asserted: "I can not fail to answer with the pledge of all that is in me to the service of our country. I accept the nomination." Although the Progressives nominated Theodore Roosevelt, that great leader refused in favor of Hughes.

The descent from the heights of Areopagus to the brawls of the Assembly was not made gracefully or with ease. Hughes was criticized for resigning from the Supreme Court to reënter politics, especially after he began his disastrous Western campaign with more vigor than discretion. Notwithstanding the domestic achievements of Woodrow Wilson's unusually successful administration, Hughes had at hand ample material for criticism. The President's whole Mexican policy was like a gift from the gods, so friendless and unpopular was it. Disregard of our rights as neutrals by both Great Britain and Germany offered wonderful opportunity for caustic comment and invective. But the political acumen shown before service in the Supreme Court was totally lacking on the Pacific coast. Nothing was done to heal a real break in the Far West between regular and progressive. In the hands of his friends both in Washington and in California he was

made the tool or the dupe of partisan jealousy. His own good intentions availed little against the petty refusal of his associates to coöperate for the good of the candidate and the party. To one who followed that unfortunate trip from Puget Sound to Long Beach, there was no surprise in the November decision that California had voted for Wilson, although giving Hiram Johnson a good majority as United States senator.

In 1916 the voters were confronted by a choice between two men who were conspicuously gentlemen and scholars, two of the ablest and brainiest candidates that had ever sought this highest elective office. The campaign was correspondingly uninspiring. The slogan of Wilson's supporters, "He has kept us out of war," appealed to the women voters, only two of the twelve woman-suffrage states giving Hughes their electoral vote. Hughes had the misfortune and the humiliation to be proclaimed successful, only to find that later returns gave his opponent the victory. The final electoral vote was 277 for Wilson to 254 for Hughes, the President having a popular plurality of almost five hundred thousand. Seven states were carried by margins of less than five thousand voters, three of them by Hughes. One can not but wonder how the history of America might have been different if Hughes had been in the White House during the momentous years of the first World War and restored peace!

That World War left America as well as Europe restless, unsettled, and reactionary. In war new international coöperation was necessary, new heights of patriotism were reached. After the war came reconstruction with conservatism. The Senate irreconcilables who had defeated the ratification of the Versailles Treaty helped to strengthen nationalism. Protest against forward-looking Americans who were willing to saddle us with Europe's troubles was joined with a demand for a "return to normalcy." Times were still good in 1920. Harding and Coolidge swept the country for Republicanism and Americanism.

For the head of the Cabinet of "best minds" the choice was naturally Charles Evans Hughes as secretary of state. Inexperienced as he was in the field of foreign affairs, he stood out as the "mind" of the President's council at a time when ability was at premium in public life. In international relations there was chaos. We were still at war with our late enemies. We were outside the League of practically the whole world. The friendly attitude of Latin America in the first Wilson administration had changed to criticism and bitterness. Four countries were domineered by American Marines. Investors in Mexico besieged the Department of State to protect their interests in a country whose latest government we had never recognized. Whatever our foreign secretary did was certain to be wrong. The administration would not support him unless the American

eagle screamed loudly. The irreconcilables of the Senate would see no virtue in any concession to a foreign government, inevitable as it was. The hundred-percenters thought he was betraying the country unless they could collect their last dollar of foreign speculative investment. The experts on international affairs saw only the amateur in diplomacy. In the words of Harvey in 1916, there was nobody for Hughes—but the people. To them he imparted something of his own confidence and serenity. Each diplomatic advance, each solution of a foreign problem, each suggestion of wider coöperation with our southern neighbors or of fair dealing in the Old World, gave him a better grip on the hearts and minds of the great American public.

When Hughes became secretary of state, the European situation had not returned to normalcy. Twice the Treaty of Versailles had been submitted to the Senate and had been rejected, even the reservations approved by Senator Lodge being insufficient to secure senatorial endorsement. In order that Germany should recognize as legal these rights which we desired to claim, Hughes began negotiations with the German government as soon as Congress adopted the Knox Resolution that the war had ended. In this he was markedly successful. August 25, 1921, a treaty was signed at Berlin in which the peace arrangement was supplemented by such provisions of the Versailles Treaty as America desired to enjoy. The Senate approved this Treaty, as later it approved similar treaties of peace with Austria and Hungary. Technically the war was finally over.

Proposed naval reduction was coupled with the possible renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which was to expire in 1921. In December 1920 Senator Borah had introduced a resolution asking for a five-year naval limitation by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. This was accepted by Congress in July 1921. On August 11, at the request of Secretary Hughes, President Harding asked nations to participate in a conference on both naval and Far Eastern problems. With all its limitations, the Washington Conference (1921-1922) was a personal triumph for Secretary Hughes. As its chairman, in his key-note speech he urged the famous 5-5-3 plan for capital ships, a plan that was adopted with slight modifications in the Five-Power Pact. In place of the Anglo-Japanese alliance a Four-Power Pact was adopted, the United States and France joining Great Britain and Japan in securing peace and coöperation in the Far East. Secretary Hughes had a real share in the settlement of the most trying of the Sino-Japanese problems—Shantung.

Before 1921 Hughes had been an advocate of world political coöperation and of an international tribunal. Handicapped though he was by the mandate of the voters in the election of 1920, his were no negative accomplishments in European diplomacy. On December 29, 1922, in addressing

members of the American Historical Association at New Haven Hughes made a startling suggestion: he urged that financial experts from all countries, including America, unite in a study of the German problem and suggest solutions. "We can not dispose of these problems by calling them European," he said, "for they are world-problems." Long afterward this "pregnant proposal," as a learned Englishman called it, led to the Dawes Commission. Although Hughes could not seem friendly to the League of Nations, yet, in his own words:

We have had the representatives of this government in collaboration with the committees of the League in relation to Anthrax, Public Health, Anti-toxic Serums, Traffic in Women and Children, Relief Work and the Control of the Traffic in Arms.

In 1923 Hughes prepared an effective argument on the World Court which he sent February 17 in a letter to the President. He showed that the Court was not an organization of the League but really a World Court. With four reservations to protect the non-league position of the United States, he urged American participation in the World Court. The matter was discussed at various times but no action was completed. In 1928 John Bassett Moore, one of the original international judges, resigned. Hughes was at once suggested for the vacancy and elected without opposition. He served until 1930, when he was appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the four years that Hughes held the State portfolio, which space does not permit us to study, Hughes improved relations with Latin America. An outstanding achievement for the Caribbean area occurred in 1922 in the successful Central American Conference in Washington, which Hughes served, and led as chairman. In his own language:

The government of the United States has no ambition to gratify at your expense, no policy which runs counter to your national aspirations, and no purpose save to promote the interests of peace and to assist you, in such manner as you may welcome, to solve your problems to your own proper advantage. The interest of the United States is found in the peace of this Hemisphere and in the conservation of your interests.

He held consistently to the claim that "the policy of the Monroe Doctrine does not infringe on the independence and sovereignty of other American states." The Monroe Doctrine is a policy of self-defense, not of aggression, but as our policy, "the government of the United States reserves to itself its definition, interpretation, and application." "The Monroe Doctrine does not stand in the way of Pan-American coöperation." Later he emphasized the need of preventing any wars of aggression on the Western Hemisphere.

In Pan-American conferences and in trips to Latin America Hughes sought to improve friendly relations with the republics south of the United

States. This was especially true at the Sixth Pan-American Congress at Havana early in 1928, three years after he had resigned as secretary of state. Throughout Latin America feeling against the United States had been growing more intense, especially because of interference in Nicaragua by the American Marines. Hughes, at the head of a very strong delegation, joined President Coolidge in attending this Conference. The early meetings intensified the antagonism toward the Colossus of the North until Hughes' address on January 21 before the American Chamber of Commerce in Havana. He did not gloss over American interference in Nicaragua and Haiti; but he insisted that independence, which the United States was determined to respect, must be accompanied by stability, which the United States desired to encourage. In office or outside he was still "the indispensable Mr. Hughes."

Investigator, crusader, political candidate, diplomat, internationalist; these were transient roles in the public life of Charles Evans Hughes. First and last he was a legal humanitarian. By temperament, by intellectual interest, by experience he was and is preëminently lawyer and jurist. His is a legal mind, saturated with a purpose to serve humanity, guided by a juristic philosophy. His personal integrity, not necessarily an asset to a political candidate, fitted him ideally for the bench. He is the only jurist who has been a member of the Supreme Court at two widely separated intervals, the only justice recalled to serve as chief justice.

For six years, from 1910 to 1916, Hughes served the Supreme Court as one of the eight associate justices. When an insurance case or one connected with public utilities came before the Court, Hughes was usually asked to prepare the opinion for his colleagues. Two of these cases were of transcendent importance and of permanent influence on American public policy. In the first of these, the Minnesota Rate Cases (1913), for the first time the definite relations of national to state control of railways received judicial sanction. "In the absence of federal action," we may not deny "effect to the laws of the state enacted within the field which it is entitled to occupy, until its authority is limited through the exertion by Congress of its paramount constitutional power."

In the Shreveport Case the next year (1914) the general principles thus announced were applied, the supremacy of national control being made clear:

It is also to be noted . . . that the power to deal with the relation between the two kinds of rates, as a relation, lies exclusively with Congress. It is manifest that the state can not fix the relation of the carrier's interstate and intrastate charges without directly interfering with the former, unless it simply follows the standard set by federal authority . . . It is for Congress to supply the needed correction where the relation between intrastate and interstate rates presents the evil to be corrected; and this it may do completely.

We may wonder that a man who had had sharp controversy with public utilities as a state governor should take so nationalist a stand. Although Hughes might not see the problem as Wisconsin or Texas saw it, he did see clearly the larger problem of the new nation and its only means of effective control. In this period the Court was exceedingly liberal. Sometimes the decisions seemed a sharp departure from precedent, especially in interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment; sometimes they were rather radical. In general the Court responded to the spirit of the times, approving progressive state legislation, laying the foundations for a greater nationality and giving whole-hearted endorsement to a socialized democracy. Hughes, the Court, the Wilson administration and the nation were in perfect sympathy.

Fourteen years after resignation came reappointment. Before and after holding the State portfolio, Hughes, as leader of the American bar had appeared constantly before the great tribunal. In the five years before 1930 he had usually been counsel for vast business interests. As advocate he had upheld the rights of oil trusts, claimed perpetual grants to radio channels and pleaded for vested rights and special privilege. These arguments were presented before a Court that repeatedly annulled democratic and humanitarian legislation of the states, discouraged labor legislation and upheld public utilities against public commissions seeking control. When Hughes' name was presented for chief justice in place of William Howard Taft, resigned, a very active senatorial minority waged a four-day battle against confirmation. Hughes' character was recognized as above reproach; but the opposition hammered away at his resignation to enter politics in 1916 and at his arguments as attorney for "Big Business" magnates. They especially feared a continuation of an ultra-conservative Court. On February 14, 1930, the vote revealed fifty-two for Hughes to twenty-six for the opposition. At first, the fears of the opposition seemed justified; but when the next session of the Court was held, Justice Hughes appeared in a new role which reminded Americans of his older one in the days of reform. In spite of his incursion into the political field, he did not play politics as his predecessor had done. Notwithstanding his affiliations with corporations, he is now distinctively a jurist.

Always the servant of the law, to Hughes that law must be more than the letter of the statute: it embodies the spirit of a free people living under a constitutional system. In a field far removed from judicial action we find this attitude well illustrated. In 1920 he protested vigorously against the expulsion of Socialists from the Legislature of New York. The majority of each house had the apparent right to expel members. In ringing words he declared that it is contrary both to the spirit and the principles of Amer-

ican political institutions "for a majority to undertake to deny representation to a minority through its representatives elected by ballots lawfully cast."

The same spirit permeates the minority opinion in the famous case of Dr. Mackintosh (1931). Citizenship papers had been denied to Mackintosh because he was unwilling "to promise beforehand" to take up arms 'without knowing the cause for which my country may go to war' and that 'he would have to believe that the war was morally justified.' Chief Justice Hughes showed that the oath that Mackintosh was asked to take was similar to that required of civil officers of the United States and of the states. He added:

I think that the requirement of the oath of office should be read in the light of our regard from the beginning for freedom of conscience. When the Congress reproduced the historic words of the oath of office in the naturalization oath, I should suppose that, according to familiar rules of interpretation, they should be deemed to carry the same significance.

In the Minnesota newspaper case he upheld freedom of the press in quite as vigorous language. Hughes had been and is the special champion of the constitutional rights of the individual.

In the office of chief justice Hughes rounds out a career rather unique in American public service: lawyer, executive, administrator, jurist. He came to this high position in a period of depression and defeatism, continued in one of experimentation (reform in America, regression in Europe) and finished in a time of special stress and strife. The Court of which he was head was divided and sometimes unsympathetic. His prime wish was unity. If the chief characteristic of America's highest tribunal was disunity, how could its mandates on the nature of the Constitution carry the authority they needed? During those trying years it was his misfortune to present, or have his colleagues present, more 5 to 4 decisions than any other, much longer, period in American history.

A few cases only can be noted. The first is that of the "Gold Clauses." With depression foreign trade had dropped off, Great Britain had lowered the value of the pound sterling, and France had debased her currency once again. To protect American merchants who did business abroad Congress passed an act to reduce the value of the gold in the dollar to a smaller amount, from 50 to 60 per cent of the old coin. The constitutionality of the law was challenged. The decision, given by the Chief Justice himself, was based on the Constitution which gives Congress the sole right "to coin money, regulate the value thereof." Without this outstanding support of Chief Justice Hughes and the Court, the "recovery" of American business from depression would have been very slow indeed.

The heart of the Roosevelt recovery program was the National Recovery Act. The heart of the N.R.A. was the National Industrial Recovery Ad-

ministration. The heart of the N.I.R.A. was the system of "codes of fair competition," drawn up under the law by representatives usually of trade associations. For good measure the government insisted on maximum hours, minimum wages and collective bargaining. Just as the original N.I.R.A. Act was expiring, the Court rendered its opinion in the *Schechter Poultry* ("sick chicken") Case. In one of his most carefully reasoned opinions, Chief Justice Hughes showed clearly that the Constitution gives Congress the sole right to make national laws, that it may not redelegate this power to the president, allowing him to redelegate it to a code coördinator, and allowing that official actually to redelegate it to groups of business men. This procedure was particularly objectionable because each code had the force of statutes among those accepting it, and failure to observe code provisions might be punishable in the courts with penalties. Provisions of the N.I.R.A. statute which dealt with labor were declared unconstitutional unless the labor was engaged in interstate commerce or in business directly and closely connected with that commerce.

When America registered her approval of the New Deal in the presidential election of 1936, the Court under the leadership of Hughes endorsed that attitude in a series of opinions and decisions so outstanding as to be almost revolutionary. Most of the decisions were rendered by the Chief Justice in person. The earliest of these cases was not a New-Deal case at all: it simply upheld the right of a state to pass minimum-wage laws for women, a position expanded greatly a few weeks later in the Court's unqualified endorsement of the whole social security program. Besides this support of humane legislation of state and nation, the Court, through Hughes, changed the old, narrow interpretation of the term "interstate commerce." For a half century it had held that interstate business was not commerce and was not under Congress. Hughes changed all that and reduced greatly that "no-man's land" of interstate business which had been legally under the states but which no state or group of states could possibly control. In the *Jones and Laughlin Steel Case* (1937) and many others subsequently, the Court upheld acts designed to promote the "flow of interstate and foreign commerce," and it thereby brought interstate business under the supervision of the national government where it belongs.

We are too close, in time and thought, to the changing world of the 1930's and the threateningly chaotic world of the 1940's, to evaluate the work and contributions of any one public official. We can not know whether, in the light of later events, he properly interpreted his own time and gave it redirection in ways which would be most valuable to humanity. Unquestionably few chief justices had the opportunity Justice Hughes has had to make the Constitution vital by adapting it to the public needs of his incum-

bency. Certainly he faced with courage and keenness many problems of a changing world which the traditional authority of the Supreme Court permitted him to solve, so far as that was possible through legal methods. He was able to do this in part because in his earlier days the American doctrine of judicial supremacy was widely accepted, because the chief justice is first among Supreme Court judges.

The importance of the position of chief justice can best be given in Hughes' own words. "The chief justice as the head of the Court has an outstanding position, but in a small body of able men with equal authority in the making of decisions, it is evident that his actual influence will depend upon the strength of his character and the demonstration of his ability in the intimate relations of the judges." "While the chief justice has only one vote, the way in which the Court does its work gives him a special opportunity for leadership." Since 1930 Hughes has himself exemplified the ideas he presented.

Hughes' political philosophy stands out rather clearly in his official acts, his public utterances, and his judicial opinions. It is an expression of the man, his integrity, his intensity, his individuality. He is no opportunist, no compromiser with principle; yet no other man in public life today has shown the versatility, the adaptability, the understanding of the people's needs and wishes, and the comprehension of the trend of the times. In almost all his experience one observes a moral earnestness, an unflinching purpose, the will to win, a determination to serve. Like Marshall, Hughes depends largely upon logic. In close and careful reasoning Hughes develops and elaborates his argument, quoting numerous precedents, until the opinion is rounded out effectively. He lacks the lofty indifference of Holmes to the motive behind a movement or the popularity or unpopularity of an element in a constitutional problem. He lacks some of the fiery attachment of Brandeis to social reform as reform. His stress is on the cause and the justice of the case as an element of the present stage of civilization.

The leadership of Hughes is based on that mental and physical vigor which E. S. Bogardus considers the first essential of a leader. His intellectual penetration exceeds his vast knowledge, but does not exist apart from it. In the field of understanding his sway is particularly notable. The student become teacher, the teacher become preacher, the preacher become leader; these were possible because intellect was not divorced from interest, and both serve a worthy purpose. One might hear him modestly assert, as did the winner of a Nobel prize a few years ago, when praised for his genius, "Genius nothing, fourteen hours a day of good hard work." The preëminence of Hughes is a natural product of his industry and character as well as mental ability. Prestige, once gained, has added still more to his influence but has never been substituted for any of the solid virtues of the man.

The real Hughes is more than statesman and jurist. He looks the man of distinction. Although not above the average in height, his high forehead and keen grey eyes befit well the calm, intellectual man of public affairs. In the crusading days, his figure was spare, but it filled out with success and the years. Only his enemies could ever have called him "the human icicle," for a whimsical humor has always been his. As he has mellowed with the years, it has been easier for the lighter vein to appear at the surface. Nevertheless, his outlook on life has been a sober one due to a habitual attitude of considering the seriousness of life's realities and the gravity of humanity's problems. Even before he became engrossed in public affairs he took himself and life seriously. He was "his own heaviest taskmaster and strictest judge" because always severe in self-discipline.

To represent the American people in successive, differing periods has required an understanding of human nature as well as of the real trends in national life. Of necessity a representative stood close to the throbbing heart of the American people, always understood and never forgotten. To sense the changes as they occurred, to interpret the significance of each period was possible only if one were sensitive to deep currents rather than to surface changes, only if one were cognizant of the underlying forces which made each movement different from the preceding in appearance as well as similar in most essentials. A Talleyrand could manipulate policies to secure for himself advantage even under opposing dynasties. A Washington could be an excellent colonial, a great revolutionist, and a worthy Federalist. The first won through intrigue, the second through prestige. A Hughes could be representative of successive twentieth-century periods partly because of intellect but chiefly through a grasp of American social psychology in our own day. The emotions and the drives that gave character to radical reform survived in the welfare reform movement. The reaction against social democracy as well as internationalism explains prosperity nationalism of the twenties. But the forces which a generation ago made Hughes a public character and which Hughes did much to direct, those forces in the thirties swept forward and upward, with Hughes as the chief judicial arbiter of that new era.

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CORDELL HULL

by

OSGOOD HARDY

IN 1826 the Great Liberator, Simón Bolívar, in vain asked the United States to participate in a conference of American Republics which he promoted at Panamá. In 1889 James G. Blaine was more successful in his efforts to establish Pan-Americanism; at the congress he initiated all the republics of America were represented and the precedent of holding similar conferences every five years was inaugurated. Nevertheless, as time went on the hemispheric unity which both Bolívar and Blaine sought failed to materialize. The countries south of the Río Grande continued to look upon their northern neighbor with envy, suspicion, and even hostility. From 1889 to 1933, therefore, the chief problem in the conduct of United States relations with Hispanic America was to find some way by which to convince the lands lying under the Southern Cross that they should look on *Tío Sam*, not as *El Coloso del Norte* but as *El Buen Amigo*. Because to a large measure he solved that problem, Cordell Hull, secretary of state during the first two administrations of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, will always rank as one of the greatest statesmen of the United States.

In such allocation to a place in this country's Hall of Fame Americans will the more readily acquiesce because the life of the Tennessee internationalist conforms to the rules which a frontier people has laid down for the development of greatness. Hull's father, "Pappy" Bill Hull, in the 1860's settled with his Virginia bride, Elizabeth Riley, at Star Point, Overton (now Pickett) County in central Tennessee. The beginnings of their married life were incredibly crude, even for that day and age; their first home was a sheephouse whose only furniture consisted of chestnut-stumps for table and chairs—their bed was Mrs. Hull's riding-skirt filled with rushes. True to Tennessee "hill-billy" form, "Pappy's" first business venture was moonshining (in the mouth of Old Bunkum Cave), but once he had accumulated a stake of \$1,000 he became a lumberman. So successful was he in holding onto his money that when he died in 1923 he left an estate of over a quarter of a million dollars, mostly invested in Tennessee farms and Florida real estate.

Of the five sons bestowed upon Billy and Elizabeth Hull the only one to "make good" was the third, Cordell, who was born October 2, 1871, in a log cabin still standing at Star Point near Byrdstown. From the time he could walk "Cordell," once said his father, "was always just like a grown

man"; so it is not surprising that at the age of fifteen he matriculated at Montvale College, Celina, Tennessee. Attendance here put him under the supervision of Joe McMillan, who taught surveying, geometry, anatomy, and Greek, and whose fraternal connection with Congressman Benton McMillan helped to stimulate the lad's interest in politics. From Celina Cordell went to the National Normal University at Lebanon, Ohio (1889-1890), and then in 1891 he received an LL.B. degree from Cumberland University Law School at Lebanon, Tennessee.

Immediately thereafter he was admitted to the bar and started to practice law in Celina. But politics was his chief interest and in the fall of 1892, before he was quite old enough to vote, he was elected to the Legislature at Nashville. For four years he served his constituents and his party—when the Legislature was not in session he practiced law, read books, and played poker. The latter recreation proved of considerable value during the period of the Spanish-American War. Fired with sympathy for the downtrodden Cubans the young politician recruited a company of mountaineers and, attached to the Fourth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, Captain Hull reached the Pearl of the Antilles after the fighting was all over. Poker relieved the tedium of inactivity, and when he came back from Cuba he had \$6,300, most of the regiment's money. Had the war only lasted longer Hull's sad, beautiful, humble, and unrevealing countenance would doubtless have won all the Army's cash.

In 1903 a vacancy in the Fifth Judicial Circuit Court of Tennessee made it possible for Captain Hull to obtain the title which it is said he values more than any other. His appointment was probably due to the fact that in his first term as legislator he had proved his mettle when, as lawyer for the Elections Committee, he had helped throw out twenty thousand Republican votes and thereby assured the gubernatorial election for the Democratic candidate. As a judge, however, he was a model of nonpartisanship and propriety. When, on the occasion of his first session at Byrdstown, county-seat of Pickett, his hill-billy friends tried to convince the "Jedge" that he should not take his duties too seriously, he fined or jailed over a hundred of the demonstrators. Moonshiners complained that the "u" in his name had changed to "e," while it is said that he once fined his own "pappy" five dollars for not taking his hat off in court.

In 1906 Judge Hull reached the decision that life in Gainesboro, Tennessee, was too restricted; so he ran for the Fourth District Congressional seat and won. On his arrival at Washington he decided that if he were to make a place for himself in Congress he would have to become an expert in some particular field of legislation. Immediately the influence of his old hero, Congressman Benton McMillan, became significant. This brother



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CORDELL HULL

of his Montvale College instructor had early indoctrinated young Hull with his own ideas of low tariffs and high income-taxes. As a result Judge Hull started pounding along the single track of free trade and high income-taxes. When Woodrow Wilson became president Cordell Hull's first opportunity came, and it was he who drafted the income-tax law (1913) which stands today. The first World War for the time being put a stop to his free-trade ambitions, but in 1919 he again tried to get the United States to take the lead in breaking down the tariff walls and other trade-restrictions which hindered the free flow of world-trade.

The Harding landslide of 1920 gave him an opportunity to serve four years as chairman of the Democratic national committee. In 1923, however, he was back in Congress once more, and for the next ten years (eight as a member of the House and two as senator) he roamed Capitol Hill proclaiming that a fear-crazed world was strangling itself. "H'ar, thar, and ev'rywhar," he declaimed (lapsing readily into his native hill-billy dialect), trade barriers must come down, and bitterly did he inveigh against the refusal of the United States, now become a creditor nation, to make it possible for her debtors to pay back their debts. The Smoot-Hawley Act of 1930 particularly enraged him. Certain he was that it caused the world-depression, and it is said that for the last ten years scarcely a day has gone by when either in public or in private he has not found occasion to denounce it.

When, in 1932, Franklin Delano Roosevelt started his campaign for the presidency he often consulted with Judge (since 1931, Senator) Hull and became immensely impressed with the latter's plan for international multi-lateral trade agreements, under which benefits accorded any one nation would be granted unconditionally to all. This breadth of view had given Hull fame in Congress; in 1933 it made him secretary of state, for Roosevelt II had come to believe that an equitable tariff policy was the only possible basis for world-peace.

Scarcely had Mr. Hull become accustomed to his new surroundings in the State Building when he discovered that his first opportunity to put his ideas before a gathering of world-leaders was in the immediate offing. Accordingly he sketched a program, and apparently with the President's approval Secretary Hull set sail for London prepared to propose some form of international currency-stabilization and the scaling down of tariff walls. The International Economic Conference convened June 12, 1933, and before the representatives of sixty-five nations the American Secretary of State made his proposals. Discussion was well under way when, on July 2, 1933, as a result of a radio message sent him by the President, Secretary Hull found himself obliged to present to the Conference Mr. Roosevelt's

repudiation of the gold-stabilization plan which Mr. Hull had proposed at the outset. In his message President Roosevelt sharply rebuked the delegates for concentrating on currency-stabilization to the exclusion of other proposals and asserted bluntly that "The Conference was called to better and perhaps to cure fundamental ills." Naturally the delegates were angered and only the strenuous labors of Mr. Hull prevented the immediate break-up of the Conference. For several weeks it lingered on until finally, after twenty-three days of frustration, having recognized that nothing could soften Mr. Roosevelt's heavy blow to international coöperation, the representatives of sixty-five nations went home to accelerate the drift toward isolation, big-navyism, and extreme nationalism.

Secretary Hull arrived at New York amidst newspaper predictions that to preserve his self-respect he could do nothing else than resign. However, after a talk with the President at Hyde Park and, (so it is said) on the advice of Colonel House, he continued in office and loyally turned to helping his Chief carry out his inaugural promise to "dedicate [the United States] . . . to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors."

The first chance to carry out this Good Neighbor Policy in the Americas came at the Seventh International Conference of American States which convened at Montevideo from December 3 to 26, 1933. When Secretary Hull announced that he planned to head the United States delegation his friends advised him to stay at home. Previous participation by the United States in such conferences had met with scanty success. Cuba was then on a rampage demanding abrogation of the Platt Amendment (she got it the next year). Argentina and Bolivia had ratified none of the Inter-American treaties, five republics had not ratified the American Conciliation Convention of 1929, while nine nations (including the United States) had not ratified the Inter-American Arbitration Treaty of 1929. Undisturbed by these contretemps Cordell Hull went down to Montevideo instructed by a disturbed administration at Washington to avoid all controversial issues and to champion such innocuous projects as a Pan-American Highway and a line of beacons designed to illuminate the Pan-American air routes.

Immediately upon arrival and even before his trunks were unpacked Old H'ar-Thar-and-Ev'rywhar (as a newspaperman had nicknamed him) started "visiting around," a practice which he kept up for the next three weeks. Strange as it may seem, once the dignitaries from south of the Río Grande had recovered from their astonishment, they found they liked Hull's Jacksonian simplicity. Little by little the representatives of the republics lying under the Southern Cross lost their fear of *El Coloso del Norte*, and when

Cuban and Haitian delegates tried to explode the intervention question was a Colombian who pointed out that the only time Señor Hull had intervened in Cuba was in 1898, when he fought to give freedom to Spain's last remaining American colony. Even the Foreign Minister of Argentina, Dr. Saavedra Lamas, lost some of his antipathy towards *Los Yanquis* when Secretary Hull insisted that his confrere take the lead in pushing a Latin American anti-war pact modelled upon the Kellogg-Briand Pact. When some of the representatives who feared the United States domination proposed the admission of overseas observers from Spain, Portugal, France, Mr. Hull quietly pointed out the dangers naturally consequent upon such an entering wedge of European participation and his remark led to the postponement of such a procedure till the Eighth Conference.

The climax came when the ghost of the intervention question which had hamstrung the Santiago Conference in 1923 and had wrecked the Special Congress at Havana in 1928 was again dragged out. When all eyes were turned upon the United States delegation, Secretary Hull arose and denounced:

The policy and past attitude of the United States government toward an important phase of international relationships in this Hemisphere could scarcely be made more clear and definite than they have been made by word and action, especially since March fourth . . . Every observing person must by this time thoroughly understand that under the Roosevelt administration the United States government is as much opposed as any other government to interference with freedom, the sovereignty or other internal affairs or processes of the government of other nations . . . I feel safe in undertaking to say that under our support the general principle of non-intervention as far as has been suggested, no government need fear any intervention on the part of the United States under the Roosevelt administration.

With this speech Mr. Hull's triumph was absolute and before the Conference ended he was able to get the unanimous support of his pet project, namely, a resolution calling for the elimination of duties which restrict the importation of particular commodities to negligible quantities for the early negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements. On this note the Conference closed, and when the United States delegation bade a last farewell to the Uruguayan capital its members knew that their leader, in the language of an Argentine journalist, [had torn] "down traditions which for the past fifty years have separated Latin America from Anglo-Saxon America, sowing fears and grudges."

Mr. Hull's success was immediately recognized by President Roosevelt. On December 28, 1933, the latter announced that "the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention," although his administration was still committed to isolationist experiments. He very shortly yielded so far to Hull's low tariff importunities as to ask Congress for authority to negotiate reciprocal trade treaties. June 12, 1934,

the Trade Agreements Act was approved, and so great was the Secretary of State's zeal that when the second World War broke out the pacts authorized by Congress had extended to twenty-two countries, trade with which amounted to over three-fifths of both American exports and imports.

Three years after Hull's Montevideo triumph came a second South American achievement, this time on the south shores of the River Plate. Early in 1936 President Roosevelt suggested to the Chief Executive of Argentina that, since the Italo-Ethiopian affair had demonstrated the frailty of the existing barriers to world-conflict, it would be a good thing for the occupant of the "Pink House" (the Argentine presidential mansion) to call a special Inter-American Conference for Peace to be held at Buenos Aires. Eventually all the preliminary arrangements were completed, and December 1, 1936, the North American President dramatically opened the Conference with a speech in which he stated that states outside the Americas seeking "to commit acts of aggression against us will find a Hemisphere wholly prepared to consult together for our mutual safety and our mutual good."

Having sounded the keynote Mr. Roosevelt sailed for home confident that Secretary Hull would "bring home the bacon." His confidence was not misplaced. The tact which the great Tennessean had shown at Montevideo, when as a newly appointed secretary he insisted on the rule which put him near the foot of the table at formal banquets, now bore fruit. The prime objective of the United States delegation was to secure a "convention for the maintenance, preservation, and reestablishment of peace," behind which might be lined up solidly all the American Republics. It was felt, however, that if the United States took the lead opposition might be encountered. When, at length, the *Yanqui* delegates had exhausted their resources and by ten thirty p.m. the night before the plan was to be broached had not found a South American delegate who could be trusted to take the lead, Secretary Hull decided to "go visiting." He calmly inserted himself into his bathrobe, stuck his feet in his carpet-slippers and shuffled down the hall to the room of the Mexican Ambassador. The next morning the Aztec people's great poet-musician, Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera, presented the United States plan, and without a qualm the erstwhile suspicious delegates lined up behind the new principle of American hemispherical solidarity. Two other results of the Conference were a consultative pact for further coördinating the existing peace machinery and a protocol reaffirming the principle that "no state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of others."

The step towards Hemisphere solidarity taken by the American Republics at Buenos Aires came not a moment too soon. In July 1937 Japan started

on her conquest of China. In September 1938 the historic settlement at Munich showed that a general war inimical to American interests was hardly to be avoided, while the Franco victory in Spain threatened to provide new channels for German-Italian penetration. On the American continent fears regarding foreign capital were awakened by the Cárdenas expropriation policy—all told, then, by the third quarter of 1938 it was seen that further immediate steps toward solidarity in America were absolutely essential.

To attain such an objective the Eighth International Conference of American States held its sessions from December 9 to 27, 1938, at Lima, Peru. Even more than at Montevideo and Buenos Aires the success attained, meager though it was, redounded to the credit of Cordell Hull, for the Argentine delegation was more determined than ever to wrest the leadership of America from the United States. Several days before the other diplomats were due to appear at Lima, Dr. José María Cantilo, minister for foreign affairs of the River Plate Republic, arrived on a warship for an official visit to the Peruvian government (December 6-12), and the social events incident thereto very definitely took the edge off those which celebrated the opening of the Conference. Accordingly, then, when Mr. Hull arrived at Lima he found a bloc of seven South American states inclined to line up behind Argentina in a refusal to be alarmed by the immediacy of the Nazi-Fascist menace. Undeterred, Secretary Hull took the bull by the horns and in one of the greatest speeches of his career proclaimed:

There must not be a shadow of a doubt anywhere as to the determination of the American nations not to permit the invasion of this Hemisphere by the armed forces of any power or possible combination of powers.

Vigorously he flayed political doctrines which might be "utilized for the purpose of undermining and destroying in other nations established institutions of government and basic social order." In conclusion he emphasized the determination of the American nations to oppose either a military or an ideological invasion of the Western Hemisphere.

Although the American delegation had its own proposal and also had worked out a satisfactory revision of the Argentine draft submitted November 26 while Mr. Hull was on the high seas, during the negotiations at Lima the United States Secretary Hull made no attempt to secure approval of any specific pact. His position was that his country would accept whatever measure could secure unanimous backing. Little by little these tactics brought about a meeting of the minds and finally on December 24 unity became possible. While this agreement which came therefrom was not as binding as the United States wished it might have been, it did reaffirm the

"continental solidarity" of the American Republics and "their purpose to collaborate in the maintenance of the principles upon which the said solidarity is based." Perhaps most important of all, as has since turned out, the agreement promised consultation, should any American nation be menaced by outside aggression.

By the end of the next summer conditions in Europe made it desirable to have convene, September 23 to October 3, 1939, the First Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics. At this Conference there were few fireworks, for the delegates were chiefly concerned with measures to strengthen their neutrality and to minimize the economic effects of the war on the American Hemisphere.

When, July 21 to 30, 1940, the Second Meeting took place at Havana, all of Western Europe except England was in the hands of Hitler, and there was a definite possibility that the American possessions of Denmark, Holland, and France might fall into the hands of the Axis Powers. To prevent that, Washington proclaimed its firm determination to block any transfer of such possessions from one North American power to another, and in the interests of Pan-American solidarity suggested that the unilateral Monroe Doctrine be rendered multilateral by the formulation of a common Inter-American policy with respect to European colonies in the Caribbean. July 22, therefore, in his address to the Conference, Secretary Hull suggested "the establishment of a collective trusteeship to be exercised in the name of all the American Republics."

Once again representatives of Argentina took up the cudgels against *El Coloso del Norte* and once again Secretary Hull had to "go visiting." Tactfully he undermined the opposition, and on July 27 the deadlock was broken when Argentina signed up after having secured a change of wording, "provisional administration" instead of "mandate" or "joint protectorate." The final triumph, however, was Cordell Hull's, for the Act of Havana not only provided for the creation of an emergency committee of one representative from each of the American Republics but it also contained a provision that:

Should the need for emergency action be so urgent that action by the Committee can not be awaited, any of the American Republics, individually or jointly with others, shall have the right to act in the manner which its own defense or that of the continent requires.

From the standpoint of a study of Secretary Hull's achievements the importance of that last provision can hardly be overestimated. By it the Hispanic American Republics which for half a century had been suspicious of every act of their *Yanqui* neighbor, of their own free will legalized United States intervention in the affairs of European possessions in the American Hemisphere and agreed to a Pact which, if the United States

should so desire, would permit imperialistic expansion at the expense of European countries preoccupied with war. And yet they signed the accord and thereby showed that in seven years the great Tennessean had finally succeeded in eradicating much of the distrust, suspicion, and jealousy which until 1940 had made Pan-Americanism only a pious hope. Thanks to Cordell Hull it had become an actuality.

Such then is the career of the man whom future historians will undoubtedly label one of the greatest secretaries of state—if not the greatest—to serve the North American Republic. It is true he is not a great administrator—he lets Sumner Welles be his executive. He does not shine in the social world of Washington. He and Rose Frances Witz Hull (she is descended from an old Jewish family of Staunton, Virginia) live in a seven-room apartment at the Carlton Hotel, and if an unexpected visitor knocks at the door Mr. Hull or his wife is as likely to open the door as their middle-aged Tennessee Negress, Martha. (Incidentally, the Hulls have no children.) He is the most conservative member of the Roosevelt Cabinet and yet he is beloved by the radicals and even by the Republicans. His demeanor at times is almost apologetic, and yet, when one counts the number of strong, aggressive individuals who have tried to elbow him aside only to pass into oblivion, one is compelled to remember that nineteen hundred years ago a great Teacher said, "The meek shall inherit the earth." Even though he has little to say, his press conferences, next to those of President Roosevelt, are the best attended in Washington. Of course it may be that each reporter hopes that some day he may see "Cord" angry. Thus far, few except Mrs. Hull have ever heard the gentle flow of unique profanity which, when coming from the bathroom usually means that his razor has slipped or that he is remembering some iniquitous Republican tariff provision. Finally, and here the biographer of Billy Hull's third son may well stop, Cordell Hull by all who know him is considered to be a thoroughly unselfish man.

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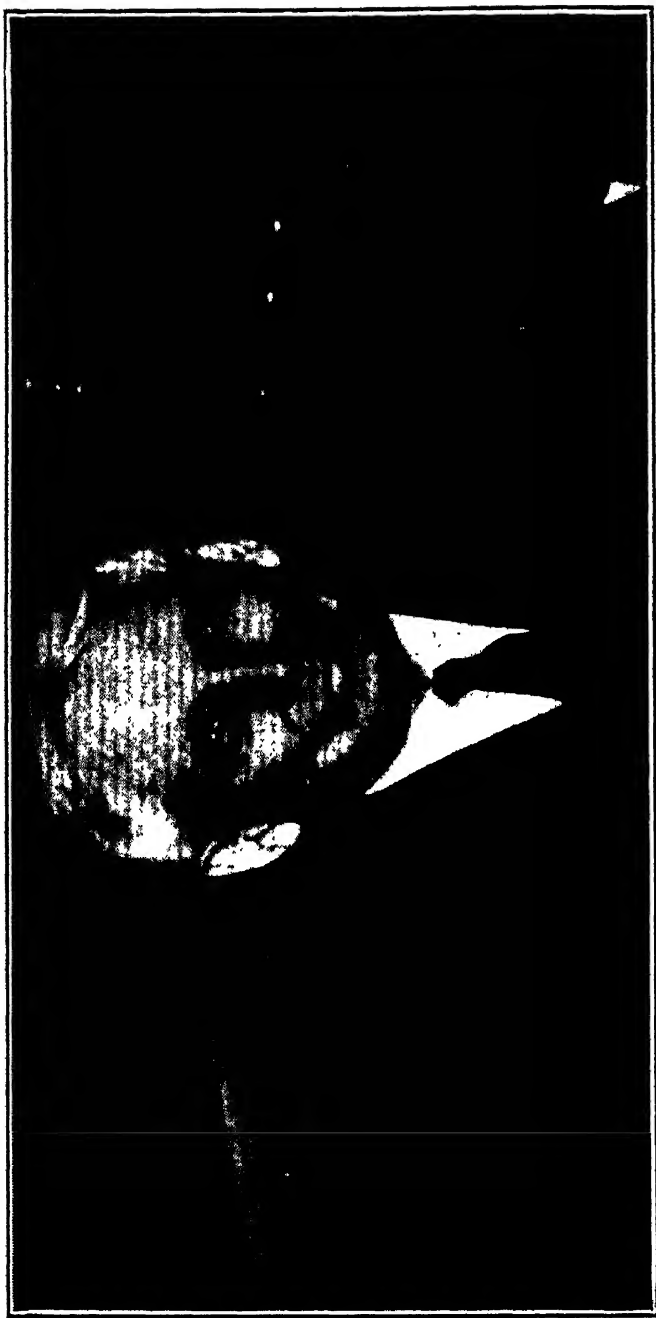
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FRANK B. KELLOGG

Acme Photo

FRANK B. KELLOGG

by

DAVID BRYN-JONES

N August 27, 1928, plenipotentiaries of fifteen nations gathered in the French Foreign Office on the Quai d'Orsay to sign a treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. In the group were men who had played outstanding roles in the politics of Europe during the years which followed the end of the first World War, Monsieur Briand of France, Gustav Stresemann of Germany, Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia, Signor Grandi of Italy, and others; but for none of these did the event have so personal and intimate a significance as it did for the representative of the United States of America, Frank Billings Kellogg. The Treaty signed on that day is known in the formal designation of our day as the Pact of Paris. In popular speech it is fairly certain that it will be known, as it is known today, as the Kellogg Pact.

The scene has been described by Professor Shotwell:

Paris was gay for the signing of the Pact that was to bear its name. There were flags of all countries down its long avenues, and on its government buildings the German flag was flown beside those of England and America. Even the red insignia of Soviet Russia with its sickle and hammer floated beside the stars and stripes in sign of the ultimate adhesion of that revolutionary power. Within the Quai d'Orsay itself there was a touch of ceremony lacking when the delegates of the Peace Conference crowded to their places at the reading of the Covenant. This time the plenipotentiaries were guided to their places at the great horseshoe table by ushers clad in blue and gold, with red velvet breeches and white silk stockings and a "superbly uniformed Swiss Guard with a halberd, an inheritance of the court procedure of centuries ago, led the solemn procession of statesmen from the reception room to the clock-room, where the signing took place." The correspondent of the Associated Press in noting these details commented upon the contrast of this ancient ritual with the simplicity of the scene which followed. For it was a civilian gathering with no military trappings and differed in no other way from an ordinary business meeting. Yet the scene was not lacking in solemnity; for the successor of Bismarck, who was also the initiator of Locarno, by his presence alone, evoked the twofold memories to which M. Briand gave expression in the only public address of the occasion.¹

Monsieur Briand, who presided over this historic gathering, in his address said:

I have no doubt that you are all at one with me in the same feeling of gratefulness to one of our colleagues who has unhesitatingly brought us, with all the moral authority of his own name and that of the great nation he represents, the seal of his faith in the scope of the agreement that we are about to sign. Today, sitting with us in that same hall where his illustrious predecessor, President Wilson, brought to the work of peace so high a consciousness of the mission of his country, the Honorable Mr. Kellogg can now, with a rightful pride, see how far we have gone and how quickly, since together we first weighed the possibilities of bringing

¹Shotwell, J. T., *War as an Instrument of National Policy*, N.Y., 1929, p. 180.

to completion so vast a labor of diplomacy. In the negotiations which today have reached this happy ending, no one was so well qualified to take that great role that fell to him, and that will forever do him honor in the memories of men. His optimism and his tenacity have got the better of the skeptics. His entire fairness and good faith, and the readiness with which he has satisfied legitimate questionings by clear and definite explanations have given him the confidence of all his collaborators. And, lastly, his clear vision has taught him what we can hope from governments that are inspired by the deep yearnings of their peoples.²

The tribute was as well deserved as it was happily phrased, for the signing of the Pact marked the culmination of Mr. Kellogg's record as a statesman and gave him a definite place in world-history. Frank B. Kellogg was at the time secretary of state in the Coolidge administration, a position which he occupied from 1925 to 1929.

It will be the historian's task to appraise in detail Mr. Kellogg's record during those years when he was responsible for the conduct of American foreign policy.³ They were crowded years in which problems of American foreign policy in Mexico, in the Caribbean, in South America, in the Far East, as well as in Europe took on a new urgency as well as a greater complexity. With these problems the State Department under Mr. Kellogg had to cope while at the same time striving for the realization of a pact to renounce war. And this needs no emphasis—the Kellogg Pact was a courageous and enlightened contribution to the cause of world-peace. It came at a time when disillusionment was spreading and when the easy optimism of the early twenties was waning. It was an attempt to stem the tides that were once more threatening disaster.

The history of the negotiations leading up to the Pact and of Mr. Kellogg's leadership in those negotiations must be told briefly. April 6, 1927, was the tenth anniversary of America's entry into the war and on that day Monsieur Briand gave to the Associated Press a message in which he declared:

France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual engagement tending "to outlaw war," to use an American expression, as between these two countries. The renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy is a conception already familiar to the signatories to the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Treaties of Locarno. Every engagement entered into in this spirit by the United States toward another nation such as France would contribute greatly in the eyes of the world to broaden and strengthen the foundation on which the international policy of peace is being erected.⁴

For a time it seemed that the message might be treated as a pious aspiration having slight relevance to political conditions, and little importance seemed to be attached to it until Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler wrote a letter which appeared in the *New York Times* for April 25, 1927, calling public attention to it and emphasizing its significance. There followed a

²*Ibid.*, p. 182.

³Bryn-Jones, David. *Frank B. Kellogg—a Biography*, N.Y., 1937, pp. 171-221.

⁴Full text in *International Conciliation*, No. 243.

remarkable manifestation of popular interest. Dr. James T. Shotwell, at whose suggestion Monsieur Briand had acted in the first instance, did much to maintain and direct the ever increasing demand for positive action. In June Monsieur Briand handed to the American Ambassador at Paris a memorandum formally suggesting that the United States and France enter into a treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy.

Meanwhile Mr. Kellogg awaited his opportunity and canvassed the situation. A premature response might be disastrous; the susceptibilities of the Senate had to be considered and public opinion must be given an opportunity to grow and make itself felt. Towards the end of 1927 conditions seemed propitious. On December 28, therefore, Mr. Kellogg replied to Monsieur Briand in a note which proposed a treaty between France, the United States, and the principal Powers "open to adhesion by all the nations of the world." This suggestion of a multilateral treaty renouncing war went far beyond Monsieur Briand's suggestion. As one journalist put it at the time, "the French Foreign Minister had asked for a glass of water and was embarrassed when he was offered Niagara." Naturally the proposal was received with general skepticism.

Mr. Kellogg, however, slow to take a decisive step, was endowed with a determination which would not permit him to retrace a step once taken. There followed months of arduous and persistent toil in which he expounded, developed, and defended his proposal. The notes and speeches of this period are examples of Mr. Kellogg's abilities at their best and whatever the fate of the Pact may be, they will continue to be regarded as cogent, persuasive, and brilliant state papers. They express a prophetic spirit and an enlightened idealism all too rare in diplomatic documents. These mark the carefully constructed steps that led to a great achievement and at last commended that achievement to the conscience of the world.

The Pact of Paris has been dealt with at some length because Mr. Kellogg regarded it as the culminating achievement of his statesmanship. No one was more conscious than he was, in his later years, that the signatories to the Pact in many instances violated their pledged word. Against that possibility the only safeguards were to be sought in education and in a deepening moral sense among the nations and peoples of the world. There could be no easy road to universal peace! But he firmly believed that when that goal was reached, the Pact associated with his name would indicate one of the important stages in the progress of humanity. He never doubted that some day the world would come back to the simple but positive assertions of the Pact. Its value today we shall consider later.

The Pact, however, was far from being his only achievement. Happily, it

was not his last. His life had been in many ways an admirable preparation for the demands and exigencies of so important a position as that of secretary of state in the government of one of the world's great powers. When President Coolidge's call came in 1925 it found him prepared and fitted for his task. He had already lived a full and strenuous life, occupied positions of honor and responsibility, and acquitted himself in all those positions with dignity and distinction.

Nothing is more characteristic or more creditable than the way in which he had faced the changes and chances of adverse fortune which befell him as they befall most men. He not only bore himself courageously in conditions of temporary defeat, he plucked out of defeat the qualities which create new and greater opportunities. Particularly was this apparent after his defeat in the Senate election of 1922. It seemed then that defeat might be the end of his political career; few even of his friends could have believed that that defeat was merely the prelude to the most successful and satisfying period of his public life. He not only accepted the defeat without bitterness, he kept on his course with greater purpose than ever, magnified his opportunities when they came and emerged into wider and greater service.

Frank Billings Kellogg was born in Potsdam, New York, on December 22, 1856. He left New York State with his parents for Minnesota when he was nine years of age, and after that his life was closely identified with the state of his adoption. He received none of the advantages of higher education, a fact which Mr. Kellogg regretted to the end, although he did not permit this disadvantage to be a serious handicap to him. Mr. Kellogg was a firm and convinced believer in the value of higher learning, and of all the distinctions which marked his later years none gave him a greater sense of satisfaction than that conferred upon him when England's oldest university bestowed upon him its highest academic honor. Oxford had been anticipated by many years by McGill University of Montreal, which conferred the degree of doctor of laws upon him in 1913. It would take at least a page to list similar distinctions from other universities and colleges which recognized his achievements in this way. They are distinctions which he bore all the more worthily because he realized the inestimable worth of that culture for which the great institutions of learning stand and which it is their function to instil into their sons and daughters. And these were the reasons why Mr. Kellogg added for a number of years to his many other duties, those of trustee of at least one college of liberal arts.

All the more remarkable in view of this initial handicap is Mr. Kellogg's record. He was admitted to the bar in 1877 and served in a legal office in the city of Rochester and then in Olmstead County, both of Minnesota. It was in 1887 that he took what was destined to be one of the decisive

steps of his life. He came to St. Paul, forming a partnership with Senator Cushman Kellogg Davis, and Cordenio A. Severance. The firm has persisted, with of course the inevitable changes of personnel which time brings. It was and still remains one of the most distinguished legal firms in the state of Minnesota. St. Paul gave him a greater field of opportunity and his powers a wider scope. It was not long before he took full advantage of his new situation.

It is interesting in the light of his later career to recall the story of his first lawsuit, a story which Mr. Kellogg in his later years loved to tell:

A farmer came to his office one day and asked him to undertake a case to be tried before a justice of the peace at Highforest, fifteen miles from Rochester. The remuneration offered was three dollars but the farmer would drive him out with his farm team and bring him back. The offer was readily accepted, however, any case, even of this humble character, being better than none. The case was tried in due course and Kellogg won it. So far so good. The farmer and his young counsel then started back to Rochester, but they had only gone five miles on the return journey when one of the horses was taken sick and could go no further. There was nothing for Frank Kellogg to do but to walk the remaining ten miles. It did not seem too long a walk for he had had his first case, argued it, and won it! He also had three dollars as recompense for a strenuous day's work. But his real reward was the satisfaction and elation at the thought that any one should have engaged him at all, heightened by the fact that he had won his case.⁵

By the turn of the century Mr. Kellogg had firmly established his position as a lawyer and within a fairly short period of years had achieved one of the secret ambitions of his life and one of the preëminent distinctions of a legal career. In 1912 the American Bar Association held its annual meetings at Milwaukee and at those meetings Mr. Kellogg was elected president of the American Bar Association. The meetings of the Association over which Mr. Kellogg presided later were held at Montreal, Canada, and were made noteworthy by the presence of Lord Haldane, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, whose address on "The Higher Nationality" was in itself sufficient to give distinction to the occasion. Fitted to that occasion and perhaps significant of Mr. Kellogg's broadening interests was his presidential address on "The Treaty-making Power."

But his legal practice, absorbing and extensive as it had now come to be, did not completely absorb his activities. He had always been both a student of politics and an active participant in political life. He had a keen sense of the obligations and responsibilities of citizenship and did not disdain the dust and heat of political conflict. He was, in the first decade of the century, "a good party man." Whether that is matter for censure or for praise may be ground for controversy but there is no doubt as to where Mr. Kellogg himself would stand in that controversy. His philosophy chimed with that of Edmund Burke, at least in some of its aspects. He believed that

⁵Bryn-Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 f.

loyalty "to one's own platoon" is a condition of healthy loyalty to state or nation or humanity, that the smaller loyalties are the basic ingredients of our larger loyalties. It is a philosophy which is at once fine and dangerous, for it may cover the finest self-sacrifice or the most abject compromise of principle. Burke knew the dangers of his philosophy and Mr. Kellogg was realist enough to know them too. If it be doubted whether either Burke or Mr. Kellogg entirely escaped those dangers, that is merely to recognize that no conservative in this sense can ever escape entirely the defects of his qualities. If Mr. Kellogg was a party man, it is at least certain that he was a party man on principle and by conviction and never placed party interests above those of his country.

It is not surprising that the most notable achievements of his legal career should have occurred in that border-land where law, politics, and economics converge. The early years of this century in America were years during which great financial interests and large aggregations of capital were threatening the public interest. America was coming of age in the economic sense and wealth had yet to learn the hard lessons of responsibility as it had already sensed the thrill of power. The great corporations were flushed with the heady wine of newly discovered opportunity for profit and power, and the growth of trusts was a development not difficult to understand in the light of the circumstances of the time. That there were economic advantages in the development goes without saying, but it was doubtful how far those advantages would accrue to the consuming public. There were obvious dangers to national well-being in a too rapid development of the movement, and it was necessary to curb and restrain it.

These were the conditions which prompted and inspired the liberal movement of the Theodore Roosevelt period. It is difficult now to realize the enthusiasm which was evoked and the ardent hopes which were aroused at the time. In the measures taken to safeguard the nation against the excesses and extravagances of powerful concentrations of wealth Mr. Kellogg took a foremost part and achieved a nation-wide reputation for the skill and tenacity with which he pursued his task. The title of an article which appeared in *Current Literature* at the time—"Kellogg, the Trust-Buster"—is indicative of the reputation which he then achieved. "There is no lawyer in the whole country," wrote a journalist in 1911, "whom criminal wealth more fears today." In a succession of notable cases he appeared for the United States government against the Paper and the Standard Oil Trusts and against the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific Railroads and for the Interstate Commerce Commission in its investigation of the Harriman Railroads. Always his advocacy was cogent and clear, carrying conviction by the consistency of the political philosophy upon which it was based and

which it expressed. It was no part of that philosophy to deny to industry the right of free and natural development. It was fundamental to it that such a development should be controlled and directed for the public good and that the commonwealth should be safeguarded against the abuses of monopoly.

Mr. Kellogg himself has stated the essentials of that philosophy in sentences terse and unmistakable:

In my opinion it is not and should not be the desire of the American people to destroy any industry, but to control it; not to destroy capital, but to regulate it, for large aggregations of capital are necessary to many branches of business. But wealth is one of the greatest powers known in the world. It should be controlled so that it will not be used to the injury of the people. The highest development of civilization will be attained by keeping open to individual enterprise the great avenues of commerce and industry so that every man, with reasonable capital, ability, and industry, may safely embark in some branches of industry with the hope of being something more than the employee of a corporation . . .

I am aware that the control of the forces of industry and of capital is a very delicate and difficult task; and it has agitated and divided the sentiment of peoples since the dawn of civilization, on the one hand to preserve the independence and freedom of enterprise necessary to the growth and development of commerce, and on the other to repress those selfish desires for wealth and aggrandizement which in all times have animated man.⁶

And again, "Competitive forces have developed our American industries as well as our American manhood."

It is in an article of this period that one finds a graphic pen picture of Frank B. Kellogg, "The Trust-Buster":

"The man who sat there in the court-room did not appear to be out of the ordinary type of attorneys that one may see any day. He is considerably below the average height; his figure is slender but as supple as an athlete's. His hair, which is white, falls half-neglected about his well-formed head. His eyes are gray and kindly, and there is a general air of quietness about his expression that might mislead one as to his motives." Not a formidable-looking man evidently. From another writer we get the details that he is only five feet seven in height and weighs about one hundred thirty-five pounds. He is restless and energetic and finds it hard to keep quiet even when there is no occasion for action. He is "doing something all the time," his body as well as his mind moving quickly. After he has run his hand a few times through his wavy white hair, his head looks "like the snow-white pad on the top of a Georgia cotton-bush." His hair is prematurely white.⁷

By the second decade of the century Mr. Kellogg was a figure of national reputation. He had proved that he was something more than a great lawyer. He was now ranged definitely with the leaders of the new spirit in American politics which emerged with Theodore Roosevelt and which persisted beyond the periods of Roosevelt's presidencies. He had displayed rare courage and unflinching tenacity and he had successfully challenged the strongest financial combinations in America. Naturally, his political future began to be discussed in the press and it depended mainly upon his own personal decision

⁶*Review of Reviews*, vol. XLV, p. 729.

⁷*Current Literature*, vol. LI, pp. 375 f.

as to whether he should represent his state in the Senate of the United States. He did not make his decision hurriedly. As early as 1910 he was being urged to permit his name to be put forward as Republican candidate, but evidently he felt that the time was not ripe. The signal was not given.

In 1916, however, the time was ripe and Mr. Kellogg became senatorial candidate for the state of Minnesota. One of the candidates whom Mr. Kellogg defeated for the Republican nomination was Mr. Charles Lindbergh, whose name was to reappear later in that of his illustrious son. In the election which followed, Mr. Kellogg had a majority of nearly seventy thousand over his Democratic opponent. For a term he served in Washington with the same assiduity and effectiveness which had characterized his other labors. These were troubled years; a world plunged in tragic warfare, and the war itself followed by the inevitable deflation and economic reaction. For all classes the immediate post-war period was one of stress and difficulty, but no class suffered as much as did the farmers who constituted so large a proportion of the Minnesota electorate. It is human nature to seek scapegoats for its disasters and, however irrationally, the farmers blamed the government. A sense of grievance was general amongst the farmers of the Middle West. It found expression in radical political movements which expressed a revolt against existing conditions rather than any definite political philosophy. Minnesota was in some way the focus of this unrest and to this cause primarily is to be attributed Mr. Kellogg's defeat in 1922.

It seemed at the time more than a check to a promising political career. It was a defeat from which recovery seemed unlikely if not almost impossible. It is one of the paradoxes of Mr. Kellogg's career that this defeat was the beginning of the most brilliant period of his life. He became ambassador to the Court of St. James in December 1923. At that time the problem of German Reparations overshadowed every other in world-politics, and co-operation between the United States and Great Britain was one of the primary conditions of a satisfactory solution of the problem. During the conferences which resulted in the adoption of the Dawes Plan, Mr. Kellogg was in London and played his part in the quiet, effective way which was characteristic of him. The satisfactory outcome of the Conference was due to many factors but amongst them must be reckoned the gracious influence of the American Ambassador at London.

Mr. Kellogg's appointment to London was one of President Coolidge's surprise appointments and it had not received very good comments from the press in the United States. The appointment was justified in its results, for by common consent the Ambassador "made good" and by 1924 he had established himself securely as a successful representative of his country

in a situation which called for great tact as well as judgment. The tribute paid to him by Mr. Winston Churchill, then chancellor of the exchequer in the British government, later destined to be Britain's "War Prime Minister," is eloquent testimony to the work he did and to the impression he left:

In the time we have known him, he has shown himself a man whose kindly and charming disposition has endeared him to all. He is a man whose fearless integrity makes smooth the path of public business. He is a man who, even when he is most strenuously championing the cause and special interest of his own country, shows that he understands and never loses touch with the point of view of others. He is a man, who facing facts as they are, is very slow to resent plain, blunt assertions, even if he feels it his duty most actively and most vigorously to combat them. He is a diplomatist whose whole nature is utterly averse from anything in the nature of shuffling, intrigue, or duplicity. He is a statesman whose views are ranged upon the high ideals of the nation and who seeks, if I read him aright, the glory of his country in the peace and progress of all the world.*

Mr. Kellogg, however, was not destined to remain long in England. Other responsibilities were calling. Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, who had been secretary of state since the beginning of the Harding administration, resigned in 1925, and Mr. Kellogg was recalled to succeed him. And so began the period which was destined to mark Mr. Kellogg's greatest achievements.

The relations between the United States and Mexico were strained almost to the breaking point. With the invaluable aid of Mr. Dwight Morrow these were straightened out. The long-standing dispute between Chile and Peru over Tacna-Arica, which time and again threatened war, was well on its way to settlement before Mr. Kellogg left office. United States policy in the Far East was clarified and the relations of its government with China were greatly improved and the traditional friendship of the two countries deepened. Not always was it possible to achieve success, of course, either in Latin America or elsewhere. Nicaragua remained a problem and the Geneva Naval Conference of 1927 was a failure; but here there were factors beyond Mr. Kellogg's control. In spite of difficulties, the years at the State Department were years of achievement and of abiding satisfaction. On many occasions he was asked, "Mr. Kellogg, what is the most interesting experience or period of your life?" And his invariable reply was, "My experience at the State Department." His period of service came to an end with the close of the Coolidge administration.

In 1929 his services in the cause of world-peace were given fitting recognition by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize, an award which met with general approval. In the following year Mr. Kellogg was called to the last of the major positions which he was destined to fill. On the seventeenth of September, 1930, he was elected to succeed Mr. Charles Evans

*From a speech by Hon. Winston Churchill in 1925 at a dinner given in Mr. Kellogg's honor.

Hughes as judge of the International Court of Justice. His election also was in some measure a recognition of his services to world-peace. But it was more than that. It was a recognition of those qualities of calm and considered judgment, of the combination of legal knowledge with broad human sympathies which had become apparent in his public life. He was chosen not by the suffrages of Americans but by the suffrages of the world and chosen with remarkable unanimity. He followed John Bassett Moore and Charles Evans Hughes in his new position. Of few men could one be sure that they would rise to the expectations created by that succession with a distinction that would add lustre to the office. The fact that the world believed that of Mr. Kellogg is a measure of the reputation which he had won from a world not always prone to recognize sterling worth.

In the late summer of 1934 he had a serious breakdown in health, undergoing two severe operations at Rochester, Minnesota, and in the following year there was a recurrence of the trouble. Reluctantly he came to the conclusion that he could no longer serve at the Hague and on the ninth of September, 1935, he wrote to the President of the Court tendering his resignation, which was accepted with regret. He still retained his connection with his law firm at St. Paul, he still retained the keenest interest in national and international developments, he rejoiced in the peace and harmony of his home, but his days of active service had come to an end.

In December 1937, while at his home in St. Paul, he was stricken, and on December 20 he passed away peacefully. His had been a full life, crowded with activity and crowned with achievement. Honors had been conferred upon him beyond the common lot, but to the end he remained a simple, ardent, pioneering son of the great Northwest with which so much of his life had been identified.

And what of the Pact which more than any other of his achievements he regarded as his greatest triumph? In the light of Manchuria, of Ethiopia, and of the events that culminated in the second World War it is clear that the Kellogg Pact is no sovereign remedy for international misunderstanding nor is it a certain safeguard against war. It was not intended to be either of these things. It was and is a crystallization of the moral sentiment of mankind in relation to war. It marks a change of emphasis in the world's conception of the resort to arms and definitely outlaws recourse to brute force for the arbitrament of international differences. The second World War is proof that it will take time for the full consequences of these changes to take effect in the practices of nations and in the formulae of international law.

Already, however, some of these consequences have been realized. The United States has made the Pact the basis for a doctrine destined to be of

the utmost importance in determining its foreign policy. On August 8, 1932, Henry L. Stimson, Mr. Kellogg's successor as secretary of state made an important speech interpreting the Kellogg Pact, in which he declared:

War between nations was renounced by the signatories of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty. This means that it has become illegal throughout practically the entire world. It is no longer to be the source and subject of rights. It is no longer to be the principle around which the duties, the conduct, and the rights of nations revolve. It is an illegal thing. Hereafter when two nations engage in armed conflict either one or both of them must be wrong-doers—violators of this general treaty law. We no longer draw a circle about them and treat them with the punctilios of the duelist's code. Instead we denounce them as lawbreakers . . .⁹

And thus the Pact became the foundation for the policy of "Non-recognition" to which the government of the United States still adheres and which it has applied steadfastly in the turbulent years of the thirties. In that sense the Pact has had already a definite influence on policy.

But more than this is true. The Pact expresses and enshrines an idea and even in the midst of war's terrors that idea lives. Others have founded empires and in due time they have crumbled and fallen. Others have conquered territories by might and their conquests have borne fruit that endured for a day and have long since perished. But some men give to the world a fruitful idea, and ideas persist into a life beyond life. They are creative, renewing themselves as they find new and finer expressions. They do not pass away. It was and is Mr. Kellogg's supreme distinction to be numbered among such men.

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FIGLIO LA GUARDIA

by

ALBERT BRITT

THE picturesque mayor of New York is a prodigy, a freak, a disrupter of standard procedures, an accident, a demonstration of the fertility of democratic soil, a potential dictator, a great administrator, an off-stage noise, an alien menace, and a portent of a better and brighter tomorrow. He may be any or all of these, and more. You can write your own ticket. The surest guess is that he could not have happened in any other country under the sun, except perhaps one of the livelier Balkan states some time during the last century. Certain it is that none of the conventional, highly organized European states would have permitted him to lift his head before 1918 and if he had stepped on the stage in the years since the Versailles Conference he would by this time have become a dangerous power or a rapidly fading memory.

In America he started as the son of an army bandsman and he is now the head of the troublesome and powerful city of New York, where the citizens argue heatedly as to whether he is the best mayor New York has ever had or merely a fast talker who gets the credit for the good things that other people do. After his first election one of the conservative clubs, in a moment of unwonted enthusiasm, elected him to honorary membership. Since that rash act the membership of the club has been divided into two groups, the conservatives who regard the election as little short of a betrayal of the club's fair name and those who incline to the opinion that His Honor is perhaps important enough to offer hope of ultimate justification of the compliment. The latter are a radical and rather feeble minority in the club membership.

Outside New York there is still a considerable body of opinion which holds that he is really not American at all, "not what I mean by American, you understand." These same thinkers are quite certain that no politician whose name can be translated "Little Flower" and who in physical respects resembles neither Daniel Webster nor Abraham Lincoln can hope to go far in politics. On the latter point it is respectfully submitted that to have traveled from an East Side tenement by way of an Arizona high school, with stop-overs in various consular offices, Ellis Island, a deputy attorney-generalship in New York, Congress, the presidency of the New York Board of Aldermen, to the mayoralty of

the city, all in fifty-eight years, is a considerable trip even if the journey goes no further. As for the test of pure Americanism it needs to be applied with care except perhaps in regions so backward economically that the more enterprising of the native-born proceed elsewhere at the first decent opportunity.

Part of Mr. La Guardia's alleged offense lies in the fact that the America which produced him is the America of today, not the America of the rail-splitter, the canal-boat driver, and the little red schoolhouse. His name has an alien sound to ears attuned to English, Scotch, and Irish syllables. So do Cristoforo Colombo and Amerigo Vespucci. The engineer who built the Panama Canal was named Goethals, containing little hint of the echo of Bow Bells, but he seems to have built a pretty good canal. Among Washington's officers were some curious American names, Lafayette, Von Steuben, Pulaski, Kosciuszko. The man who died saving the Mohawk Valley from the embarrassing attentions of the British and the Iroquois during the Revolution bore the un-British name of Herkimer. Many odd foreign names have become Americanized; perhaps La Guardia will be one more in the list.

Aside from his alien name he was city-born; that's out of the conventional political pattern, and even the fact that he was poor is hard to forgive. City poverty for some curious reason is not as virtuous as the country brand, although the family which set an all-time record in the production of undesirable citizens, the "Jukes," was a strictly rural product. Although young Fiorello first saw the light in New York City—December 11, 1882 was the date—he traveled far toward East and West before he came again to the metropolis. His father's army duties took the family to Arizona, where Fiorello graduated from the Prescott High School. After the father's death his mother took him to Budapest where he added Yiddish, German, and French to the knowledge he already had of English and Italian. A politician with a working use of five languages really is un-American. When he was nineteen years old he was a clerk in the American consulate in Budapest, from which place he was transferred to Trieste. When he was twenty-one he was made American consul at Fiume where he made trouble by insisting on the strict observance of the law requiring medical examination of immigrants at that port of embarkation. Also he outraged Austrian officialdom by refusing to delay the sailing of a new Austrian ship in order that the Archduchess Josepha might make a tour of inspection. Next he appeared as an interpreter at Ellis Island, making good

use of his foreign tongues. At night he studied law and was admitted to the bar when he was twenty-eight and began to practice.

Now he was a New Yorker, at least for voting purposes, although it has been difficult to keep him long in any one place. Politics attracted him, but not the Tammany variety, so he chose to be a Republican, running for Congress in a strongly Democratic district in 1914. His name, his stature, his lack of conventional political backing made his campaign highly humorous to the lords of the "Wigwam," until the votes were counted, when it was found that he had made annoying inroads into the normal Democratic majority. Two years later he was elected, but quit Congress to be an army flyer in 1917. Again his lack of proper stature failed to stop him. It was beginning to appear that this man was constitutionally inclined to go where he wanted to go. During the war he went to the Italian front and was one of the men who whipped up Italian morale after the Caporetto disaster. He came back to America a major and wearing the Italian War Cross and the decoration of a Knight Commander of the Crown of Italy.

In some quarters he lies under suspicion of undue Italian sympathy, perhaps a result of his blood-stream, perhaps out of gratitude for his decorations, although he is hardly the sort to set a high value on a bit of ribbon. There is no record of outspoken condemnation of Signor Mussolini, but in the minds of many good Americans Il Duce rates somewhere below the number one man in the list of public enemies. What he has lacked in criticism of Italy's dictator he has more than made up in another direction. His remark that Herr Hitler should be in a Chamber of Horrors brought a protest to the State Department from the German Embassy which failed to arouse much interest in either the State Department or the City Hall in New York. Another characteristic phrase was "There is no *ersatz* for justice."

After 1918 had run its course and he had been demobilized, he went back to Congress for another term, leaving it for the presidency of the New York Board of Aldermen. As a presiding-officer he was always lively, sometimes noisy, and not often decorous. His own explanation of his lack of the last-named quality was that he had no time for it. In 1921 he missed the mayoralty nomination and the next year he turned up in Congress for the third time. This time he ran amuck among the sacred cows of the Coolidge regime: speculation, prosperity, prohibition. It was a strange show that he put on in the Washington of that distant day. While the high priests of the party that he still called his own sang the praise of their own efforts in lifting the United States to new

levels of peace and profit, he warned of growing unemployment and indicted his colleagues for sponsoring a speculative riot. He illustrated a speech on the rising cost of living by pulling a steak from his coat pocket to show how much the poor man must pay for how little. He spoke unkindly of power-magnates before it had become fashionable—and politically safe—to berate Mr. Insull. He made beer in his Washington apartment and defied the prohibition enforcement officers to stop him. It was good vaudeville, with more point and force than most political showmanship can boast. It began to be noted that in his most extravagant antics there was a quality of dramatic illustration and that he seemed always to be talking about something, not merely calling attention to himself.

Still a Republican, he was supporting something very like New-Deal legislation before the dawn of the New Deal. Secretary Mellon's income-tax reductions found little favor in his sight. He opposed the use of federal injunctions in labor disputes and fought for the relief of property-owners staggering under an overload of mortgages. He proposed the insurance of bank-deposits when that idea had few friends. His Republican colleagues looked at him askance if at all and he found his most kindred spirits among such men as Wheeler, Norris, Wagner, Brookhart, and La Follette, but he formed lasting alliances with no one. Throughout his congressional career he was that most disturbing figure in American political life—an Individualist. When he chose the Republican label because of his distrust of Tammany Hall, he retained his full right to go on making choices with respect to every matter that commanded his attention—and there were many such.

There seems to be a general belief around the country that La Guardia's career in politics has been one of continual success. Quite the contrary. This man has come the hard way, the way of the lone hunter who must look at his label between shots to see which crowd he belongs with. He tried for the New York mayoralty again in 1925 and missed it, and in the New-Deal landslide of 1932 he paid the price of defeat for Congress for his Republican affiliation. It seems one of history's more delicate ironies that the man who had been less of a Republican than many Democrats should have gone down under the avalanche along with the sturdiest of the Old Guard.

In 1933 came his big chance. Samuel Seabury had turned up evidence about the operations of the Tammany tiger which sickened even a New York long accustomed to forgive and forget the prowlings of that beast. There really was a limit apparently. La Guardia rode into City Hall

on a landslide under which the tiger is still buried. The "Little Flower" had arrived in the city of his birth. Some of the citizens might be doubtful about him, but they had him whether they liked him or not. At the time this was written in 1940, his second term had still a year and a half to go and no opposition candidate of more than midget stature had appeared.

In spite of his achievements as mayor of New York, and they are many and real, and in spite of the attention which he attracts outside the city, he seems to have little present likelihood of promotion to national prominence. Although party lines appear to be breaking apart in several different directions, La Guardia's disregard of party connections operates against him outside his native city. In New York the Walker regime gave Tammany such a "black eye" that the Mayor's New-Deal tendencies do not alienate him from those who hate Tammany, and the political imbecility of the local Republican organization is so obvious that his dubious loyalty to the party of his original choice is viewed rather as a virtue than as a weakness. He is essentially a radical in his quick sense of the reality of the immediate problem and his impatience with the rounded phrases of avoidance. On the other hand, no one has ever heard him formulate a theory of political organization or method. He has played with the American Labor party and has been outspoken on the necessity of caring for the unemployed, but he denounced the leader of a demonstration of the unemployed as a "yellow dog." In the campaign of 1937 the Communist party in New York endorsed his candidacy without his permission and apparently without annoying or embarrassing him.

We Americans praise individualism, but we distrust individualists. Our preference is for men who can be classified and labeled and who can be found tomorrow about where we left them yesterday. Party orthodoxy is still one of the major political virtues. For the apostles of party regularity La Guardia is an irritant and a mystery. It may be that his present job is where he belongs. And how has he done it to date?

The first fact that becomes evident in a close range survey of the mayor is that although he has been in public service all his life he is no smallest fraction of a bureaucrat. The fact that something has always been done in a certain way is only a reason for overhauling it on the suspicion that the method is about fifty years out of date. Those who seek signs of impending dictatorship may find them here. He has all a dictator's passion for getting things done, now, and as far as

possible his way. This is also the way of the good executive. When he demands that boys be given a chance to play without the shadow of the policeman around the corner or that poor people be allowed to live in better quarters than those which might be given to an unpopular dog, he sounds like a reformer. But when he sits at his desk confining his attention severely to the business of the moment he is the extreme realist, reaching for all the power he can grasp which is requisite to the matter in hand—and a glutton for work.

If he never goes further than New York's City Hall, there is opportunity and to spare in that beautiful old colonial building. There are seven and a half million people in the great city, all kinds and every race. The annual expenditures of the city government are around a billion and a half dollars. The activities of the government are almost national in dimensions and bewildering in variety and complications. In one sense the mayor is not a good executive. He tries to do too many things himself. Only a compact, high-speed dynamo of a man could live through his daily whirlwind of hearings, meetings, reports, orders, explosions. Correspondence, speeches, interviews, luncheon are sandwiched in when and as they may be. He seems to like the life and to make it work. The New York which still remembers the casual, wise-cracking, usually absent Jimmy Walker seems to like a mayor who works at his job and makes something of a noise while he's about it. Incidentally it would be a mistake to call Mr. La Guardia temperamental; showman is a better word.

The list of performances of his administration is formidable. He has put in operation a simpler and more workable charter, built bridges and tunnels, created a great municipal airport, improved streets and highways, cleaned up the police force, and reduced the number and violence of strikes by getting both sides into a conciliatory frame of mind. He has differed openly and sometimes loudly with his park commissioner, Robert Moses, but generally he has backed him up, and between them they have made a great system of parks, playgrounds, and boulevards. He has demanded funds for relief and at the same time he has played ball with the bankers, thus bringing the city budget into a healthier condition than it has known since the days of John Purroy Mitchel. He has come to terms with the traction interests, although it is not yet certain that he has not bought into a dying business. Even if that should prove to be the case his experience will be no worse than that of most other men and governments that have dabbled with city traction. Under

his administration traffic accidents have been reduced with a saving of seventeen lives a month.

He must be credited with two major housing projects in Williamsburg and in Harlem with room for 2,236 families at rents ranging from \$4.45 to \$6.61 a week. Prisoners are better cared for and there are fewer of them and the general health conditions of the city are better. Centralized purchasing and careful inspection have saved money and improved the product.

Individuals who have clashed with him in matters of detail have come away sore and muttering. The orthodox who like their politics in conventional garb object to his manners. Park Avenue would like a man in the City Hall whom they can invite to dinner. Unfortunately Park Avenue dinner guests do not offer serious competition for even the present mangy tiger. Men who work in close contact with him swear at him one day in the week and by him the other six. The district clubs object to him on the ground that he hires men from out of town; he answers that he hires men to do jobs and not to represent the right districts. The rest of the villagers seem to be well satisfied and there were enough of them in 1937 to give him a majority of close to half a million.

As to the future His Honor seems content to stick to his present job and let the future take care of itself. This has not prevented him from campaigning for President Roosevelt, as he did so actively in 1940, nor from accepting his appointment by the President on the Canada-United States Defense Board in August, 1940. Perhaps he's satisfied to hold one office at a time. That may not be a bad formula for an ambitious politician. No signs of a personal machine existent or in the making are visible at present. The cautious procedures and the wise, pussy-footing generalizations of the office-seeker are still markedly absent from his technique. But the personal qualities which have brought him this far are still in active operation. They may carry him further.

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by

ROWLAND HILL HARVEY



miner is always in the presence of death. In thirty years over fifty thousand miners have been killed in mine accidents, and many thousands more have been maimed for life. Truly, when a miner goes to work in the morning and is lowered down into the shaft, he is in the front-line of danger. Probably that fact has done a great deal to make the miner a difficult person to intimidate or coerce. The history of mining in the United States is a story not only of appalling disasters, but it is also a story of violent conflict between miner and operator.

When strikes occur in the coal-mines, there are few Americans who are not affected. We are all familiar with the famous anthracite coal strike of 1902 in Pennsylvania when the whole country was faced by empty coal-bins with winter coming on. John Mitchell led the miners, while such men as Baer spoke for the operators. At the juncture when the coal-operators refused to meet their employees, it will be remembered that President Theodore Roosevelt stepped in and demanded that each side arbitrate. It was at this time that John Mitchell and his miners, because of their disposition to follow the lead of the President, won the sympathy and support of the entire country. The organization that John Mitchell led is the same union now headed by John L. Lewis, and in January 1940 this great union of miners celebrated its fiftieth anniversary.

John Llewellyn Lewis, the present leader of six hundred thousand miners as well as creator of a great industrial union organization of some four million members, was born at Lucas, Iowa, on February 12, 1880. Lewis had a heritage of mining. His father, Thomas Lewis, came from Wales in his youth. For generations his ancestors had followed the dangerous occupation of mining; and, after having migrated first to Australia, he finally came to America in 1875. Like many other immigrants, he went to the spot where his own countrymen lived. So it came about that he settled in Lucas, Iowa, where he found work in the mines.

John Lewis' mother was also Welsh and also came of mining people. In the seventies her family drifted into Lucas. And there Miss Watkins met Thomas Lewis, who by this time was prominent in the counsels of the miners' union. They fell in love and were not deterred from marriage when they found that they were second cousins. John L. Lewis

was the first child of this marriage. Little John was but two years of age when his father, having been too prominent in the union, came to be blacklisted and therefore was unable to find work as a miner and was compelled to serve as a night-watchman. Thus, John was early initiated into the ways of mining operators.

The boy had very little formal education, and by the time he was seventeen years of age he was working in the mines. John soon gave every evidence of the fact that he possessed all of the characteristics for leadership among workmen. He was close to six feet tall and very broad. He had a lion-like head with great bushy eyebrows and a tremendous shock of hair. When angry or excited, he would shake his great head and roar like a lion. His friends and fellow workmen came to be deeply impressed with him and would always listen to his side of an argument. Many people have said that they loved to get him excited so that he would roar. Indeed, there can be no question about it that John Lewis possesses remarkable dramatic gifts. Even today he has often been known to rush out onto a platform from the wings, shaking his head and bel-lowing to the point where he frightens his opponents into submission.

The greatest single fact about Lewis is that he is a fighter. This characteristic was clearly brought out in his youth. He was always fighting. We are told that when a bad mule cornered him deep down in a mine and tried to kick and crush him to death, John knocked him down with his bare fist and finished him off with a rock.

But all his roaring and fighting did not make him unreflective. He early came to be aware of the very terrible working conditions that prevailed in the mines; and it is not too much to say that he resolved to fight for a better life for the miners, who lived in dirty shacks like the serfs of the Middle Ages.

In this early period of his life when he was running a debating society and play acting, he met Merta Edith Bell, a pretty young girl and daughter of a doctor in Lucas. She became a school-teacher at eighteen and proceeded to guide John's education as well as the children's in her school. But John was a restless spirit and anxious to learn more of the great country, America. So when he reached the age of twenty-one, he left the girl of his choice behind him and started out on his travels.

He worked during those wander-years in the copper, gold, and coal-mines of the West. Indeed, he could have had no better experience in preparing himself for labor leadership than his training in this period

of his life. He learned of the conditions under which men work—their problems and their attitudes toward their jobs. No better laboratory could possibly be imagined than this to study the needs of labor.

Finally, in 1906, he returned to Lucas and to Miss Merta Bell. They were married in 1907. His wife gave up school-teaching and devoted herself to the career of her ambitious young husband. John was a devoted husband, gentle and kind at home. But he was brusque and even fierce in dealing with men. Shortly after his marriage and his return to the mines, he was elected as a delegate to the national convention of the United Mine Workers of America. It was his first labor office, and from this time on his climb upward was steady and rapid.

In 1909 he moved to Montgomery County, Illinois, where he was elected president of a mine local in Panama. And in 1910, he was elected state legislative agent by the miners of Illinois. His opportunity came after the Cherry Mine disaster which took 160 lives in northern Illinois. Lewis went before the Legislature of the state and made a most dramatic appeal for legislation to protect the miners. He was successful in securing the passage of the bill he advocated and also in putting through a measure for industrial compensation.

It was at this stage when young Lewis was showing what he could do as a representative of labor that Samuel Gompers decided that the American Federation of Labor could use him. In 1911 Gompers appointed him legislative representative of the Federation. His work took him all over the country. Of course, his main job was to work for labor legislation in state capitals. His success was decisive. Before committees he was convincing by reason of powerful argument powerfully put over. Not only did he lobby for labor, but he also organized in the steel industry, in rubber, glass, lumber, and copper.

In all his activities for the Federation, he did not lose contact with the United Mine Workers. It is recorded that in 1916 he served as chairman pro tem of the national convention of the United Mine Workers. Lewis was made vice-president of the organization in 1918. This action was taken by the union when President White resigned in favor of a position on the War Labor Board and Frank J. Hayes was made president. But Hayes was sick most of the time and not able to carry on; so the real burden of the presidency fell on Mr. Lewis.

During the war he devoted himself to increasing the production of coal as much as possible. At this stage and after the war, Lewis was most vehement in denouncing the Communists and the I.W.W. Being

made acting president of the United Mine Workers in 1919, he agitated for an increase in wages of the miners. A great meeting was held in October 1919 at Indianapolis, at which time a call for a strike was made on November 1. The strike was for higher wages for the miners. President Wilson denounced the call for a strike, and he invoked the Lever Act designed as a war-time measure to prevent strikes in essential industries. Lewis declared that the strike order would not be rescinded until the operators met the union demands. It was a very critical time in the fall of 1919; the country was faced with empty coal-bins.

At this juncture, Judge Anderson of the United States District Court issued an order restraining the union heads from carrying on the strike. But the strike came off in due time. Many efforts were made at a compromise. By December there was an acute shortage of coal, and no solution was in sight. Finally, on December 7, John L. Lewis and William Green called upon President Wilson, and at this important meeting Lewis yielded to the terms offered by the President. There was opposition, however, from a radical minority in the United Mine Workers. But Lewis succeeded in quieting all resistance, and the miners went to work again. Under President Wilson's plan, a commission was appointed including representatives of the employers and employees to determine the increase in pay. And an increase amounting to 27 per cent was decided upon for the miners. Thus the coal strike was settled with honor to Lewis and to the government. Because of his success as acting president, Lewis was raised to the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America in 1920 and has retained that office ever since.

In the years that followed, Lewis fought for the thirty-hour week and higher wages for his people. There were strikes and rumors of strikes without end. Lewis roared out in those years that the miners would not accept cuts. There would be no retreat. "No backward step" became his slogan. The miners must have a decent standard of living. Serfdom must end in the mines. But coal was being replaced by oil, and the miners' union shrank in size. Yet Lewis fought on.

He found time to differ with President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor in matters of policy. He thought the old man was slipping; and, at a time when there was some agitation against Gompers' continuance in the office of the presidency, John Lewis offered himself as a candidate in opposition. Many thought it was an ungrateful act. Gompers had given Lewis his start in the labor movement, and they were unwilling to turn the older man out after so many years of faithful

service. But Lewis was an ambitious man and could not be bothered with such trifles as gratitude. However, because of this feeling among the men of the Federation, it was not easy for him to get an outstanding man to present his name before the convention at Denver in 1921. The story goes that he sought the services of James Lord, president of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, to place his name before the convention as a candidate for the presidency of the organization in opposition to Samuel Gompers. But Lord explained to Lewis that his feeling of loyalty to Gompers was such that he could not bring himself to do that service for him. Lewis said nothing at the time. But a very short while after, Lord received a communication from the United Mine Workers to the effect that the organization had decided not to continue its affiliation to the Mining Department; and, therefore, its financial support would be withdrawn. This action meant, of course, that Lord's salary would practically be cut off, because the United Mine Workers constituted the greatest support of the Mining Department.

There was not a little lobbying for votes on the part of Lewis and Gompers as well. Gompers' friends were afraid of this fighting miner of the West. On the day of the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers, presented Lewis' name to the convention. However, when the votes were counted, Lewis was defeated, 25,022 to 12,324 votes. Lewis' ambitions had received a check, but the Federation people had been given a scare. Henceforth, the conservative elements of that body came to look with fear and suspicion upon him.

The next years were troubled ones for Lewis. In the spring of 1922 came the big soft coal strike, while the West Virginia coal-miners were in a state of civil war. And at Herrin, Illinois, the strikers fought it out with the strike-breakers; many were killed on both sides. The miners in great fury actually hanged some of the men who had taken their jobs. It is not strange that President Harding at this time was calling for "a return to normalcy."

Lewis thought the time had come for the government to investigate the mining business. He pointed out that the prices of coal were far too high. He also thundered out that the operators had forced the strike upon the men in order to break up the union. But President Harding was not made of the stuff of reformers, and, in any case, he was never sympathetic with labor-unions. The trouble wore along to the summer

of 1922. By then there were two strikes to be settled, one in soft coal and the other in anthracite. Both of them were settled that summer satisfactorily to labor. And Lewis, the Dictator, as he was now called, packed off to Europe with his wife. It was high time that he took a vacation, what with strike after strike, fights against the Communists, and, above all, his everlasting struggle to hold his organization together when the coal business was in decline.

The Coolidge prosperity was not shared by the miners. Lewis could testify abundantly to that fact. But he kept resisting all cuts, even though one strike of the anthracite-miners lasted 160 days in 1925. Not only did the growing use of petroleum add to the miners' woes, but labor-saving devices came in to displace whole regiments of miners. In those years Lewis did some thinking. He saw that to resist the machine was useless and unprogressive. But he did think that the mining industry could be so organized that miners could make a decent living throughout the year. In order to do this, however, it would be necessary to stabilize the industry and persuade the operators and middlemen to cease gouging the public. We shall find later that Lewis' thinking bore fruit in a coal legislative bill.

Lewis was not only preoccupied with mining problems but with the question of organizing the workers in mass-production industries. For years he had watched the conflict between the craft-unions within the Federation.¹ The carpenters fought the metal-workers for control of members; the teamsters' union wanted the men who drove trucks for the breweries, but the brewery-workers claimed all the men who worked in and around the breweries. And so it went, each trade-union struggling to hold and get more members. Jurisdictional fights, as they were called, often tore the unions apart. Lewis wanted to use the miners as a model industrial union for the whole labor movement to follow. The United Mine Workers held within their organization all the men in and around the mines. Now what could be better than to have the steel-workers, the automobile-workers, and the other toilers in great industries band together as the coal-miners had done?

The idea was not a new one. Indeed, the Knights of Labor had worked to unite all men in labor organizations irrespective of skill or calling. Then too, the more progressive leaders of labor had come to see that labor in its type of organization should follow the trends in

¹Craft-unions are those unions where men are organized according to their specific skill or type of work, such as carpenters, cigar-makers, etc., as compared to industrial unions where the workers are organized according to their industry, such as the automobile industry or garment-makers industry, which might include many crafts.

industrial progress. It seemed illogical to them that some of the steel-workers should belong to the machinists' union, perhaps to the plumbers, or the carpenters, or the steam-fitters.

But the period of the twenties and the early years of the great depression were not the time to bring forth innovations. It was enough in those years for Lewis to keep the miners' union alive. Daily he saw his little army of unionists dwindle to a mere handful; but he kept on fighting against operators, who were determined to be rid of labor-unions forever. In those trying times some of his lieutenants turned against him. John Brophy, of Pennsylvania, thought Lewis was weakening and sought to displace him. The rebels gathered at Springfield, Illinois, in March 1930, and plotted his ruin. But meantime, Lewis called a regular convention of the miners at Indianapolis and prepared to expel the rebels. In the end Lewis emerged triumphant, but it was a hollow victory. The bituminous coal industry was in a sad plight. In desperation, Lewis turned to Hoover and begged that the President call a conference of operators and miners to bring about an understanding so as to end the everlasting strikes. But the operators, sensing victory, refused.

Lewis was coming out for industrial planning. He wanted the coal business stabilized so as to provide a decent living for the miners. To that end he advanced a measure known as the Watson bill, later called the Davis-Kelley bill. This measure gave the miners the right to organize and imposed regulations upon interstate coal corporations. But the Hoover administration was not kindly disposed to such adventures; and so the bill came to nothing.

In 1933 the bottom was reached. The United Mine Workers treasury hit the low of \$75,000. The membership of the union was probably under two hundred thousand. It was indeed a dark time, but hope came with the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Lewis was called in by Roosevelt to assist in the code-making of the N.R.A. Section 7a of the National Recovery Act gave labor what it wanted: the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Lewis was jubilant. He threw all his energies into organization. The membership of the miners swelled in a few months to over half a million. Nothing now could stop them. But the Supreme Court declared the N.R.A. unconstitutional. However, the Wagner Act, giving workers the right to organize and bargain collectively, was to follow and save the day for labor.

The bituminous coal industry certainly needed stabilization. Once more Lewis tried with the Guffey-Snyder Act for the stabilization of the soft coal industry, but this measure went the way of the N.R.A. The Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional on May 23, 1936.

The next great crisis in Lewis' career was the quarrel with the American Federation of Labor over the question of industrial unions. Of course, this was the most momentous event in Lewis' career thus far. The storm had been a long time brewing, and now it burst out in all its fury. The convention of the Federation met at Atlantic City in 1935. Lewis was ready with a resolution calling for the industrial organization of labor. The delegates debated the question all one afternoon and far into the night. When the vote was taken, it stood at 18,025 in favor of the majority report recommending the craft type of organization be retained and 10,924 for the minority report calling for the industrial type of organization.

Lewis was thus brought up suddenly against a stone wall so far as the Federation was concerned. He had with him in his struggle the Typographical Union headed by Howard; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a great union led by Sidney Hillman; the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers; and the United Mine Workers together with others. Craft-unionism he felt to be altogether wrong and antiquated; therefore, he refused to abide by the decision of the American Federation of Labor and planned to go on with industrial unionism at all costs. He looked upon the great craft-unions within the Federation as groups seeking to retain their power by dividing labor. Each craft-union wanted to keep within its folds the workers belonging to its particular skill.

But Mr. Green, now president of the A. F. of L., with the big trade-unions at his back did not want this type of organization to prevail. It would mean the end of many of the unions as separate organizations and possibly the end of many fat jobs. Besides, the trade-unionists felt, rightly enough, a certain pride in their crafts and did not want to merge with the unskilled. Workers can be aristocratic in their taste as well as certain of the white-collared gentry.

Lewis was beaten in the Federation, but he had other plans. Without loss of time, he gathered around him John Brophy, Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky, Thomas F. McMahon, Harvey C. Fremming, Max Zautsky, and Thomas H. Brown. They all headed big unions and were filled with the crusading zeal to organize the workers in mass-industries. In November 1935 they met and launched the Committee for

Industrial Organization. So far they were still affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but Lewis had resigned as vice-president of that organization. And now, as chairman of the C.I.O., he started out on a great campaign to organize the workers in the mass-production industries. The rubber-workers were first to engage his attention. Early in 1936 he moved upon Akron and encouraged the United Rubber Workers to organize. A strike ensued in the Goodyear plant, but the men emerged victorious.

Lewis next moved upon the great automobile industry. Already there was a union to start with, the United Automobile Workers of America. With every encouragement from the C.I.O., the workers of South Bend and Detroit as well as Flint joined together to form one big union in the motor-car industry.

From motor-cars to the steel industry the C.I.O. marched. The steel industry had practically defied all attempts at organizing the workmen. However, there was a labor organization in the field, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. The Amalgamated was affiliated with the Federation but had never been able to do much, because the craft-unions of the A. F. of L. had withheld their support.

It was not so with the C.I.O. Backed by \$500,000, an organizing committee appointed by Lewis put two hundred organizers into the field, and soon the whole steel industry began to feel the impact of the attack. In a short time, the United States Steel Corporation, an organization that had resisted any and all attempts at unionization, was ready to talk business with the great John L.

Lewis was indeed a national figure. He was now besieged by reporters and dogged by photographers, but he was yet to smile for them. He made his bow to the great radio audience and found that his mellow voice was at once a sensation. He was now "John" to the inimitable F.D.R., who, nevertheless, grieved that a breach had widened between John L. and the American Federation of Labor. To Roosevelt, the champion of workers, it was an appalling scandal that labor should be divided.

Meantime, the Executive Council of the Federation met and, after surveying the work of the C.I.O., declared that the unions composing it had violated the mandates of the Federation; therefore, they were suspended. These unions had been guilty of rebellion in setting up a labor movement in opposition to the Federation. Mr. Green, who had worked for many years at the side of Lewis, now considered him a rebel intent upon disrupting the legitimate labor movement.

Lewis protested that his intentions were golden and that the well-being of the workers alone was his concern, and he pointed to the fact that he was constantly advising workers to stay within the Federation. But it remained a fact that could not be explained away that he was organizing workers into industrial unions contrary to the decrees of the American Federation of Labor. Lewis thundered forth from a hundred rostrums that he was merely doing what the Federation had failed to do. He shook his great mane of hair and paced the platforms, roaring out his philosophy of a higher standard of living for Americans. They were glorious days for the miner of Lucas, Iowa.

When the Committee for Industrial Organization met in executive session in October 1937, it declared its membership to have reached four million. It was now the largest labor body in America and growing stronger every day. But all was not serene. Having expelled the rebels, the A. F. of L. now proceeded to punish them. It tied the tag of Communism upon the whole C.I.O. movement and also lost no opportunity to break up its organizations. Needless to say, Mr. Lewis responded in the same manner. It has been a sorry spectacle to see two labor organizations, both striving for the well-being of the working men, tearing at each other's throats. President Roosevelt shook his head sadly at the sight and continued to hope and work for peace; but peace seemed far away. Mr. Green insisted that the great unions within the Federation must be protected from the encroachments of the unions in the C.I.O. If they were allowed to come into the Federation just as they were, some of them might be in a position of competing with organizations already in the Federation.

Lewis was arbitrary and dictatorial. Peace must be on his own terms. Twice he broke off negotiations because he could not get what he wanted.

While Lewis had apparently been busy with the work of organizing labor-unions, he behaved in ways suggesting that the bug of political ambition had bitten him. As the political campaign of 1940 neared, he made speeches denouncing President Roosevelt. He accused the President of being in "full intellectual retreat" and of truckling to "Big Business" and labor-baiting corporations. He made friendly gestures toward Herbert Hoover and the Republican party. But many thought he dreamed of building a third party—a real liberal party—with himself at the head of it.

He spoke to Negro congresses, reminding them of their political disabilities in the South, and sought to arouse in them hope of redemption

through affiliation with Labor's National Non-Partisan League and the C.I.O., which since 1938 has been known as the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In a speech delivered on June 18, 1940, to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he reminded them of the poll-tax, a measure used in some states to keep thousands of Negroes from voting, and declared the C.I.O.'s determination to end that wrong. He also spoke of his organization's support of the Anti-Lynching bill and announced the policy of the C.I.O. to give equal rights to Negroes.

Mr. Lewis told those same colored people that the United States has gone backward since the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932:

Mr. Roosevelt made depression and unemployment a chronic fact in American life. It was a slogan of the 1932 presidential election that Herbert Hoover was responsible for that depression. As a simple matter of justice, let me say here and now that the workers of the United States realize that he had nothing whatever to do with it. It was laid on his door-step when he came to the White House. It is only the self-seeking politicians that blame Mr. Hoover. The policies he pursued, in coöperation with other nations, had a powerful effect in the start at recovery in 1932. The New Deal did not fulfill their promises or complete their undertakings. It was their policies and their weaknesses which have kept this country in depression for seven more years.²

This was strange language coming from one whose organization, the United Mine Workers of America, stood on its last legs before Roosevelt gave a new day to labor in 1933. Indeed, loyalty has never been a cardinal principle of Mr. Lewis—leader of labor. He repaid Samuel Gompers' interest in raising him to leadership by seeking to unseat him from the presidency of the American Federation of Labor, and now President Roosevelt felt the sting of his ingratitude.

The crowning act in Lewis' record of disloyalty came late in the presidential campaign of 1940. For many weeks during the late summer and early fall, rumors came drifting into the newspapers that Lewis was about to make an announcement of his stand toward Roosevelt's candidacy for a third term. At last it was announced that he was to go on the air October 25. With all the fervor and oratory he could summon, Lewis denounced President Roosevelt and the third term. He called on labor to vote for Wendell Willkie, the Republican candidate, not only because he regarded Roosevelt as an enemy of labor, but because he considered him a dangerous man likely to lead America into war. And finally, he staked his leadership of the C.I.O. on the defeat of the President. He announced that he would consider the reelection of President Roosevelt as a "no confidence" vote for himself as leader of the C.I.O. and would resign from that position.

²Speech, June 18, 1940.

His speech met with violent opposition from the great body of labor in and out of the C.I.O. One writer in a labor paper called him a "rat," while others protested in telegrams of a most vehement character. It appeared that many of the most powerful unions in the C.I.O. had already endorsed Roosevelt for a third term and were standing firm on that position.

It was also becoming increasingly apparent that all was not well with Mr. Lewis and his C.I.O. In June 1940, David Dubinsky led his two hundred fifty thousand Ladies Garment Workers back to the American Federation of Labor. The final act was played out before officers of the Federation, when Dubinsky with tears in his eyes embraced Mr. Green and cried out that he was happy now to be back home in the Federation with his people.

Mr. Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and vice-president of the C.I.O., has become more and more rebellious under Mr. Lewis' leadership. The two men have locked horns over the question of the third term for President Roosevelt. Needless to say, Hillman has been a warm supporter of the President. At this hour it appears that Mr. Lewis is on his way out; but he is a strong, aggressive man who can scarcely be thought of as playing a minor role. True to his pledge, Lewis resigned from the C.I.O., but he still retained the presidency of the United Mine Workers and the dominant position in the C.I.O.

In Washington, where public men are often quickly sized up, Mr. Lewis came to be known as the man who gives the "kiss of death" to those whom he would destroy. Soft and kind words from him may be but the prelude to utter betrayal. And when he has spoken ill of a man, he does it in the harshest possible language. For instance, he referred to John N. Garner as a "labor-baiting, poker-playing, whiskey-drinking, evil old man."

Lewis lacks humor and charity. Perhaps he came up through too hard a school. It has made him too fiercely aggressive for men to love him. His intolerance has made him speak of people in the most scathing terms. It is always somewhat hazardous to form any final estimate of a character while he is still living. But perhaps it would be safe to say that while Lewis has loved power and has accentuated division in the labor movement, he has, nevertheless, worked for a higher standard of living for the men who toil.

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Courtesy of George W. Watson

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH TO 1932¹

by

PAUL FREDERICK BLOOMHARDT

HE has outlived the names of "Lucky Lindbergh" and "The Flying Fool." For five years the searching gaze of a keenly interested world has not revealed any serious errors in judgment, any improprieties in conduct, or any reasonable causes of offense in the young hero whom it has delighted to honor. Franklin confessed to grave errata in his youth. Washington's early years were not free from mistakes. Lincoln struggled long to escape from immaturity and costly inexperience. Not one of these passed his twenties under such an exacting scrutiny as Lindbergh has so successfully met since he emerged from obscurity at Le Bourget in 1927.

His lone flight across the Atlantic was a test of skill and nerve. The unblinking spotlight under which he has lived since then is a much more adequate test of essential manhood. It has become evident that his successful flight and subsequent career are not accidental. They fit well into the pattern of his life, which began in Detroit, Michigan, February 4, 1902.

His father, whose name he bears, was a man of sterling character and widely recognized abilities. The elder Lindbergh was actively engaged in politics throughout all the years in which his son remembers him. He served the nation and Minnesota for ten years in Congress. No small part of young Lindbergh's education was secured in the many hours of close companionship which they spent together. Besides a physical resemblance, they have shown the same carelessness for personal comfort, the same love of natural beauty, the same personal modesty, the same obliging good nature, the same loftiness of purpose, and the same strong self-confidence. As he accompanied his father to the floor of Congress, traveled with him on his political campaigns, and as an older boy worked with him in his Washington office, Charles doubtless acquired from the experience the *savoir faire* which enabled him in later years to appear so acceptably in European capitals and great American cities.

The influence of his mother, Evangeline Land Lindbergh, is more difficult to analyze. She is a graduate of the University of Michigan and received a master's degree from Columbia University. She taught in the

¹An interpretation written in 1932.

schools of Little Falls, Minnesota, before her marriage, and in recent years has been a teacher of science in a Detroit high school. The frequent changes in the residence of a congressman's family interfered seriously with the lad's early education. The task of sustaining his interest and of piecing together the instruction received in more than a dozen schools fell to her skillful hands. She shares with his father the credit for so guiding the boy as to develop an ability to think and act for himself.

Quite early in life he revealed an interest in machines. His mother thinks that it probably first appeared when he delighted as a little boy to spend hours in the dental laboratory of her father. "In school," he writes, "my chief interest lay along mechanical and scientific lines."² Friends of his boyhood tell no stories of his part in the games which the usual gang plays and in the athletics of school-days, but they remember "the boy that rode that bicycle," the wire bridge that he built, his ten-year-old pleasure in the first airplane which he saw, his motorcycle, the facility with which he drove the family automobiles and kept them repaired, and the tractor which he ordered and set up for the Lindbergh farm. One may only hazard a guess at the subtle part which his mother had in originating and developing his interest in machinery.

Another boyhood interest has grown strong enough to claim a considerable part of his life. His father was responsible for his skill with the revolver and rifle. Some of his school-days were passed in a military school in Washington, D. C. As a Freshman at the University of Wisconsin in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps he won a place on the rifle and pistol team. He spent half of his first vacation at the Artillery School at Camp Knox, Kentucky. Although in the following year (1922) he definitely turned to aviation, two years later he enlisted as a flying cadet in the Army Air Service. In 1925 he enlisted in the Missouri National Guard and today he holds a commission as colonel in the Army Reserve Corps Air Service.

Early in his second year in the Engineering School at the University of Wisconsin he reached the decision to turn his life to aviation. The choice seems to have been peculiarly his own. His father was opposed to it and his mother with her academic background must have deplored the interruption in his university course. Efforts to associate his choice with his grandfather's interest in Swedish transportation systems and his father's interest in the economics of transportation in America appear to have been futile. In 1903, the year following Lindbergh's birth, the Wright brothers made their first successful flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. During Lindbergh's high-school days the war gave a great impetus to progress in flying and focused attention upon its future possibilities. At the close of the

²Lindbergh, C. A. "Wz," N.Y., 1927, p. 22.

war aviation gripped the interest of thousands of American college youth and appealed both to their ambition and to their desire for adventure. The Wisconsin Sophomore was accustomed to make his own decisions. The lone hours of near-flight on a vacation motorcycle trip to Florida and return probably helped the idea to grow. With the flying bee in his head university courses grew irksome and a future in the crowded field of engineering ceased to appeal. He remained to complete the semester, but spring found him headed southward towards Lincoln, Nebraska. Here he spent two months in receiving his first instruction in flying at the plant of the Nebraska Aircraft Corporation. In June he attempted the thrilling experience of his first parachute jump. He spent the summer and autumn in barnstorming from Kansas to Montana with friends who owned their own planes. His part in their exhibitions was not to handle the plane but to perform on the wings and with the parachute.

When spring appeared again he was able to satisfy his craving to possess a plane of his own. At Americus, Georgia, he purchased from the government for \$500 one of its wartime training planes which was popularly known as a "Jenny." Although a full year had passed since he received his first instructions in flying he had never been up in the air alone and a week of practice was necessary in preparing for the cross-country flight to Minnesota by way of Texas.

This year of 1923 was probably the happiest and most carefree in his life. He picked up considerable money in carrying passengers while barnstorming from Georgia to Montana. In Minnesota he used his plane to facilitate his father's campaign for a seat in the Senate. His mother accompanied him on a ten-day barnstorming trip. He visited his friends of the previous year at Lincoln, Nebraska. He escaped from several mishaps without serious damage to himself or his plane. It was adventure. The risks which he took with his own life and the lives of his passengers in this period are appalling. It is noteworthy that in his book, "*We*," he tells about them quite honestly, neither sparing himself nor boasting. It is difficult to believe, however, that he owed his life more to good luck than to a clear and cool head, to a fine coördination of body and brain, and to an ability to decide quickly in emergencies. He brought these qualities with him out of childhood and rapidly refined them in the experiences of his first three hundred and twenty-five hours of flight.

The limitations of his "Jenny" created a desire to fly modern powerful planes such as De Havilands with their four-hundred-horsepower Liberty motors. In the air service of the War Department planes of this type were available. On the very night on which the suggestion was received he wrote for application blanks on which to enlist as a cadet in the Army

Flying School at Brooks Field, San Antonio, Texas. After a stiff examination he was admitted on March 19, 1924.

This school provided probably as thorough a training in the whole science of aviation as could be secured anywhere in the world. In addition to provision for advanced training in actual flight it had a ground school in which twenty-three courses were conducted in motor construction, aerodynamics, aerial navigation, meteorology, and the usual military subjects. The daily work was hard and gruelling and the frequent tests were severe. Of the 104 cadets who entered in 1924 only 18 survived the year's process of eliminating the less fit.

Lindbergh had not distinguished himself in his secondary-school days and three years before he had found the long hours of study at the university very trying. Spurred on now by an overmastering interest in flying, he did excellent work. The latter half of the year's instruction was received at Kelly Field, and here he made his first emergency parachute jump when his plane collided with another. He graduated in February 1925, and was commissioned second lieutenant in the Air Service Reserve Corps.

The training which he received at the Army Flying School disciplined and matured him. Intimate friends of those days have given "Slim" Lindbergh a reputation for a love of practical joking which never allowed life to grow monotonous, but he is also known among them for his good sportsmanship and a good nature which was unfailing under any condition of sleeplessness and discomfort. President Coolidge unearthed from the files of the War Department the reports of the army officers who examined him before fame had reached him. His examiners noted that he was "intelligent," "industrious," "energetic," "dependable," "purposeful," "alert," "quick of reaction," "serious," "deliberate," "stable," "efficient," "frank," "modest," "congenial," and "a man of good moral habits and regular in all his business transactions."

It was an adventurous and largely self-taught young flyer who had enlisted the year before; he graduated a responsible man and a highly trained expert in the complicated science of aviation. It may be that the death of his father which occurred about this time helped to sober him. Flying for the fun of the thing and the irregular life of barnstorming yielded to a growing desire for a planned career.

For a number of years the Post Office Department had been developing a nation-wide network of air-mail service. In 1925 the Robertson Aircraft Corporation of St. Louis was bidding for a proposed St. Louis-Chicago route and offered to engage Lindbergh as their chief pilot in this service. A year passed before the government had planned and awarded the con-

tract and the necessary ground organization had been set up. He spent the intervening months in barnstorming, circus flying, instructing, and serving in the One Hundred Tenth Observation Squadron of the Thirty-fifth Division of the Missouri National Guard.

On April 15, 1926, he inaugurated the new air-mail service between Chicago and St. Louis. For the remainder of the year a high degree of regularity was maintained under his direction. Extreme weather conditions were permitted to interfere with only fourteen of the more than six hundred scheduled trips. Lindbergh himself flew on at least one-third of them and twice he was forced by fog to abandon his plane in the air and take to a parachute.

His comparatively brief experience as a mail-pilot supplemented and perfected his education. By the end of 1926, although unknown to the general public, he was probably as skillful and capable a flyer as aviation had then developed. Possessing a sound and scientific knowledge of airplane and motor construction, he had unlimited confidence in the reliability of the modern machine. Having spent fifteen hundred hours in the air and having carried six thousand passengers without accident, he felt an equal confidence in his own nerve, skill, and navigating ability. While he was in this mood the Atlantic challenged him. Eight years before, Raymond Orteig had offered a \$25,000 prize for the first nonstop flight between New York and Paris. In September 1926 Captain Rene Fonck, famous French war ace, in a giant Sikorsky biplane, made the first serious effort to secure the prize, but the plane's refusal to take the air when the start was attempted at New York resulted in the death of two of his companions and the destruction of the machine. Coincident with Captain Fonck's attempt, perhaps receiving the suggestion from it, Lindbergh in his characteristic forthright manner reached the decision to enter the competition. We may well believe that it was not the prize-money which tempted him, but the challenge of the flight itself and, as he himself has said, to advance the science of aeronautics. This phrase gives no indication that he foresaw the surge of world-wide enthusiasm that followed his success, but it reveals the high purpose which led him on. His father had been a crusader in politics and a leader in more than one cause. The son had grown to view air navigation as more than adventurous sport or delight in finely adjusted machinery. He planned to devote himself through its advancement to the promotion of a science that would contribute much to the progress of mankind.

In St. Louis eight men were found to add to the \$2000 of his own savings an amount sufficient to complete the \$15,000 fund which was necessary to finance the flight. He decided upon a single-motored monoplane which was to be equipped with a Wright Whirlwind J. 5. c. two-hundred-

horsepower radial air-cooled motor and with Pioneer navigating instruments including the Earth Inductor Compass. He spent the early spring overseeing the plane's construction at the factory of the Ryan Airlines in San Diego, California, and working out the details of equipment and navigation. When *THE SPIRIT OF ST. LOUIS*, as it was named, was completed, he tested it thoroughly for speed, lifting power, and fuel consumption before starting for New York on May 10.

Most of the world knows of his famous lone flight on May 20 and 21 for thirty-three and one-half hours across the thirty-six hundred miles that separate New York from Paris, much of it through sleet and fog. As a feat in navigation it approached perfection. Equally well remembered is the unparalleled enthusiasm with which he was welcomed at Paris, Brussels, London, Washington, New York, and St. Louis.

The first applause was for his bravery, skill, and endurance. It was a spontaneous outburst of admiration on the part of vast multitudes which their leaders and officials and the press only echoed. Surprisingly, it did not end as the crowds dispersed and other news competed with it for the world's attention, but its momentum increased in the days that followed. Enthusiasm for his exploit developed into an enthusiastic appreciation of the man. The millions were captivated in turn by his youth and attractive appearance, by his modest bearing, by the correctness of his demeanor, by the simplicity and appropriateness of his brief speeches, by the sincerity of his interest in aviation, and by his evident genuineness. Not a single false note can be detected in all that he said and did in the midst of these weeks of a wholly unexpected experience.

But he was more than a passive recipient of the plaudits and honors which were heaped upon him. Observers of those days noted the cheerful good humor, the unfeigned sympathy, and the compelling winsomeness which marked his response to the ovations. These powers of attraction needed no interpreter to convey them to all who saw him. Ambassador Herrick has told with evident relish that his dog, Max, abandoned his master's bedroom to sleep with Lindbergh. Kings, queens, presidents, and ambassadors were no less susceptible to his charm than the multitudes and Max.

The significance of the fact that this enthusiasm transcended international boundaries was quickly grasped by the governments of the world. Ambassador Herrick observed the almost overnight disappearance of irritations which were at that time troubling the peaceful relations of France and the United States. Invitations poured in upon Lindbergh in Paris to visit other European capitals. President Coolidge despatched the U.S.S. "*Memphis*" to convey him to America. Out of this situation grew by universal acclaim his recognition as "ambassador without portfolio." As

such he was introduced in France, Belgium, and England. With this title he was received by President Coolidge in Washington and in this role he was welcomed in Mexico and the Caribbean countries in the following winter.

While the value of his personal contribution to the creation of international good will can not and should not be minimized, it is a mistake to think of him as a statesman. Neither by training nor inclination is he equipped to take part in the intricacies of diplomacy. He has made no proposals toward the solution of the gigantic problems of finance, territorial adjustments, and armaments. Aviation rather than international relations constitutes his primary interest. He is devoted to the former and in a sense has loaned himself upon occasion to the latter.

The measure of his devotion to the advancement of aeronautics is to be found in his decisions following the great adventure. Business offers totaling at least six million dollars were courteously declined as he associated himself with the Guggenheim Foundation for the Promotion of Aeronautics. Under its auspices he made a tour in the SPIRIT OF ST. LOUIS to seventy-five American cities and touched every one of the forty-eight states, in order to develop "air-mindedness" and in order to arouse popular interest in the work of increasing the facilities for flying. Probably thirty million persons saw him on this tour, with results in the advancement of aviation which can scarcely be appraised.

In the progress of this tour he discussed his future with one of the party:

I can either be in public life or I can go back to private life . . . I'd like to be free to work out some of the scientific problems we ought to solve . . . I believe that the people are already sufficiently interested in flying. I hope they will understand why I want to go back to private life.³

Before the end of the year, however, he was called upon by the government to make the good will flight to Mexico City and the Caribbean tour. His attempts to secure the desired retirement have been only partially successful. Some overzealous newspapermen have been offended by his efforts since 1929 to withhold the details of his private and family life from public print. Their occasional distortions and criticisms have not been well received by the public and there is almost universal respect for his desire and his right to guard the privacy of his home and his family.

On May 27, 1929, he married Anne Spencer Morrow, daughter of the American Ambassador to Mexico. Under his instruction she too has become an expert flyer, and she has accompanied him on several of his extended trips, notably an exploring expedition over the untravelled Maya country in Central America in the fall of 1929 and a vacation flight to the

³Keyhoe, Donald E. *Flying with Lindbergh*, N.Y., 1928, p. 290.

Orient in 1930, on which they crossed the Pacific by the far northern route. The year 1932 witnessed the kidnapping and murder of their first son and the birth of a second. In the tragedy of 1932 as in the excitement of 1927 he kept a level head. That fine sense of balance and direction with which he so skillfully maneuvers his plane has its counterpart in the well-balanced and harmonious combination of the intellectual and moral qualities which underlie his daily judgments.

To our generation he has proved his essential worthiness. To ten million boys of the coming generation he is an inspiration. And yet, like aviation itself, he has not reached the prime of manhood.

1932-1941

by

OSGOOD HARDY

An examination of the life of Colonel Charles Augustus Lindbergh shows that there have been three distinct phases to his career. The first was the happy-go-lucky period when, while he was earning the reputation of being one of the world's most annoying practical jokers, he was also getting the training which was to make him a good pilot, a practical engineer, and a scholarly research-worker.

The second period may be called the spectacular. It began in May 1927 with his famous New York-Paris flight and ended in December 1935 with another flight—this time to England to escape the publicity which for the past eight years had deprived him of the privacy which even a goldfish might expect. During these eight years there was no man in private life whose name more often made the headlines, certainly he more than any one else was the American hero. For his good will flight to Mexico and the Caribbean countries he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and as "Ambassador of Good Will" he antedated the Good Neighbor Policy. As adviser to two great airlines he made survey flights across the North and South Atlantic, while his flights over the Maya country of Yucatan taught archeologists that even in their profession aviation was indispensable. These activities in themselves would have been sufficient to keep him in the public eye, but when they were combined with the kidnapping of his infant son in May 1932 it was inevitable that he should become the prey of autograph hunters, newspaper reporters, and jumping-jack photographers lurking around the corners.

And just as inevitable was it that this young man who had an honest, literal personality and no need for glory should slowly begin to freeze up. He did not like to be pawed by people, and his natural reticence made him

unhappy when women tried to kiss him. More and more he tried to keep his distance but just that much more hysterical became the public. Some acts of the latter were ludicrous, as when, in St. Louis, after he had eaten at an outdoor table, women broke through the lines and fought for the corn-cobs which, still damp, were piled neatly beside his plate. For this kind of situation the United States press was largely responsible. It became in Lindbergh's mind the very personification of malice and he fought for his privacy. The agonies he went through following the kidnapping and murder of twenty-month-old Charles A. Lindbergh Jr. can hardly be imagined, and it is not surprising that in December 1935 Charles Lindbergh sailed with his family for England.

For two weeks British newspapermen almost outdid their American cousins in pursuit of Lindbergh news items. Fortunately, however, the English public sympathized with the hero who had been hounded from his home, and very shortly the Lindberghs found they could freely visit their friends and even go to London for dinner and the theater without being mobbed. As a result there came to the Lindberghs three years of comparative peace. But it was contrary to the Colonel's nature to immure himself in the pleasant English countryside of Kent or to live entirely on the lonely island off the coast of France which he bought in 1938. Accordingly, he hopped around Europe visiting every important aviation center, even Russia, and, so great was his prestige, access usually denied to most foreigners was granted him. In July 1936 he studied German aviation, being entertained by the Goerings and receiving an honorary emblem from the German Aero Club. In November of the same year he inspected possible transatlantic air bases in Ireland and incidentally took De Valera on the latter's first air flight. In March 1937 he flew to India. As an indication of his world-popularity it may be of interest to note that the Turkish press was most upset because he did not include Turkey in his itinerary and found an explanation in their nation's failure to adhere to the International Air Convention. In July he flew to Brittany. In October he attended the Munich Air Congress.

From August to October of the following year he was continually on the go in Europe, his hops culminating in his celebrated decoration by the German government with the second highest honor at the latter's command. Scarcely had the hubbub died down caused by Lindbergh's acceptance of the Order of the German Eagle at the hands of a totalitarian state, when the Communist press assailed him for alleged misstatements regarding the efficiency of Soviet aviation. As a result, in November some of the British press began to urge Lindbergh to go home. Just what took place during the next few months is not definitely known. Apparently the flying Colonel

tried to make available for the British government the information regarding military aviation which he had been sopping up like a sponge. Perhaps he was too blunt, certainly he did not wear an "old-school tie"; at any rate British self-complacency was stung to the point where it agreed with Lloyd-George who, May 19, 1939, told the House of Commons:

We shall never forget the Lindbergh episode. He went about from one member of Parliament to another saying he had been in Russia. He was in Russia, I think, about a fortnight. He had not seen any of the great leaders of Russia: he could not have seen much of the air force and he came back and told us the Russian Army was no good, that Russian factories were in an awful mess, and there were many people who believed it—except Hitler. [Russia has] the finest air force in the world.⁴

In one respect, at least, this diatribe of Lloyd-George was a mere anticlimax, for Colonel Lindbergh had returned to the United States in April, having been invited to testify before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. With this return to the land which his war with the press had caused him to leave three years before, there began the third phase of his public career—national service. From the standpoint of science his call to active duty with the Army April 19, 1939, was perhaps unfortunate, for it postponed, if it did not obliterate, a career in research which scientists say might have made his flight to Paris seem like a minor event in history. Mention has already been made of his contribution to archeology. In 1926 a prominent archeologist threw in the waste-basket Lindbergh's letter suggesting that airplanes could be used to advantage in discovering new ruins, especially in the jungles of Central America. In 1929, however, Dr. Alfred Kidder, head of the archeological staff of the Carnegie Institution, was only too glad to secure the Colonel's coöperation, and that season's work in Yucatan resulted in the present use of airplanes by archeologists for discovery, for landing exploring parties, for freighting food and supplies, and for carrying out of the jungle important relics.

But archeology did not provide the privacy that Lindbergh wanted; so in 1930 he turned to the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York City. Here in the most complete seclusion known to American scientists he teamed up with Dr. Alexis Carrel in a series of biological inventions and discoveries. His first achievement was an apparatus to wash blood-cells and separate them from the blood-plasma at the same operation. Working with Dr. Fred C. Meier of the United States Department of Agriculture, he invented the "sky-hook," a contrivance with which on his 1933 flight he made the first successful spore and bacteria survey of the North Atlantic regions. His most important contribution, however, was his "robot heart," a glass pump that duplicates the action of the human heart and lungs, thereby enabling experimenters to keep tissues alive indefinitely

⁴New York Times, May 20, 1939.

outside the body. News of its invention was first given to the world at large in August 1936 at the International Congress of Experimental Cytology held at Copenhagen, and so great was the ensuing publicity that the scientific meeting was almost upset. Once again the Colonel fled the newspaper photographers and left quite melancholy the Danes who had hoped to meet America's hero at the formal reception of the Congress.

Such an episode may have reconciled Lindbergh somewhat to the fact that not even in Europe could he escape publicity, and it was probably a pleasant surprise to him that on his return to the Air Corps for a few months he was left alone to some degree. It is true the newspapers found interest in his reports to the National Aeronautical Advisory Committee (April 20, 1939), his study during May of the aviation research possibilities in the United States, and his report the following month to the federal authorities. In July came another inspection tour to the West coast, while in August only his conference with Major-General Arnold was considered newsworthy. It seemed almost as if at last hero-worship would die a natural death and that some day soon the Colonel and his wife might try going to dinner and the theater in Manhattan without fear of attracting undue attention.

And then with the opening of the second World War began the great debate on United States neutrality. Back in 1917 Charles Lindbergh Sr. was one of fifty representatives to vote against a declaration of war by the United States, and when Colonel Lindbergh's associates learned that he intended to enter the radio arena they feared that once again it might be, "Like father, like son." Their fears were justified. September 16, 1939, he pleaded for United States isolation, taking the position of his late father in opposing American "involvement in European wars." On the whole this speech caused little excitement and might have been forgotten, but on October 14 came a second radio address. In this he advocated an embargo on all "offensive weapons," denied that the European war had anything to do with democracy and insisted that Americans and their ships keep out of the war zone. This time he drew fire, especially in England, where one columnist remarked that the "American trouble-maker number one has been shooting off his mouth again." In the United States hostile criticism was wide-spread, and on one day he was attacked by such diverse personalities as Senator Key Pittman, Gene Tunney, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

In another radio speech on May 19, 1940, the United States, he asserted, "must stop this hysterical chatter of calamity and invasion that has been running rife the last few days," for such talk "is not befitting to the people who built this nation." This time the response was a veritable *blitzkrieg* of denunciation. The following day a New York *Times* editorial said:

Colonel Lindbergh is a peculiar young man if he can contemplate this possibility [i.e., a German victory] in any other light than as a calamity for the American people. He is an ignorant young man if he trusts his own premise that it makes no difference whether we are deprived of the historic defense of British sea power in the Atlantic Ocean. He is a blind young man if he really believes that we can live on terms of equal peace and happiness "regardless of which side wins the war" in Europe.

Colonel Lindbergh remains a great flier.

Yes, there is no doubt he will remain a great flier. But for what else he will be remembered time only can tell. It may be for the Lindbergh Kidnapping Act which became law on May 19, 1934, or for "High Fields," the home for children which on July 15, 1933, he and his wife established on the site of the kidnapping. Probably his scientific contributions will always be recalled. And it is even possible that when at length war clouds shall have passed he will be honored because in the midst of ridicule he dared maintain that:

The German genius for science and organization, the English genius for government and commerce, and the French genius for living and understanding life . . . here in America . . . can be blended to form the greatest genius of all.

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FRANCIS J. McCONNELL

FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL

by

WILLIAM WARREN SWEET

 SEVERAL years ago the *Christian Century* sought to discover by a poll of the ministry the twenty-five leading preachers in the United States. When the results of the poll were tabulated, the name of Francis J. McConnell was so frequently mentioned as to put him, with two others, in a class apart from the rest.¹

Francis John McConnell was born at Trinway, Ohio, August 18, 1871. His father, the Rev. I. H. McConnell, was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church; his mother, Nancy J. Chalfont before her marriage, was likewise active in the church throughout her life. The young Francis received most of his primary and secondary education in the public schools of Ohio and Indiana. He attended the Shortridge High School in the city of Indianapolis where his father was for a time pastor of Roberts Park Methodist Episcopal Church, and later spent a year at the famous academy at Andover, Massachusetts. When the time came for college young McConnell entered the Freshman class of Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio, where he remained the next four consecutive years, graduating with the class of 1894. While a student at Delaware he met a resident of the town, Eva H. Thomas, also a student at Ohio Wesleyan. Their friendship culminated in their marriage three years after their graduation, 1897.

The Christian Century is responsible for the statement that if McConnell had not chosen the ministry as his sphere of activity, he could have achieved distinction as a mathematician; his writings attest an unflagging zeal in keeping abreast of the activity in the fields of the natural sciences; and his affirmation of the social duties of the church is based on a first-hand knowledge of social conditions in such widely diversified regions as Mexico, India, and the United States. His career illustrates abundantly an intellectual enthusiasm continually leaping the bounds of the ordinary minister's realm of interest and information.

After graduation from Ohio Wesleyan McConnell entered the School of Theology at Boston University. Borden P. Bowne, the idealistic philosopher, was then the shining light of the Boston University faculty, who through the years gathered about himself a group of brilliant young students. McConnell became one of his favorite students and has been one of the best interpreters of Bowne's philosophy. After receiving his first degree—

¹*Christian Century*, vol XLV, p. 1581.

bachelor of sacred theology—at Boston, McConnell stayed on two years more and took his doctor's degree (P.H.D.) under Bowne in 1899. In the meantime he had entered the active ministry. From 1894 to 1897 he filled the pulpit of the Methodist Church at West Chelmsford, Massachusetts, and from 1897 until 1899 he was the pastor at Newton Upper Falls Church. Meanwhile McConnell was in process of becoming a member of the New England Conference. From 1899 to 1902 he was the minister of the Methodist Church at the lovely town of Ipswich, Massachusetts, whence he was assigned to the Harvard Street Church in Cambridge, across from Harvard-yard, where he drew large numbers of students to his services, and where his preaching began to attract general attention.² The following year (1903), McConnell, now thirty-two years of age, was called to the pastorate of the New York Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church of Brooklyn, New York, one of the great metropolitan churches of the denomination. Here he remained six years, and "the power of his thought and the brilliancy of expression of voice and pen impressed itself on the community."³

At about this time he was called to the deanship of the Boston University School of Theology, which he declined, but soon afterward accepted the presidency of DePauw University, at Greencastle, Indiana. He assumed his duties as university president in the spring of 1909, his formal inauguration taking place March 10. He took for the theme of his inauguration address "The Christian Ideal and the Pursuit of Knowledge," which was delivered without notes, and was characterized as making "a distinct contribution to our religious and educational literature."

McConnell's chief contribution to DePauw University during his short administration of three years was in the careful attention which he gave to the faculty. Unlike most American college and university presidents, to him the university was the faculty, not mere physical equipment, and his principal aim was to strengthen the institution in its vital center. In his report to the trustees in 1911 he did the unheard-of-thing of recommending a year's leave of absence at full pay for a member of the faculty who had completed thirty years of service, without that faculty member knowing anything of his intention, his purpose being to "adopt something approaching the sabbatical system of absences for professors" in order that they might keep themselves abreast of the latest developments in their particular fields. Of much importance also was the campaign for the raising of \$500,000 for the increase of endowment. Of this amount \$100,000 had been subscribed by the General Education Board on condition that the University secure \$400,000. This was successfully accomplished in the

²*Christian Advocate*, Dec. 31, 1903.

³*Christian Advocate*, N.Y., May 30, 1912.

time allotted. Other large gifts were also received during the administration of President McConnell.

Shortly after President McConnell's inauguration, he was chosen University preacher at Harvard University, and acted in that capacity for a few weeks of the next two years. This was the beginning of a long series of similar duties performed in practically every large university of the United States, as well as in numberless smaller institutions.

At the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1912 Dr. McConnell was elected a bishop of the church. He was the youngest member added to the board of bishops at that Conference, and was assigned to Denver, Colorado, as his episcopal residence. Besides the duty of administering the several conferences in the Denver Area he was given charge of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico. In performing this latter task he made numerous journeys into Mexico at the time that country was in the midst of internal revolution, and became one of the best-informed persons in the United States on the Mexican situation, and was called into consultation by President Woodrow Wilson. He advocated that the United States permit Mexico to settle her own internal problems, and bravely opposed the efforts of the oil and mining interests to embroil the United States in a war with Mexico.

In 1920 he was assigned to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, as his episcopal residence, and it was here, perhaps, that he made his influence most decisively felt, for the first time, outside his own church. The workers in the steel-mills, many of whom were working twelve hours a day and seven days a week, struck. The big steel-men attempted to cloud the issue; they asserted that the strike was a "red" innovation and was directed against "American principles." The state constabulary and the hired spies of the mill-owners instituted terroristic methods, and, by a control of the press almost complete, attempted to arouse the public with the cry that the American system was surely threatened. Many ministers in Pittsburgh and vicinity upheld the steel-men and were much publicized by the press. The interchurch organization of ministers at Pittsburgh, however, started an investigation of its own, which was soon taken over by the Interchurch World-Movement. Bishop McConnell was made the chairman of the investigating committee, and its report, published in 1920, was to a large degree his work. It recommended "a commission, set up by the federal government to inaugurate conferences between the Steel Corporation and its employees for the elimination of the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week and for the readjustment of wage rates."⁴

The steel-strike incident is significant in a discussion of Bishop McCon-

⁴*The Nation*, vol. CXI, p. 120.

nell, as an indication of his attitude in regard to the position the church should take in public affairs. "No individual or institution" he writes, "can possess the spirit of Christ and not be concerned with the conditions under which people live and work."⁸ He then goes on to say vigorously that the Christian ministry must not allow itself to become the mouthpiece for the wealthy pews in the congregation so that it speaks merely as the voice of the employing class.⁹ The church, he says, must keep alive "the spirit of prophetic radicalism." Later he defended the right of the church as an institution "to speak collectively on the other social problems, as war and peace, prohibition, race-relations—and marriage and divorce." In regard to the Methodist Board of Temperance and Public Morals at Washington, sometimes called by the wet newspapers the "Methodist Lobby," Bishop McConnell said that he could see no wrong in maintaining an agency through which Christian opinion could make itself articulate and audible.¹⁰

Bishop McConnell has not lacked for criticism within his own church, but it has been a minority criticism. The *Christian Advocate* editorially attacked his "prophetic radicalism" speech, maintaining that such doctrine was all right with a man of the Bishop's intellectual powers who had "rare ability to discriminate between raving and reason," but for the rank and file it was dangerous.¹¹ Bishop McConnell has also met opposition from the fundamentalist group within the church. At the General Conference of 1928 accusations were lodged against him based on his statement that "the truth or falsity of evolution will be settled by scientists rather than theologians." This charge was given fullest publicity, and was displayed in the headlines of newspapers, even the *New York Times* giving it this prominence; but Bishop McConnell and his staunch supporters had the satisfaction not only of his being cleared absolutely of the charges, but of having the action accompanied "with the most tumultuous personal tribute" rendered by a general conference in a decade.¹²

By the same General Conference Bishop McConnell was transferred from Pittsburgh to New York, which in an unofficial way is considered the chief episcopal post in the Methodist Church. According to the *New York Times* it was reported that he was unacceptable to Wall Street because of his activity in regard to the Pittsburgh steel-strike. On the other hand, "rumor had it" that at the Springfield (Mass.) General Conference of

⁸Interchurch World-Movement Commission of Inquiry, *Public Opinion and the Steel-Strike*, N.Y., 1921, p. 261.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 264.

¹⁰Speech at Interchurch Industrial Conference quoted in *Christian Advocate*, N.Y., Nov. 13, 1919.

¹¹*Christian Century*, vol. XLVI, p. 273.

¹²*Christian Advocate*, Nov. 13, 1919.

¹³*Christian Century*, vol. XLV, p. 655.

1924, "leading capitalists in Pittsburgh did not want him reassigned there for another quadrennium; but he was, nevertheless, so assigned."¹²¹ The *Christian Century* noted, that despite the fact of "determined, and well-directed attack" on the part of "Big Business" and conservatives, Bishop McConnell, "utterly devoid of the arts of the popular ecclesiastic . . . had yet risen by a swift, straight path to a position of unquestioned power,"¹²² and the *New York Times* observed that he had repeatedly been put forward in the last ten years to represent Methodism in international religious movements.¹²³ In 1925 he was one of the leaders in the Congress on Christian Work in Montevideo, Uruguay, and was a delegate to the International Missionary Conference in Jerusalem.

In 1925 considerable publicity was given a debate between Clarence Darrow and Bishop McConnell held in Chicago on October 26. The subject of the debate was "The Mechanistic Theory of Life." Mr. Darrow defended the mechanistic theory, claiming that this theory furnished the best explanation of life. Bishop McConnell took the opposite view. Mr. Darrow declared that he neither believed nor disbelieved, but that to him the evidence did not prove that there was a creator. Bishop McConnell replied that the lack of proof did not prove the lack of an intelligence. That the intricacy of things, and the mystery of the "togetherness" of parts made it easier to believe that there was a God than to try to explain the mysteries any other way. Darrow was slow and at times dull; McConnell was fluent, facetious, and quick, showing a familiarity with scientific development which Mr. Darrow did not possess. Later Mr. Darrow remarked that dealing with Bishop McConnell was like "monkeying with a buzz-saw."

In 1929 Bishop McConnell was chosen president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and during the winter of 1930 and 1931 was selected by the University of Chicago to deliver the Barrows Lectures in India. In discharging this responsibility he lectured more than one hundred times in cities all over India and Ceylon, and after his return to the United States did much to interpret sanely the present Indian political and social revolution.

While he makes no claim to the title of theologian, no one in this generation has dealt more profoundly or helpfully with the theological problems of our day than has Bishop McConnell. His more important books in this field are: *The Diviner Immanence*, 1906; "The Eternal Spirit," a chapter in *My Idea of God*, edited by J. F. Newton, 1926; *Religious Certainty*, 1910; *Is God Limited?* 1924; *Democratic Christianity*, 1919; and *The Christlike God*, 1927. In his earlier theological writings the influence of his

¹²¹New York Times, May 30, 1928.

¹²²Christian Century, vol. XLV, p. 1580.

¹²³New York Times, op. cit.

great teacher, Professor Borden P. Bowne, is reflected. In his later writings, however, he has dealt with the problems facing the church today, and has displayed much independence of thought.

Among his other books the following might be named: *Christian Focus*, 1911; *Personal Christianity*, 1914; *Understanding the Scriptures*, 1917; *Public Opinion and Theology*, 1920; *The Preacher and the People*, 1922; *Church Finance and Social Ethics*, 1920; *The Essentials of Methodism*, 1923; *The Just Weight and Other Chapel Addresses*, 1925; *Living Together: Studies in the Ministry of Reconciliation*, 1923; *Humanism and Christianity*, 1928; *Christianity and Coercion*, 1933; *The Christian Ideal and Social Control*, 1933; and *Christian Materialism*, 1936. He is the author of three important biographies: *Edward Gaynor Andrews*, 1909; *Borden Parker Bowne*, 1929; and *John Wesley*, 1939. Besides these many books he has found time to contribute to many periodicals, and to be interested in every important progressive movement in the church and the nation.

There are a number of examples in recent years of liberal ministers who have become so oppressed by ecclesiastical smugness that they have withdrawn from the church. It has been suggested that the largest service rendered by Bishop McConnell "is to furnish the spectacle of a man standing in the very center of the ecclesiastical machinery, neither overwhelmed nor suffocated by it, but putting it all to the service of an undeflected purpose—the purpose of carrying into the complex welter of modern life the spiritual and ethical implications of the Christian gospel."¹⁴

In the last ten years Bishop McConnell has been increasingly active in promoting church union and the practical application of Christianity to the social and economic problems of our difficult time, besides carrying on his work as the Bishop of the New York Area of the Methodist Church. He was a member of both the Lausanne (1927) and the Edinburgh (1937) Conferences. His conviction regarding church union, recently stated, is "that if churches unite in loyalty to Christ, with the aim of applying that spirit to all human problems, not much else in church union amounts to anything." He has been for many years a leader in church and interchurch organization having to do with social and economic problems, and this has brought down upon his head bitter attacks of the "super-patriots." In any list containing the names of so-called "reds" Bishop McConnell's name is sure to be found. Though a liberal in his social and economic views, he is not a Marxian. He believes that through the processes of democracy the socialization of all basic industries can be achieved. He has never been an advocate of panaceas, and that has kept him from becoming an out-and-out pacifist, though he believes that the conscientious objectors are the spear-head of the

¹⁴Allen, Devere, ed. *Adventurous Americans*, N.Y., 1932, pp. 250 f.

peace-movement. He is critical of them because many of them "think that as long as they save their own consciences from stain they have done all they need to do," and many of them have never faced the practical consequences of their stand. Theologically he has held pretty generally to his former position. In a recent article in the *Christian Century* (April 19, 1939) on "How My Mind Has Changed in a Decade," he states that "The most fundamental change in my thinking about God has been the deepening of the feeling that He is the most responsible being in the universe and that He can be trusted to save everything worth saving." Here is ground for optimism even in a world like ours today.

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CHARLES H. MAYO

WILLIAM J. MAYO AND CHARLES H. MAYO

by

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS EVANS

THERE is much that is paradoxical about the career of Doctors W. J. and C. H. Mayo, for many years commonly known to their professional brethren and the general public as "the Mayos." They had neither high-school nor college diplomas when they began the study of medicine, yet they became outstanding as medical men of culture; and universities in all parts of the world showered them with degrees that imply a standing in the arts, as distinguished from the sciences. They served no internships in hospitals, yet they developed an outstanding system of clinical training in hospitals for beginners in medicine; and they maintained a graduate school characterized by an unusual method of binding young men to carry on in training and preparation.

The Mayos were the sons of a country doctor, and their upbringing—even their medical beginnings—was as country doctors in a small, far inland city with its contiguous agricultural population; yet they became the most widely known American physicians, and I doubt if anyone would say they were not the most widely known international physicians of this generation. More physicians, and, for that matter, more patients, have visited the Mayos at Rochester, "from outside the United States," to use a Rotarian phrase, than have traveled across international boundaries to visit any other institution or group of men.

Some knowledge of the background of the Mayos is necessary that we may solve the riddle of their success.

Dr. W. W. Mayo, the father of the subjects of our sketch, had an unusual career. This will be considered in some detail. He was born near Manchester, England, May 31, 1819. The name implies that the racial stock is Celtic, so far as the line giving the name is concerned, but if this line lived in the county of its name, or elsewhere in Ireland, it must have been more than a century prior to the birth of William Worrell Mayo.

Apparently young Mayo, of Manchester, was interested in the sciences that are fundamental to medicine. He attended Owens College, now the University of Manchester, where he was a student of John Dalton in physiology. In 1845 he came to the United States and located in New York City, where he was employed as a chemist and a pharmacist, also teaching chemistry and physics at the Bellevue Hospital Medical College for a time.

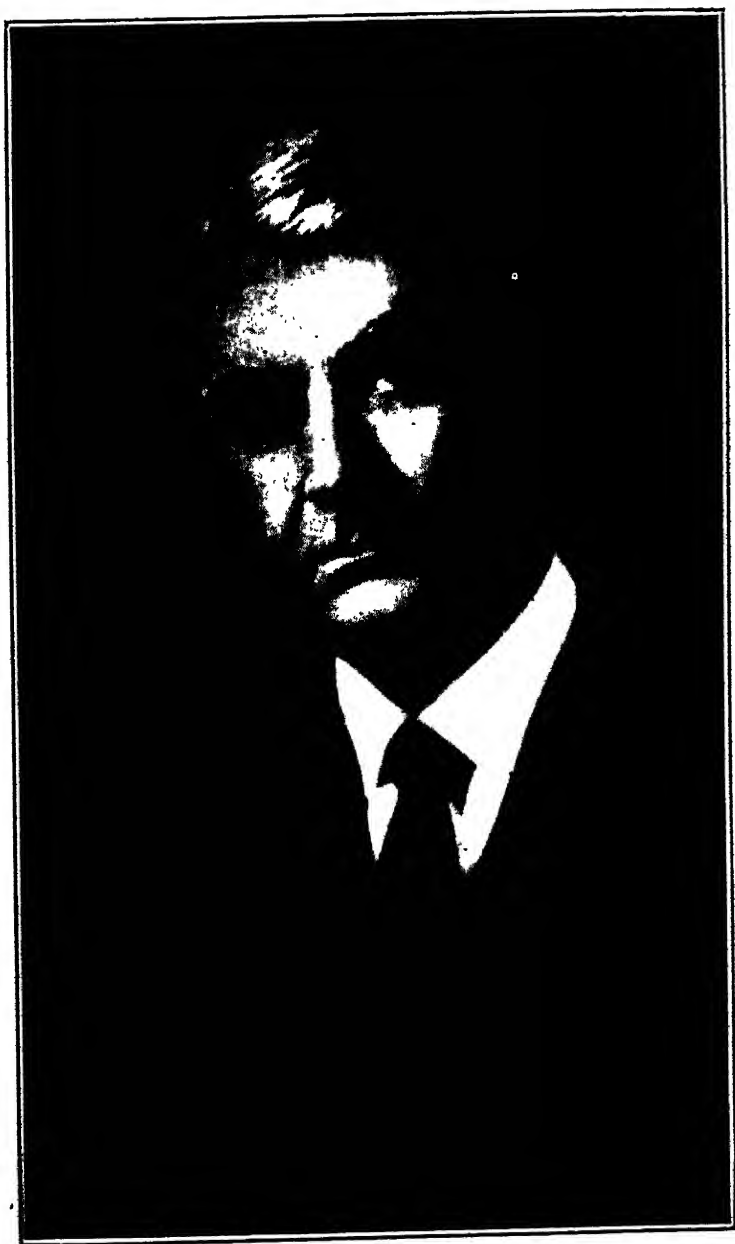
He soon left the Atlantic seaboard and made his way to Lafayette, Indiana, where he continued working in chemistry and pharmacy, but undertaking the study of medicine on the side. In 1854 he was graduated in medicine at the University of Missouri. Almost immediately thereafter he began practicing medicine at La Porte, Indiana, and taught in a medical school there. The following winter (1855) Dr. Mayo left Indiana and located in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Later he moved to Le Sueur. In 1861 he was active in war-work, being provost-surgeon of the draft-board for southern Minnesota. It was this connection that led him to change his location in 1863 to Rochester, Minnesota, and then to begin the Mayo career of at least two generations centering around that very stable community.

Three features in the life of Dr. W. W. Mayo, prior to his Rochester residence, are worthy of note in this review. One was his fondness for non-medical sciences, such as chemistry, microscopy, and the use of surveying instruments. Another was his aptitude for public affairs and acquaintance with people. The third was his medical college work. He went to Rochester to discharge the duties of the draft-board in which capacity he was, to a degree, an outsider. But he evidently had no disposition to have the people so regard him. He bought a block in the heart of the town, and began to build thereon. At one corner he built the residence which once stood where the clinic building later was erected. In this residence Dr. Charles was born. On another corner he built his office. The block abutted on the main street on one side, and presently he was building store buildings in that area. Before long he was doing the largest practice of any physician in that section. In spite of this, he found time to be mayor of Rochester several times, and twice a state senator. He organized his county medical society and was president of his state medical society for one year.

The significant features of this period of his life are: He accepted his public responsibilities and served his people when they asked him for service. He showed his desire, as well as his ability, to organize, by his activities in his county and state medical societies. A story the Mayos once told the writer about the father related to the manner in which he divided the patrons of the firm so as to prevent duplication of travel and waste of time, and thus to make it possible for each of the physicians to have and keep office hours. And all the while (till his retirement in 1896) he was serving a very large clientele in a medical and surgical way. He died in Rochester March 6, 1911.

Mrs. W. W. Mayo was born in New York State, of Scotch ancestry,



WILLIAM J. MAYO



December 23, 1825. Her maiden name was Louise Abigail Wright, a name suggesting some Puritan lines. She married W. W. Mayo in 1851. Her death took place in 1915.

Three incidents or features of her life are significant: She contributed to the cultural background of her family an active interest in and a considerable knowledge of astronomy. When her husband was away from their home at New Ulm, Minnesota, and warring Indians surrounded that town, Mrs. Mayo organized the women of the besieged village and staged a demonstration which made the Indians fearful to attack.

On the authority of her sons, we know that Mrs. Mayo not only rendered such medical services as adviser and counselor as is customary on the part of wives of country doctors, but she was the balance-wheel and stabilizer for her husband. He was an extrovert, with considerable tendency to concern himself too much with the problems of his neighbors. Mrs. Mayo held his mind more closely to his immediate tasks. Probably of the two minds, hers was the more pragmatic and, viewed by the accepted standards, the better balanced. And, finally, she was the mother and home trainer of her boys and girls in the fundamental virtues.

Dr. William James Mayo was born in Le Sueur, Minnesota, June 29, 1861. He was educated in the public schools of Rochester, Minnesota, except for a season at Niles Academy, where he was taught languages especially. About the time the medical school of the University of Michigan went on a three-year basis, he enrolled at Ann Arbor for his medical education. The University of Michigan gave him the degree of doctor of medicine in 1883.

Since the course was in process of change to the new basis and the new arrangement was not well organized, he had some spare time and this he used in work in microscopy, chemistry, and anatomy. His associations with his father and his work in the drug-store had given him considerable knowledge and aptitude along these lines. These abilities gave him opportunities for connections somewhat out of the ordinary. One accomplishment, while at the University of Michigan, will remain of the record when others have been forgotten. He was a leading spirit, and probably the leading spirit, in organizing a medical fraternity—Nu Sigma Nu. More than three-quarters of a century earlier, a professor in Transylvania University Medical School, Dr. Samuel Brown, appreciating the crudeness and lack of good conduct among practitioners of medicine, had organized a medical fraternity as a measure of correction. This fraternity exercised a powerful influence, partly for good, prior to 1830. In that year, the evil it did was regarded as surpassing the good, and forces were set in operation which

brought its career to a close. After a lapse of half a century, the organizing mind of Dr. W. J. Mayo and his associates launched the pioneer of a group of medical fraternities.

Immediately upon his graduation in medicine, he returned to Rochester, and became associated with his father in the practice of medicine.

The following incidents Dr. Will related to the writer, with no thought of being quoted, but since they are known to so many people they may be regarded as a part of the common knowledge:

On July 21, 1883, there was a severe cyclone in Rochester and vicinity. Twenty-two people were killed and many injured, and there was a great need for help. An order of nuns came to the assistance of the physicians of the town. Out of this storm came St. Mary's Hospital, operated by these sisters.

It was just at this period that Dr. W. J. Mayo began practice as an associate in his father's firm. Said Doctor Will:

I never had to start a practice. All that I needed to do was to begin to serve clients of my father's. I never had to find surgery to do. My father had an enormous medical practice, and all that it was necessary for me to do was to render the surgical service that his patients needed, and knew that they needed, but which my father had been too overworked to do. My father, in so many particulars, was an old-fashioned family doctor. He knew everybody, was a friend to everybody, saw everybody for everything, went when he was sent for, and let the question of pay shift for itself.

My first task was to do some of the general practice, to organize the business so that those who wanted to have their medical service on a business basis could pay without embarrassing the office; and to do the surgery that was somewhat impatiently waiting to be done.

Then, too, there was a young hospital, sponsored by people who wanted to see it succeed and who helped to keep its beds occupied. These were the influences that got me ahead in surgery faster than young fellows expect. Sometimes they pushed me faster than I wanted to go. I am sure that at times I was "hipping behind," to employ a trotting-horse term.

Speaking of a somewhat later period, when Dr. Charles had joined the firm, Dr. Will wrote: "We were the greenest of a green crew."

The work of that firm grew steadily and its reputation extended. By easy stages the business transformed itself from the practice of all branches of medicine, by a firm of physicians, to a clinic, to a foundation, and, finally, to the graduate school of medicine of a state university.

Dr. W. J. Mayo married Miss Hattie M. Damon on November 20, 1884. Their two surviving children are the wives of members of the staff, Dr. D. C. Balfour, and Dr. Waltman Walters. Honors of every kind were piled on him. He was president of the American Medical Association and a long list of other medical societies. He was entitled to wear the Distinguished Service Medal of his country for service in the World War and held the rank of brigadier-general in the United States Army Reserve

Corps. More than a score of institutions in America and in Europe conferred degrees on him. A bibliography of his writings would probably show more than five hundred items, a number of which will live in medical literature.

Dr. Charles Horace Mayo was born in Rochester July 19, 1865, about where the fountain stood in the lobby of the old Mayo Clinic. He was educated in the public schools of Rochester and had some work in Niles Academy. Quite important in his education was his work in the Rochester drug-store and his service as a helper to his father. When Dr. Will came home from medical school in 1883, Charlie was about eighteen years old, and able to appreciate the opportunities of contact with his cultured father and mother and the enthusiasm and college information brought home by the new doctor in the family.

In 1885 he went to Chicago to study medicine in Northwestern University Medical School, from which he was graduated with the degree of M.D. in 1888. He returned to Rochester and entered the firm. For a season he was the obstetrician of the combination. But ill luck (a run of twins) drove him into the specialty of eye, ear, nose, and throat. When the surgical business became more than one man could do, he and his brother allocated the field, Charles taking the region from the diaphragm up, Will, the region below the diaphragm. This is responsible for a widely told story. A dissatisfied patient accosted Will, saying he was determined to see the head surgeon. Will said to him: "You have the wrong man. I am the 'belly-doctor.' Dr. Charlie is the head-surgeon."

In later years the number of operating surgeons on the Clinic staff was increased, and it was no longer advisable for either brother to consider himself responsible for disease in any particular part of the body. But it was during this earlier arrangement that the work on goiter done at the Clinic attracted much attention, and, since the thyroid lies in the neck, most of the Clinic's reputation for goiter surgery belonged to Dr. Charles.

On April 5, 1893, Dr. Charles Mayo married Miss Edith Graham, a sister of Dr. Christopher Graham, one of the members of the firm. Miss Graham was a graduate nurse, and was attached to the Clinic as a surgical nurse. Dr. and Mrs. Charles Mayo had eight children and adopted two. One son, Dr. Joseph G., was connected with the Clinic till his death in 1936; another son, Dr. Charles W., is still on the staff; and one son-in-law, Dr. F. W. Rankin, was on the staff until 1935.

Beginning in 1904, the universities showered honorary degrees on Dr. C. H. Mayo. The first of these was Northwestern University, his alma mater. Many other universities in all parts of the world followed suit. As

was the case with his brother, Dr. Charles received the Distinguished Service Medal, and he was also made brigadier-general in the Medical Officers Reserve Corps, United States Army, in 1926.

The list of his contributions to medical literature is long. Some of them, especially those on goiter, will be a part of the permanently valuable surgical documents.

Dr. Charles' interest in public health for many years engaged the attention of the writer. At no other period in his history was he busier than in 1912. Yet so great was his concern for group protection of health that he accepted the health commissionership of Rochester in that year, a position which he held for twenty-five years. Few health commissioners survive in their office for so long as twenty-five years. In point of length of service, therefore, he was one of the ranking health officers of the United States. The office was not exactly remunerative to him, since he turned the salary over to his assistant; or to the Clinic, since that institution gave the Department of Health the house in which it functions and provided most of the cost of maintenance of the Department activities, particularly, that of the work done in the public schools. Dr. Charles was perhaps the only health commissioner in the world who contributed to his Department his name, his services, and much of the cost of operation.

The foundation of the present organization was the private practice of a country doctor, one that may not have differed radically from that of other country doctors; though the man who conducted it was interested in basic sciences and had a greater interest in the social, economic, and political welfare of his neighbors than the ordinary country doctor.

On one occasion, Dr. Will Mayo said to the writer (again, with no thought that it would be written down):

Charlie and I deserve no credit. Our family lived in the breeding-ground for the great men and substantial citizens, not only of Minnesota, but of the entire Northwest. Many of the young men from our neighborhood had the pioneer spirit and moved into the Dakotas, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and Western Canada. When they were young they knew our father as a good physician, a good citizen, and a good neighbor. When they went into these new countries they took advantage of their opportunities, and developed into influential citizens of their new homes, but with fond memories of their place of birth. It was from just these regions that our firm drew its support, when people began to come to us from a distance, but before we had become well established. When one of these prominent citizens was approached by someone who said he was going to Rochester for treatment or sending his wife there for that purpose, and he was asked for advice, he would reply: "I do not know the boys so well, but I knew the old man and the reputation he bore. On the basis of that I would be willing to trust the boys."

By the beginning of this century the Mayo practice was exceedingly large and was attracting the attention of physicians and laymen far and

wide. There were five in the firm. However, it was still a private practice. The Doctors Mayo themselves said of the firm prior to 1901: "It was, essentially, a well-organized surgical practice."

In that year Dr. Henry S. Plummer joined them and began to develop the work on its medical side. More significant still, he stimulated scientific medicine by developing chemical research. The men of the organization had depended for their diagnoses on their experience as practitioners and their keen insight into the way of disease. Dr. Plummer stimulated them to keep better records and to analyze more closely.

To the list of paradoxes is added one that developed in the relations of the medical and surgical services. Prior to 1899, the number of medical cases treated by the Doctors Mayo, Stinchfield, and Graham was much in excess of the surgical cases. It was the surgical work that was attracting attention, but the daily routine consisted principally of medical cases. In spite of the support given by the accession of Dr. Plummer the period between 1900 and 1915 was one in which the number of surgical cases far outstripped the medical. Since 1915 the medical work has gained steadily on the surgical, and in later years the medical cases may be said to have taken the lead.

This division into periods may help us in deciding when the Mayo business was changed from a private firm of physicians to a semipublic institution—the Mayo Clinic. It was in 1900 that the first laboratory was installed, but 1906 is given as the year of the initial considerable laboratory development.

From the beginning the members of the firm had reasonably stocked libraries, but the more formal library had its beginning in 1907. The change from the Mayo firm to the Mayo Clinic occurred about the time Dr. Plummer came, in 1901, or soon thereafter. The development of libraries and laboratories was an effect, or, at least, a sequence and not the cause of the transformation. That this change was most beneficial to the success of the institution is easily seen, but it did not operate to balance the work as between medicine and surgery.

It must have caused the Doctors Mayo to think seriously. Transformation from a purely private to a semipublic institution had proved advantageous to the scientific quality of the work done as well as to the economic status of the enterprise. If that much of a departure had accomplished so much, it was reasonable to expect that further progress in the same direction would be worth while. But, in the long run, the institution must be well rounded. There must be a balance between surgical disorders and those classed as medical, that was somewhat proportionate to the distribution of

illness between them. While, temporarily, a business that was largely surgical could be maintained, eventually, the outstanding attractions for surgical service would cease to be outstanding, and the institution must then be on the same basis as normal distribution of disease, or somewhat so, or suffer the consequence. Here was a call for vision and balanced judgment.

In 1907 Dr. W. J. Mayo became a member of the Board of Regents of the State University. Meanwhile, the Clinic was filling up with valuable men who had had their undergraduate work at the University of Minnesota, and who appreciated the advantages of further clinical training. In these ways, and in others, the thought of a connection between the Mayo Clinic and the University of Minnesota was being promoted.

The first step toward a formal connection was taken in 1915, or, maybe it is better to say the first binding link was forged in that year. It is significant that with this first step the balance between medical and surgical work began to be reestablished. The plan has now been in operation twenty-five years, and the tendency towards a more normal relationship between the services has gone forward progressively.

The legal steps of this development required the formation of several organizations, such as the Mayo Properties, the Mayo Foundation Fund, the Mayo Foundation for Medical Education and Research, and the University Graduate Medical School located at Rochester. The Mayo brothers, and their associates, transferred the physical properties and equities to the University, and endowed the enterprise with several million dollars. They were salaried professors in this graduate school. The earnings of the Clinic, its personnel, and its properties accrued to the University. The transformation was completed; the private firm was changed into a public institution.

In the summer of 1939 the two great doctors whose lives had been spent together died—Charles H. on May 26, and William J. on July 28—but their work was not ended. Their home town had become the medical capital of our country. They left behind them hotel-hospitals that house on the average eighty thousand patients and a hundred eighty thousand relatives each year. The Clinic is now a twenty-story building and there are research laboratories and an experimental farm. Theirs is a living monument.

The paradoxes in the lives of the "Mayo Brothers" vanish when all the facts are known and the influences analyzed. For generations, the Mayo mind has been basically scientific. The members of the family were scientists. It was but natural that the men of these generations, as they builded,

should have understood the advantage of having research-work done, and of following scientific methods.

At least from Dr. W. W. Mayo on, the Mayo mind was philosophic and social. It busied itself with the welfare of the state and the interests of neighbors. The old man had vision. Is it to be wondered at that one son undertook the health work of the community, and that the family firm was transformed into a state institution? Had the Mayo practice remained local in all its senses, there would have been reason to wonder.

And, finally, physicians have come from all over the world to see, because here was something that was different. From Aesculapius and Hygeia, through Hippocrates, and on down to the twentieth century, there has been nothing quite like it.

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ROBERT A. MILLIKAN

by

ERIC T. BELL

THEORIES pass; facts persist. Without experimentally ascertained fact, scientific generalizations can not even be born, much less survive a reasonable span. For this reason professional scientists honor the great experimentalist as the true prophet in their exacting guild, confident that his work will outlast a dozen flashy interpretations of it, and be as fresh and as rich in human value a century hence as it was when first done. The history of science emphasizes over and over again that "experiment answers all." The companion to this is equally true: speculation answers nothing.

Millikan is first and last an experimentalist. His excursions into scientific theorizing have been brief, and no one knows better than he that they were mere diversions from the exacting, enduring work of physical experiment.

To understand something of Millikan's relation to his age before seeing who and what he is by heredity and environment, we shall do well to emphasize his outstanding scientific trait and keep it in mind in all that follows. Rating Millikan as an experimental physicist of the very first rank does not mean that he goes into the laboratory to play like a boy with his Christmas presents, with the brass and the crystal, the invar and the radium. Before Millikan undertakes any research he has a shrewd suspicion of what he will find, and he knows exactly where he is going at each step. If what he is seeking fails to appear, he records the failure with scrupulous scientific honesty, and, taking the hint thrown out by nature, changes the direction of his attack in rigid conformity with the facts. He is eminently teachable—by the right teacher.

Millikan's outstanding characteristic is his flair for what is likely to be of fundamental scientific (and therefore also practical) importance. This is something which is not given to the common run of scientists. Thousands of new scientific ideas are spawned every month; only one in tens of thousands survives a decade. Millikan's peculiar genius—for it is no less than that—is his inerrant scientific tact in seizing the generative idea, the one seed out of thousands that is destined to be fruitful and creative. That his own brilliant technique frequently starts the endless chain of ever wonderful novelty and interest is beside the point; he foresaw the fruit before the puny seed germinated.

This knack of perfect, just, scientific taste is the unique gift which places Millikan rightfully at the head of one of the most alert and highly specialized scientific research institutes in America. And not one of his colleagues disputes his "Chief's" right to leadership. This in itself is an extraordinary tribute to the singularly prophetic quality of Millikan's mind.

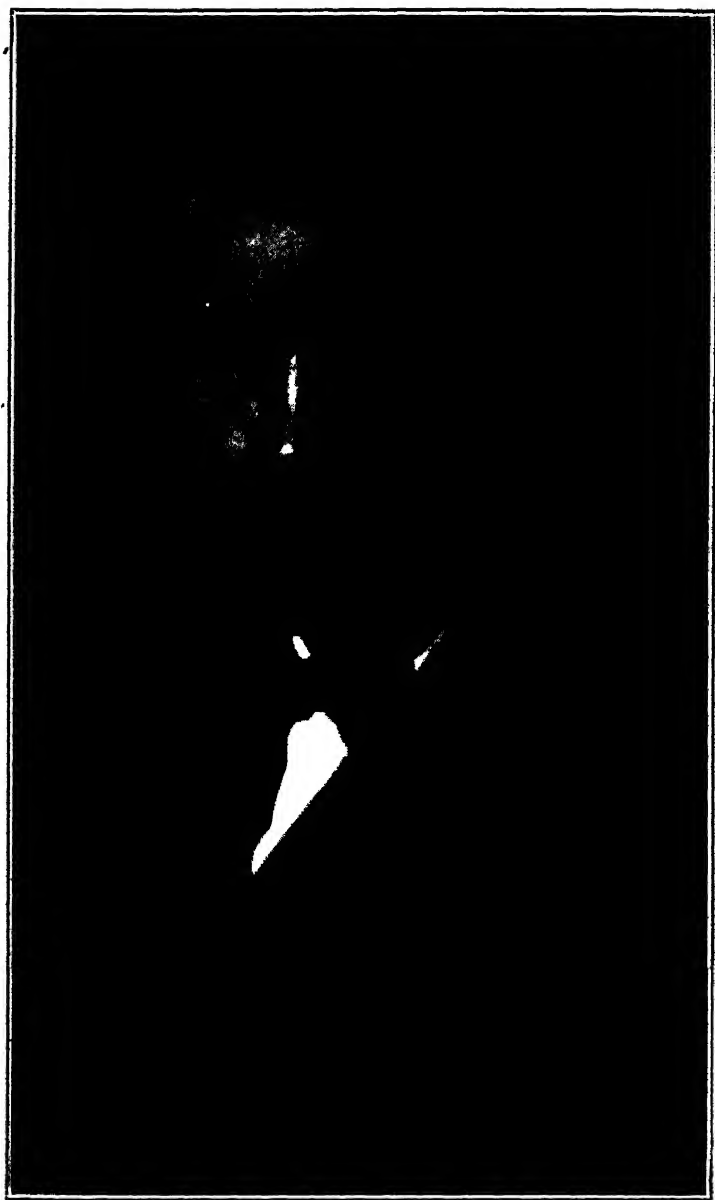
But we must see who he is:

On both sides, Robert Andrews Millikan is descended from old New England stock; his father's side is Scotch-English in origin, his mother's, English. As Millikan himself has amazing vitality and an unbounded capacity for hard work, it is interesting to know that his ancestors and nearest relatives were conspicuous for their good health and longevity.

The grandparents on the father's side emigrated about 1830 from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to pioneer in "The Western Reserve," Ohio. Eight years later they trekked again, to Lyndon, Illinois, where they founded a typical New England agricultural colony. There they settled, and for at least forty years the family led in the civic and religious life of the community.

Our Millikan was born March 22, 1868, at Morristown, Illinois, the second of six children. His father, the Rev. Silas Franklin Millikan was a successful Congregational minister for forty years in Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas. His mother, Mary Jane Andrews of Rochester, New York, came from a seafaring family; she herself graduated from Oberlin College, Ohio, and became dean of women at Olivet College, Michigan.

In view of Millikan's parentage, this is a good place to glance at one of his most vital interests. There can be but little doubt that Millikan owes directly to his father the lifelong, broad interest in modern religion which is second to nothing in his life, not even physics. And as a sketch of a scientific man would do its subject but scant justice were relevant facts omitted or glossed, we shall state here what seems to be the abiding significance of this side of Millikan's activity. It would be untrue to say that Millikan's religious opinions command universal assent from his fellow workers, or even from the members of his staff. This, however, is of slight moment. What does seem of importance to Millikan's fellow scientists everywhere is the man's tolerance. In the true scientific spirit he respects the opinions of others, no matter how deeply he may disagree with them. No member of Millikan's scientific family—and there are all shades of religious conviction or lack of it represented in that heterogeneous body—has ever been made to feel that his religious opinions had anything whatever to do with his standing in the family. This state of affairs is not so frequent in America that it can be passed over as a commonplace. Millikan's great contribution to religion is his own broad, sane tolerance.



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ROBERT A. MILLIKAN

To continue with the details of his life. In 1891 he was awarded the bachelor of arts degree at Oberlin College. His interest in physics was merely incidental; he took but one semester of it in college, and it was execrably taught. Greek and mathematics offered better training at the time, and on these he concentrated. While in college he took a leading part in student-activities, including music, literary clubs, and athletics, in which he won considerable local fame. He has been a good tennis-player and something of a golfer.

All this is a forecast of the all-round, extremely able administrator of later years. In fact, one of Millikan's outstanding characteristics, which marks him off from the majority of creative men in science, is his high ability as an executive and his inexhaustible patience under the exasperating routine of administration. No man who was not really two men rolled into one could get through the amount of science and administration that Millikan accomplishes.

One reason for Millikan's success in these diverse fields is his superb vitality and his whole-hearted interest in his fellow men. What he had as the president of his Sophomore class in college, as editor-in-chief of the college annual in his Junior year, as student-director of gymnasium in his last two years at college, and as spokesman of his class at graduation, has stayed with him all his life, namely, a genuine, unaffected liking for all sorts and conditions of men, and a sincere concern for their happiness. This attitude toward humanity can not be feigned, although professional politicians sometimes try. The secret of Millikan's numerous successes is probably this sincere interest; he has worked for the good of the human race, rather than his own, and the world, for once, has honored its benefactor.

In 1891 places for college graduates were not very plentiful. However, Oberlin appointed Millikan to teach elementary physics, which he did for two years, when he realized that if he was to be a successful teacher of physics he must know something about physics. Accordingly he obtained a fellowship in physics at Columbia University in 1893, where he took his doctor of philosophy degree in 1895. One of his teachers was Pupin. Still eager for physics, Millikan migrated to Germany, where he spent the years 1895-1896 at the Universities of Berlin and Göttingen, absorbing modern physics and mathematics as they were in the nineties. Since then he has had but one teacher, Nature herself.

On returning to the United States, young Millikan, then twenty-eight years of age, gave a striking demonstration of his inborn foresight. Instead of accepting a fairly lucrative position where the chances for intellectual

growth were slight, he jumped at a humble, rather poorly paid associate-ship in physics—the lowest academic grade possible—in the energetic young University of Chicago. There he stayed, teaching and researching till 1921, with time out for war-service, advancing rapidly through the various academic grades to the highest, professor, in 1910. From 1910 to 1916 he was busily engaged in laying the scientific foundations for the brilliant work which won him the Nobel Prize in Physics for 1922. We shall return to this later.

Someone has complained that biographies of great men seldom mention the wives, and someone else has remarked that the surest way of getting the truth about a man, is not to ask his wife, but to look at her. In 1902, in his thirty-fourth year, Millikan married Greta Ervin Blanchard, of Oak Park, Illinois (near Chicago). Mrs. Millikan is her husband's counterpart in energy and organizing ability. The innumerable social duties demanded of the wife of an outstanding administrator are as exacting as the work of the husband, and call for equal efficiency on the part of the wife. Mrs. Millikan has taken all this off her husband's shoulders. They have three sons, Clark, Glenn, and Max.

Millikan's age at marriage was stated to point a remark of his own. He says that a young man entering a scientific career may show deep affection in acquiring a wife before he can support her decently, but he certainly shows a lack of intelligence.

A man of Millikan's energy and capacity could not be overlooked during the war. From March 1917 to January 1919 he served continuously in Washington, D.C., on several important committees of the Council of National Defense. Both as scientific expert and organizer, he rendered distinguished service on the General Munitions Board, the Optical Glass Committee, and the Anti-submarine Board of the Navy. He was commissioned in July 1917 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in charge of the Science and Research Division of the Bureau of Military Aeronautics. At present he holds the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Officers' Reserve Signal Corps.

This phase of Millikan's activity brought out latent powers and started him in a new direction. It showed him what he perhaps had not suspected himself, his first-rate organizing and administrative ability. When the California Institute of Technology was reorganized in 1921, Millikan became director of its Norman Bridge Laboratory of Physics. Before long he took charge of the entire Institute as executive head. Anyone who thinks it an easy task to keep a team of highly specialized and individualized scientific men working together in perfect harmony,

may be recommended to try it. Scientists are not quite so temperamental as artists, but they can be very trying to common sense at times. The steady, quiet enthusiasm for hard work which pervades the Institute, and the total absence of petty jealousies and bickering, are a pragmatic testimonial to the administrative tact and geniality of the chief. In administration, as in physics, Millikan puts fact before theory; find the facts and their human background, if it takes a year, is his rule, and, having found them, be guided accordingly and forget opinions, even your own. It works.

This capacity for detached but humane judgment has made Millikan an invaluable counsellor on many important scientific boards, national and international. Among the offices he has held are president of the American Physical Society, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, vice-chairman of the National Research Council, American representative of the International Congress of Physics at Brussels in 1921, and American member on Intellectual Coöperation of the League of Nations.

From even this inadequate list it may be surmised that Millikan spends a considerable part of his time away from the laboratory. The amazing thing about all his activity is his continued scientific output in spite of all distractions. Not only must he be traveling far more than even the ordinary business executive on these public affairs, but his own work on cosmic rays is always taking him by train, airplane, and more outlandish conveyances to odd corners of the United States and odder nooks in the Peruvian Andes, or out-of-the-way places in Canada close up to the Arctic circle. How does he do it all? And on top of it, how does he contrive to run a scientific institute and keep a sensitive finger on its finances?

A partial answer is his splendid vitality and his capacity for getting along on a minimum of sleep. This must be supplemented by another characteristic of the man: every waking minute is filled—not that anyone who has enjoyed a chat with him would suspect him of being everlastingly at it. And he likes hard work.

But there is another reason, perhaps more significant, for Millikan's ceaseless accomplishment. He never wastes time anticipating the event or regretting it if it fails to materialize; he plans for it, reasonably, and then lets nature do the rest. Take the matter of catching trains for instance, or airplanes, or hand-cars, or whatever transport may be the most efficient for getting him to his destination. If the train is scheduled to leave at eleven forty-nine p.m., does he begin fuming and fussing at

eleven forty-five? No; he waits till eleven forty-six and a half, when he calmly gathers up his grips, proceeds in leisurely fashion to the station and—catches the train. Millikan has never missed a train, although he has traveled by some of the most complicated schedules a harassed agent was ever asked to patch together. Nor, for that matter, has a train ever missed Millikan. Quite the contrary; trains have been known to wait for him as much as fifteen minutes.

Only rarely does this steadfast belief in the orderliness of trains and the laws of nature betray the optimistic physicist. Nobody, least of all a physicist, can predict the weather on a high mountain lake, and nobody should believe that it will behave for more than half an hour at a time. Once, while on some of his cosmic ray work, Millikan confidently left a five-hundred-pound lead shield for his apparatus overnight in an open row-boat on just such a lake, and was greatly surprised in the morning to learn that boat, lead, and apparatus had gone to the bottom in a squall during the night. But even at this his luck held; his notes floated ashore.

Let us return to Millikan the physicist. With the dawn of the twentieth century, physicists began to suspect that the atoms which compose all matter are purely electrical in nature. An early electrical model pictured the atom as a planetary system of negative particles, electrons, revolving round a central positive nucleus. It is not necessary here to detail the kaleidoscopic changes which this simple picture has undergone and is still undergoing. The essential thing in the middle period was to prove or disprove the existence of the electron. Was it a physical fact, or was it merely another mathematical myth, like the scores of ether models manufactured and discarded by the great dreamers of the nineteenth century?

Millikan not only isolated the electron in his marvelously ingenious "oil-drop experiment," but measured with unsurpassed precision its charge. This work furnished the first complete demonstration of the atomic, or discrete, nature of electricity. Due to this work, we can now enumerate the molecules in any simple substance with an accuracy greater than that of the census-takers of a city. It was this work which was chiefly responsible for the award of the Nobel Prize in Physics for 1922.

Among other great scientific revolutions of this century is Planck's quantization of energy. According to this, energy is not continuously emitted, but discretely, or in "packages." To take a crude analogy, the emission of energy resembles the spray from a machine-gun rather than the stream from a garden-hose. In Planck's theory, the relation between energy and frequency of emitted radiation involves a universal physical constant, h ,—"Planck's constant." Without a precise experimental deter-

mination of h the theory and its numerous applications halt lamely at every step. By photo-electric means Millikan gave the first direct determination of h . Incidentally this experiment established the correctness of a fundamental equation deduced mathematically by Einstein in 1905, which takes its place with Newton's second law of motion and Maxwell's equations of the electromagnetic field as a corner-stone of physical science. Without the experimental confirmation, this corner-stone would have remained an interesting hypothesis and nothing more. Now it is a fact.

During the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, the atomic and kinetic theories of matter, although strongly indicated as correct by many lines of evidence, were only working hypotheses. They might be true pictures of nature, or they might be fantastic nonsense. That intensely rapid, haphazard motion (not exactly at random, for it is governed by the laws of chance) of minute particles suspended in a liquid or gas, which is known as the Brownian movement, offers a strong line of positive evidence for the kinetic theory. The work of Millikan and his students on the Brownian movement in gases caused the theory's leading opponent, Ostwald, the physical chemist, to renounce his opposition in 1915. This work again was experimental. Whether experiment indeed answers all or not, it certainly requires more than a verbal or mathematical argument to silence an experiment.

Closely connected with the work on the electron was the discovery by Millikan in 1923 of the law of motion of a particle falling earthward after entering the earth's atmosphere. This historic problem of the kinetic theory had been a subject of controversy among physicists for seventy-five years. By completing theoretically the important partial solution given by Stokes fifty years before, and establishing his own completed deductions experimentally, Millikan ended the controversies and disposed definitely of the problem.

In another direction is the highly important work on spectroscopy. With I. S. Bowen collaborating, Millikan investigated (experimentally again!) the spectroscopic properties of light atoms when either partially or completely stripped of their valence electrons. This work was one of two equally potent causes which inspired Uhlenbeck and Goudsmit to their new and fundamental concept of "electron spin" in 1925.

In a similar vein are the papers of 1920-1923 on the extension of the ultra-violet spectrum (the region of invisible radiation beyond the violet). This work pushed the limit of explored frequencies a full two octaves below the limit of preceding observers. The whole output of the preceding thirty years, when measured in octaves, was considerably less than

that of the 1920-1923 papers of Millikan. This work was of great theoretical importance, for its confirmation of Moseley's law which ranges the elements in their natural order according to the character of the radiations emitted by the individual electrons within the atom.

Striking off in another direction, Millikan showed experimentally that the electrons in metals do not share appreciably at ordinary temperatures in the motions of thermal agitation, but do begin to share at sufficiently high temperatures. This work will probably some day be of the highest practical importance, as it bears directly on the mysteries of metallic conduction.

For lack of space we can not even enumerate many of Millikan's researches. There is one, however, that must be mentioned. This is the work on the nature and properties of cosmic rays, which promises to take its place with the great classics of science. High frequency radiation of but dimly understood character has been detected shooting through space in all directions with apparent uniformity. Where does it come from, and what is it? The whole question at present is in a snarl which Millikan is doing much to unravel. There can be no doubt that we are faced with a major problem of the physical universe. Millikan has not only himself been a brilliant pioneer and leader in this difficult field, but he has given unstintingly of his time to train a corps of extremely able young collaborators. The work will go on; the teasing riddle is being solved. Whatever the ultimate solution may be, it will have to accommodate the numerical results of Millikan's experiments, which are summarized in his books, *The Electron*, 1917, *Electrons (+ and -)*, *Protons, Photons, Neutrons, and Cosmic Rays*, 1935, and *Cosmic Rays*, 1939.

In addition to all his other work, Millikan has found time to write seventeen books (1940), ranging from college texts on physics to studies on science in its broader aspects as a part of civilization and its message for religion. These seventeen books seem like the last straw; he must have written them in his sleep.

After recounting some of the great work which puts Millikan in the first rank of experimental physicists, it seems rather trivial to descend to a discussion of what he has got out of it all. First, there is the joy in the work itself. Without this, nothing worth the doing in science is ever done. Second, there is the satisfaction that comes from doing a necessary job supremely well; this applies to the administrative work. All this has been undertaken with complete unselfishness, because it needed to be done, and he was the one man available to do it properly. Third and last, there are the formal honors, which usually do at least as much honor to the

donor as to the recipient. These include membership in practically all the great learned societies of the world, where you do not pay as you enter, but wait till you are good enough to be asked in; honorary degrees from many American and foreign universities; a Nobel prize, and many medals for the highest scientific service from American and European scientific societies and academies.

If anything need be added to complete the sketch, it is the fact that Millikan has inspired scores of young men and has started them well on their way to useful scientific careers. Much of science today is a coöperative enterprise, demanding the combined efforts of hundreds of men for its successful prosecution. Although the day of the sturdy and selfish individualist in scientific research is past, there is now, and probably always will be, need for intelligent leadership and direction, to say nothing of an occasional genius to put new life into dry bones. The field of physics alone is so complex and varied today that no beginner can hope to find his way into it alone. The man with synoptic vision is the rightful director of research, and Millikan, since he reached his scientific maturity, has mapped more than one brilliant and far reaching exploration which, without his foresight, might never have been undertaken. And let it be said last that no man who is not himself a creative scientist can teach others the art of scientific discovery.

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GEORGE W. NORRIS

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by

WALLACE E. RANKIN

WHEN we think of the personnel of Congress during the twentieth century, one of the first names that comes to mind is that of George W. Norris of Nebraska, who was for ten years a representative, and, since 1913, a member of the Senate. Few men in the entire history of our republic will leave such a list of constructive accomplishments to be recounted by the historians of the future. His ideal has been to make our government more responsive to the public will. His greatest triumphs have been in the democratization of governmental machinery. Second only to his interest in our form of government has been his desire to help the poor, particularly the rural poor, to enjoy the benefits of our natural resources.

An unassuming man is George William Norris, mild in manner, somber in dress, disdaining the society of our national capital. His life's interest has been in our government and the welfare of our people. The desire for personal wealth has not tempted him, because the social eminence and luxuries that wealth makes possible have had no appeal for him. Despite his mildness of manner Norris is a fighter. Though professing to have no liking for discord, he is always to be found in the center of every argument that arouses his interest. He has not been one to spare his strength or effort. His courage is phenomenal. He challenges any statement of friend or foe that does not coincide with his beliefs and he is unrelenting in his exposure of any act that might desire the shade of obscurity. Norris is the living refutation of the sceptic's slur that a man can not remain in politics and be honest and incorruptible in thought and action. He takes dictation from no man. He glories in independence, and with increasing age and security of position his independence has grown. Unlike most men his radicalism has increased with age. Notwithstanding his independence, or perhaps because of it, his popularity has become greater as the people have realized that this white-crowned, large-eyed, stocky old man is fighting their battles without fear or favor.

George William was the youngest of the twelve children of Chauncey Norris and his wife Mary Magdeline Mook Norris. Chauncey Norris was a poor farmer from western New York State who is remembered chiefly for his taciturnity, and his wife was a hard-working woman of Pennsylvania Dutch stock. They moved to Sandusky County, Ohio, and

there on July 11, 1861, the second son, George William, was born. In 1864 the father died and the elder son was killed while fighting under Sherman in northern Georgia. George attended country school and worked on the farm which produced a meager living for so large a family. His sympathy for poor farmers originated in the experiences of his own youth.

After his early training in the local district-school George and two of his sisters went to Baldwin Institute in Berea, Ohio (now Baldwin-Wallace College). It was there that he first showed aptitude for debating. Then came a year of teaching country school, so that sufficient money might be acquired to start his course at Northern Indiana Normal School at Valparaiso, Indiana. Northern Indiana Normal had no intercollegiate sports and no vacations. Its object was to train the student in practical subjects in the minimum of time at the minimum of expense. Young Norris again distinguished himself as a debater, became the president of a debating society and formed a group of students called the "League of the United Nine," who pledged that they would meet together once a year for the rest of their lives. Norris has continued the close friendship with that gradually diminishing group throughout his life.

In 1880 Norris obtained his bachelor of science degree and two years later received a law degree. He then set out for Washington Territory to grow up with the country. He experienced difficulty in finding employment there and finally found a position in a primitive country school. In 1885 he started eastward again and stopped in Beaver City, a boom town in the wheat belt of southwestern Nebraska. There he started the practice of law. Prosperity did not come rapidly and of necessity he wore the same suit of clothes for six years.

In 1890 Norris married Pluma Lashley, daughter of the local banker and flour mill-owner. Two years later he became the county attorney. In 1895 he was the Republican candidate for district judge against the Fusion (Democrat-Populist) incumbent and defeated him by two votes. There were charges of fraud, and Norris had his first experience of the vilification which seems to be inescapable in the life of a public man. The nineties were a period of hard times in Nebraska. Foreclosures were frequent. Populism was strong among the dissatisfied and, although Norris was a firm Republican, his judicial hesitancy to foreclose farm mortgages stood him in good stead in local politics.

Beaver City was destined to remain a small county-seat. The boom had passed and its population had declined. The Norris family moved to McCook, which was the biggest town in the judicial district. It was not alone a farming center but it was the division point on the Burlington

Railroad. McCook has included the Norris family among its ten thousand inhabitants from that day to this. In 1901 Mrs. Norris died leaving George a widower with three young daughters. Two years later he married Ella Leonard.

In 1902 Norris was elected to the House of Representatives from the Fifth Nebraska Congressional District. There was nothing to cause the Republican party leaders a foreboding of the stormy future when the new congressman from the Western plains appeared in Washington. He was a good party man who had always looked upon his party and its national leaders with admiration. He was imbued with the idea that much of our national greatness was brought about by the principles of the Republican party. In one of his first speeches in Congress Norris eloquently praised the party for the inauguration of the rural free delivery.

His first disillusionment came when the Democratic floor-leader, John Sharp Williams, moved adjournment of the House in honor of Washington's birthday. The Republican floor-leader countered that greater respect would be shown the Father of Our Country by spending the day in needed work. All the Democrats voted for adjournment and all the Republicans voted against it with the exception of the young congressman from Nebraska's Fifth District. He was the focus of the shocked attention of his fellow party members and felt distinctly uncomfortable. Afterwards a prominent Republican undertook to reprimand him for insubordination and to warn him that obedience to party leaders was a prime requisite of a successful congressman. Norris was profanely rebellious, and his resentment became greater when he found the Senate had adjourned because a Republican first thought of proposing it. He questioned blind party loyalty again in 1906 when he was a candidate for his third term and the most popular Nebraskan, William Jennings Bryan, stumped his District for a conservative Democrat who disagreed with Bryan more than he did. After the election Bryan told Norris privately he was pleased that Norris had been elected but he felt that party loyalty demanded his public support of the Democrat.

In 1907 Norris proposed a bill for the creation of a banker's fund for the guarantee of deposits in case of the failure of any bank. The measure died in committee but the idea was similar to our present deposit-insurance.

Norris had been an admirer of Theodore Roosevelt and in 1908 he supported William H. Taft, Roosevelt's choice as his successor. He soon became distrustful of Taft's leadership, and when the Pinchot-Ballinger quarrel reached alarming proportions he contested the right of Speaker Cannon to appoint a committee to investigate the case. Norris thought that a Cannon-appointed committee would whitewash Ballinger, and he

openly expressed his belief that Cannon and Taft were working together to hush up what might develop into a serious scandal. Norris moved that the committee should be appointed from the floor. Cannon ruled him out of order. He appealed and the House sustained the appeal. This was the first sign of weakness in the Cannon dictatorship over the House. Success made Norris hope that the dictatorship might be smashed.

A group of Midwestern congressmen who became known as Insurgents resented the steam-roller tactics by which each congressman was made to fit into the party machine. The Speaker was chairman of the Committee on Rules and appointed a majority of its members. The other members were chosen by the minority-leader. The Insurgents believed that this important Committee must be made more democratic. Under the Norris leadership in December 1909 the members of the House refused to continue the rules of the preceding Congress. When Norris and his faction were threatened with the loss of seats on desirable committees he replied:

Do your worst. We will not be intimidated. We will not surrender. I would rather go down to my political grave with a clear conscience than to ride in the chariot of victory, a congressional stool-pigeon. We stand, *Mr. Speaker*, for a principle and we are not willing to trade off that principle for political pie or even for political life.

In March 1910 Norris finally succeeded in forcing Cannon to permit him to present his resolution for the exclusion of the Speaker from the Committee on Rules and the appointment of the Committee from the House-at-large. He had the backing of the Insurgents and the Democrats. Cannon used all of the expedients known to parliamentary law to prevent the resolution from coming to a vote. All afternoon, all night, and until noon of the following day Norris held his forces intact. Finally a vote was taken and the Insurgents won. Cannon offered to resign his speakership but Norris was willing that he retain that position merely as a presiding-officer.

In the 1910 election the Democrats gained the majority and Champ Clark replaced Cannon as speaker. They had joined with Norris to break Cannon's rule, but he found their system of holding party caucuses on all important measures and binding their party members to abide by the results was almost as serious an encroachment upon the freedom of a congressman to use his own initiative as were the methods of the fallen dictator.

In 1911 the National Republican-Progressive League was organized with Senator Bourne of Oregon as president and Norris as vice-president. It was pledged to support direct legislation, woman-suffrage, direct election of senators, the income-tax, and other progressive measures. It was generally considered as a group to advance the presidential ambitions of

Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin. The group failed to maintain its unity when Theodore Roosevelt joined the contest for the Republican nomination. Norris supported Roosevelt and continued to back him when T.R. bolted the Republicans and formed the Progressive party. Meanwhile Norris kept his membership in the Republican party and was elected to the Senate with the indorsement of both the Republicans and the Progressives. After a decade in the House he desired to be in the smaller body with its greater personal freedom and lesser emphasis upon party regularity.

In the Senate Norris began a close association with a group of Progressive Republicans which included Bristow of Kansas, Gronna of North Dakota, Borah of Idaho, Clapp of Minnesota, Cummins and Kenyon of Iowa, and La Follette. Perhaps his closest friend was a Progressive Democrat from Oregon named Harry Lane. He began to advocate an inheritance-tax measure with the avowed purpose of breaking up large fortunes. It should be federal, he thought, so that men of wealth would not be driven from the states that had the higher taxes. He proposed a system of direct presidential primaries which would be held in all states on the same day. If one candidate received a majority of the vote in a party's primary he would be nominated. If no one received a majority, then a convention would select the nominee. He advocated uniform marriage and divorce laws and urged all the state legislatures to adopt the same laws so that the present divergence would be ended. He advanced the cause of political purity by conducting an investigation of the activities of federal Judge Archbald of Pennsylvania that led to his impeachment and conviction. He voted for the Federal Reserve system but believed that the Federal Reserve banks should be federally owned. He indorsed the Democratically originated Federal Trade Commission but opposed the Clayton Anti-Trust Law as not sufficiently strong to prevent monopolies. He believed that President Wilson interfered too much in the internal affairs of Mexico and spoke against the demand that Huerta give our flag a twenty-one-gun salute.

Throughout his career Norris has opposed heavy armament, because he has believed it to be unnecessary for our security, because he considered it to be an undesirable burden of expense, and because he believed that its true purpose was the enrichment of armament manufacturers who deliberately inspired the fear of war in order to increase their business. Soon after the World War began in Europe he and Senator Lane introduced a bill to limit war profits. Together with Senator Vardaman he worked for government ownership of the armor-plate industry. They fought step by step every increase in the appropriations for the Army and Navy. At

that time there was a growing fear of war with Germany and Japan. Norris ridiculed the notion that Germany would attack us if the war should end with a German victory, that "the cripples and orphans . . . would construct a raft . . . and come across the Atlantic and capture the United States." "I think we ought to have an Army and a Navy well equipped and of a reasonable size but I can not agree with the widespread contention that we ought to enter into a military race." Concerning the threat of a war with Japan he said, "The idea of a war with Japan is usually given publicity just before we are to pass a naval appropriation. Prophecies have been made ever since I have been in Congress that the very next year we would be at war with Japan." When the fear of Germany's submarine campaign grew, Norris urged that the government warn American citizens to refrain from traveling on the armed ships of belligerents. With Senator Gronna he sponsored a bill to require a national referendum before our country declared war.

President Wilson had been opposed to war, but he claimed that Americans had the right to sell munitions to belligerents and held that our ships could sail anywhere that they were not prevented from going by an effective surface blockade. Hence, when Germany declared an unrestricted submarine blockade around the British Isles and sank ships of all nations indiscriminately and without warning, Wilson demanded of Congress the right to arm American merchantmen for their own protection. A bill to that effect was sponsored in the Senate by Nebraska's senior senator, Gilbert Hitchcock. The short session was approaching a close in 1917 when a group of senators led by La Follette started a filibuster against it. Both Norris and Senator Stone of Missouri declared that they would vote for the bill if American ships were forbidden to carry munitions. Failing to obtain such limitation they joined the filibuster. Hitchcock tried to secure a limit to debate but failed. Whenever he called for a vote one of the small group of opponents would raise an objection. Norris talked for two hours and quoted at length from Woodrow Wilson's *Congressional Government*, which stressed the desirability of giving complete study to any measure of importance and of resisting executive dictation. Twelve men prevented the measure from coming to a vote and Congress adjourned. President Wilson, in his disappointment said: "A little group of wilful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great government of the United States helpless and contemptible." The twelve were condemned by the press throughout the country. They were likened to Benedict Arnold, referred to as the "Kaiser's Senators" and recommended for iron crosses. About their only support came from the German language press and from the Hearst papers.

Norris wrote Governor Neville of Nebraska suggesting a recall election to find out if he still had the confidence of the people. The Governor replied that it would be unwise to hold an election at a time when the feeling aroused would be so bitter. Norris then returned to Nebraska, rented an auditorium in Lincoln, and presented his case directly to the people. His friends advised him against the plan for fear that he would be driven from the platform and perhaps be subjected to bodily injury. Instead he was cheered by the audience and felt that he had been approved by his constituents.

Although Congress had not voted the Armed Ship bill, Wilson acted on the advice of the Attorney-General and armed our merchantmen by executive decree. Early in April he summoned an extra session of Congress and set forth the reasons which made the declaration of war against Germany necessary. Norris was one of a small group who spoke against war, but he pledged his support to the administration in the prosecution of the war if Congress declared it. He expressed the opinion that there was little to choose between the German submarine campaign and the extensive use of mines by the Allies. He believed that we could not make the world safe for democracy by destroying it at home, as he believed we should inevitably do if we became involved. He maintained that the only people who would really profit by our joining the fight were the munitions manufacturers and the bankers and brokers who had invested in the securities of the Allies. His speech culminated with the statement, "I believe that we are about to put the dollar-sign on the American flag." Senators Jim Reed and John Sharp Williams in their replies accused him of a near approach to treason. The vote of the Senate was eighty-two to six in favor of war. Senators Norris, La Follette, and Gronna, Republicans, and Stone, Vardaman, and Lane, Democrats, alone cast negative votes. In the main, Norris supported the war measures requested by the President with the notable exception of the War Revenue Bill which he disapproved because it did not conscript wealth as well as men.

In 1918 Norris came before the voters as a candidate for reelection for the first time since his stand against war. Vardaman also stood for reelection. The voters of Mississippi rejected Vardaman but Norris was triumphant.

The war ended in 1918 and soon Wilson set forth to help in the rearrangement of the world's affairs. Norris favored the idea of the League of Nations as a step toward the peaceful settlement of disputes, but he opposed the Treaty of Versailles. He took particular exception to the cession of the Chinese province of Shantung to Japan. He felt that the Treaty was full

of the potentiality of future discord and, since the League was bound up with it, he opposed them both.

Prior to the nomination of Senator Harding by the 1920 Republican convention Norris had worked for the nomination of Senator Hiram Johnson of California and in November he voted for Harding without enthusiasm. During the Harding administration Norris became a thorn in the side of the administration in the usual Norris manner. He opposed the Ship Subsidy bill and the Fordney-McCumber Tariff. He voted for the removal of Truman Newberry, of Michigan, who had spent an exorbitant amount of money to secure his election. He hammered unrelentingly against those occupying high places in the administration who were accused of corruption and was quite prominent in the exposure of the Teapot Dome and Elk Hills frauds.

In 1924 Norris decided in favor of his old friend La Follette in his Progressive-Socialist campaign for the presidency but at the same time he was reelected to the Senate as a Republican. When La Follette died shortly after his defeat, the Progressives looked to Norris as his successor. Norris refused to undertake the leadership of a third-party movement. Several years later when Professor John Dewey expressed disgust at both the old parties and appealed to Norris to form a new one he again declined. Each time he contended that there is already too much partisanship. Individual freedom is handicapped by party organization and he did not want the responsibility of creating another such organization. Norris has always preferred to act independently, taking his stand on each issue as it appeared and the thought of being bound to the leadership of an organization has always been distasteful to him.

Norris represented an agricultural state and his well-known interest in agricultural affairs led to membership upon and finally to the chairmanship of the Agricultural Committee. He championed the idea of the export debenture. After several years of effort in behalf of the plan he surrendered the chairmanship to Charles McNary of Oregon and continued his support of the McNary-Haugen bill which he believed gave the farmers the same sort of advantage that the manufacturers had enjoyed under the protective tariff.

Norris consistently opposed interference in the affairs of Latin America. He saw no need of sending the Marines to Haiti or Nicaragua to maintain order, collect debts, and hold fair elections. The real purpose of intervention, he contended, was to protect the interests of Wall Street. As for conducting fair elections in Nicaragua, he said that it would be far more reasonable to send military forces into Philadelphia where a fair election had not been held for thirty years.

When the Calles administration in Mexico threatened to enforce a constitutional provision for the expropriation of natural resources held by foreigners, Norris took exception to Secretary of State Frank Kellogg's hostile attitude. Together with several other senators he claimed that there was considerable justice in the Mexican position and that our government should not follow a policy of coercion. The Hearst newspapers ran a series of articles which declared that they possessed documentary evidence that Mexico was spending millions of dollars in this country in buying the friendship of influential people. One of the articles claimed that a payment of a considerable sum of money had been authorized to four unnamed United States senators. The Senate conducted an investigation. Hearst was summoned to testify. Upon request he gave the names of the four senators as Borah, Norris, Heflin, and the younger La Follette. Norris wrote a scorching letter to Hearst, who replied in kind editorially. The Committee absolved the four senators of guilt, and upon inspection the documents were proved to be forgeries.

In 1926 William S. Vare, a Philadelphia political boss, contended for the Republican senatorial nomination with the old Progressive Gifford Pinchot. He won the nomination but at an expense estimated at three million dollars. Norris determined to invade Pennsylvania and campaign for the Democratic candidate William Wilson, formerly secretary of labor in the Cabinet of President Wilson. Norris was abused for this desertion to the enemy when the Republican senatorial majority was indeed slim, but as always he chose honest government in preference to party loyalty. He well expressed his attitude: "I believe that the object to be sought in government is not the welfare of the party but the welfare of the people." Vare was elected but the battle had not ended. A similar situation had developed in Illinois where Colonel Frank Smith had been elected as the result of tremendous expenditure by the Insull interests. Eventually both men were denied the right to occupy seats in the Senate.

Senatorial consent is necessary for the ratification of presidential appointments. Generally they are approved as a matter of course but Norris has taken the Senate's duty seriously and has vigorously fought against many presidential appointees. In two notable instances his attacks have led to the rejection of the man whom the president selected. One case was that of Charles B. Warren, who was Coolidge's choice for attorney-general. Norris accused Warren of helping to enlarge the sugar trust at the expense of the people. In 1930 Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Edward Sanford of Tennessee died, and President Hoover nominated as his successor Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina. It developed that Judge Parker had been hostile to labor and had been particularly

zealous in upholding the enforcement of "yellow dog" contracts. Norris led the opposition and Parker also was rejected.

In 1928 Norris again strayed from the Republican fold in his choice of presidential candidate as he had done in 1912 and 1924 and as he was to do again in 1932, 1936, and 1940. In fact, ever since he began his congressional career he has opposed the Republican presidential candidate more frequently than he has supported him. By 1928 Norris' greatest interest had become the increase of governmental control over electric power and, although "Al" Smith was not definite in his stand on power, Norris believed that more support could be expected from him than from Hoover, whose opposition he considered to be certain. Norris brushed aside prohibition and religion as false issues and thereby lost many of his former adherents. He became anathema to the Republican party leaders, who decided that he must be retired from public life at any cost.

In 1930 a manager of a chain grocery-store whose name was also George W. Norris filed his candidacy for the Republican senatorial nomination and promptly disappeared. Nebraska law does not permit the attachment of any distinguishing title such as "incumbent" or the name of the candidate's home town. The law also specifies that the order of printing names on the ballot must be reversed in different congressional districts. The resultant confusion would lead to the choice of W. B. Stebbins, the candidate of the national administration. The grocer's petition was mailed on July 2. The closing date for filing was July 3, but due to delay in the mails the letter did not reach the secretary of state's office until the fifth. Difference of opinion arose concerning the legality of accepting a petition that had not been received until after the dead-line for filing. The matter was taken before the state Supreme Court and the petition was rejected. The underhanded attempt to defeat Norris failed. Senator Nye conducted an investigation and found that Republican Committeeman Victor Seymour had written the grocer's petition and had paid his filing fee. He had also contributed a five-hundred-dollar liberty bond to the grocer's campaign. The gift of the liberty bond was traced to the rival candidate, Stebbins. Seymour and grocer Norris were convicted of perjury and received jail sentences. The director of the Republican national committee, Robert H. Lucas, next entered the lists against Norris. He circulated copies of what purported to be a letter from a Tammany Hall leader in praise of Norris for his support of Al Smith. He distributed cartoons against Norris and urged Nebraska Republicans to vote for Democrat Gilbert Hitchcock in preference to a party renegade, even though he was the party's nominee. The attempted purge failed and Norris returned to the Senate with the backing of a substantial majority.

Norris' interest in the welfare of the poor did not end with the farm-lands. For many years the abuse of the judicial injunction interested him. In collaboration with Representative La Guardia of New York he wrote a bill which provided jury trials for labor leaders before another judge than the one who had issued the injunction. This contrasted to the former situation in which a man would be tried for contempt of court without benefit of jury before the judge who had issued the injunction. The bill also forbade "yellow dog" contracts by which laborers were forced to contract not to belong to unions while employed. The bill was passed through both houses of Congress with large majorities and was signed by President Hoover.

When our Constitution was made our country lacked rapid means of communication either for transportation or for the dissemination of knowledge. Because of that fact the electoral college was created. A group of prominent men in a state, who it was thought would be well known in their communities, were selected to decide upon someone for the presidency. It was believed that the ordinary voter would have neither the knowledge nor the discrimination to make a wise choice. The length of time required to reach the national capital was so great that, although the presidential election was held in November, the inauguration was set on March fourth and the newly elected Congress would start at the same time. As a matter of fact, unless the president called an extra session Congress would not meet until the following December. Meanwhile the old Congress, many of whose members had been repudiated in the November election, would continue in office until the fourth of March and would legislate for the people. Those defeated hold-overs were known as "lame ducks" and if they belonged to the president's party their tendency was to be subservient to his wishes so that they might be rewarded by good appointive positions. The electoral college, whose utility became obsolete early in our history, and "the lame duck" session, Norris believed, made changes in the Constitution desirable. Norris found the greatest opposition to constitutional reform came from conservative individuals who feared to change any part of the Constitution lest a habit of frequent change would be developed and our conservative bulwark would be washed away in a deluge of radicalism.

With regard to the electoral college, which Norris likened to a fifth wheel on a wagon, he preferred election of the president by direct popular vote. Since the electoral vote is based upon the total number of representatives and senators to which a state is entitled and each state, no matter how small its population, has two senators, the small states opposed the abolition of the electoral college. Thirteen states can block a constitutional

amendment; so Norris proposed to keep the electoral vote but do away with the electors themselves. The electoral vote of a state would be divided among the candidates in the same proportion as they received popular votes in that state. The names of independent candidates not backed by party organization would be printed on the ballot. This amendment has received a great deal of support but so far it has failed to get the congressional two-thirds majority necessary for submission to the states. Greater success has been achieved in changing the date of the presidential inauguration and of the meeting of Congress. In January 1923 the so-called "Lame Duck" Amendment passed the Senate for the first time. It moved the date of the presidential inauguration from March fourth to January twentieth and the date of the meeting of Congress to January third. Now congressmen who are elected in November assemble about two months after election instead of thirteen months later. In 1932 the Senate passed the amendment for the sixth time and this time the House also passed it. On January 23, 1933, the thirty-sixth state ratified it, and the Twentieth or "Norris" Amendment became law. The "lame duck" session was abolished.

Norris' interest in constitutional amendments was not confined to the two which have been described. As early as 1905 he proposed an amendment to increase the term of members of the House of Representatives to four years and to limit the president to one six-year term. He gave his support to the amendments for the income-tax, the direct election of senators, prohibition and woman-suffrage although he did not originate them.

A reform that has interested Norris is the adoption of unicameral state legislatures. He believed that a legislature of one house with fewer members receiving higher salaries would attract a higher type of men and would be more efficient than the old system of two houses. The idea was not originated by Norris but it was largely his influence that brought about its adoption by Nebraska.

Whenever the subject of government ownership of a public utility is raised the Senator is found on the side of public ownership. Probably his first great interest in water-power concerned the development of a government project at the Great Falls of the Potomac to supply Washington, D. C., with cheap electricity. Time after time he has brought up the plan without success. When San Francisco was trying to obtain the permission of Congress to develop a water and power project at Hetch Hetchy on the Tuolumne River in the Yosemite National Park, Norris took the side of the municipality and fought against those who opposed the project on the basis of the destruction of natural beauty. He declared that this plea was hypocritical and was inspired by the private power companies.

During the World War the Wilson Dam was built at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River in Alabama. The purpose was the extraction of nitrogen from the air by the cyanamid process for the manufacture of munitions. The war ended before the completion of the dam and left the government the problem of what disposal should be made of the project on which more than a hundred million dollars had been spent. The Harding administration stopped work on the dam in 1921 and Secretary of War Weeks offered to receive bids from private companies for further development. The plan was to use it for the manufacture of nitrates in such quantities that the price to the farmers would be low. The most attractive offer was made by Henry Ford. He wanted a ninety-nine year lease on the dam and offered to buy the Muscle Shoals steam and nitrate properties for five million dollars. Ford agreed to manufacture nitrates at no more than 8 per cent profit. Since the project dealt with farm fertilizer it came before the Agricultural Committee of which Norris was the chairman. He believed that Ford's chief interest was in power and, considering the price he was willing to pay, he would be getting a great deal of power for a small amount of money. He pointed out that the cyanamid process of nitrate manufacture was outdated and, that if it were used, fertilizer could not be sold cheaply. If the superior Haber process were used the surplus water-power would be enormous. The Agricultural Committee members disagreed violently and ended by rejecting all bids. Norris had studied the success of the Canadian province of Ontario in power production. Rates were far lower there than they were on our side of the border. He believed that the government should both produce and distribute power and that the project should also be used for flood control and to facilitate navigation. The administration was opposed to government operation; so nothing was done. At the next session Senator Underwood of Alabama presented a bill for the leasing of Muscle Shoals for nitrate manufacture in conformity with the desires of President Coolidge. The Underwood bill passed the Senate and in a somewhat different form it passed the House. A conference committee was formed to bring about an agreement. Norris threatened a filibuster and prevented the acceptance of the committee's report. Still the great project lay idle.

In 1928 the American Cyanamid Corporation offered to lease the dam and manufacture nitrogen. It proposed to do as it pleased with the surplus power. Norris opposed this offer and presented his bill for government ownership and operation again. In it had been incorporated a provision that an appropriation be granted for government experimentation in nitrate manufacturing. The government would only make completed fertilizer for experimental purposes. The remaining nitrogen would be

sold to fertilizer manufacturers. The Cove Creek Dam (now called the Norris Dam) was to be built by the War Department for facilitation of navigation and flood control. The measure passed Congress but was pocket-vetoed by Coolidge. When Norris brought up the measure during the Hoover administration it again passed Congress, but was vetoed by the President. The white elephant was still on our hands.

With the inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt, Norris for the first time had the coöperation of a president. A corporation called The Tennessee Valley Authority was set up and appropriations were made. It was provided in the Act that the Authority was set up for five years and might be renewed at the pleasure of Congress. Arthur Morgan, Harcourt Morgan, and David Lilienthal were chosen as the directors. The Wilson Dam was completed; the Norris Dam was built; the Tennessee River was made navigable; the seasonal flood situation was controlled; towns were built; and power was sold at cheaper rates. Any town in this region that wanted to set up a municipal distribution plant could buy power from the T.V.A., and the Authority set up its own distribution system in regions where electric power had never penetrated before. All of this could not be done without difficulties. Doubts were cast on the constitutionality of the law. That matter was decided favorably by the Supreme Court. A judicial injunction held up the distribution of power to fourteen towns for a time.

Wendell L. Willkie, president of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, a light and power holding company, together with the heads of six subsidiary corporations, opposed the duplication of their power lines. They said that the government's production of power was all right but it should be sold to private companies for distribution, that it had become an accepted theory for power companies to be monopolies in the section where they operated and for the government to regulate them. They set forth that people had invested in the private companies in good faith and now the government was starting a disastrous competition with them. The government wished to demonstrate that the rates of the private companies to consumers were too high and so the feature of distribution must be retained. The government remained firm despite the disaffection of Arthur Morgan. Willkie then proposed to sell his transmission lines to the government. This was eventually done and the Willkie interests were paid \$78,600,000. The directors of the T.V.A. differed sharply and Arthur Morgan made serious charges against Lilienthal. When Morgan failed to substantiate the charges, President Roosevelt removed him. Although it is too soon to judge the T.V.A. finally, Senator Norris feels that its success is the climax of his life-work, his greatest achievement.

In 1936 Norris was candidate for reelection, probably for the last time,

but it was the first time that it was not under the Republican banner. He entered the campaign as an Independent with the open indorsement of the Democratic national administration. His admiration for Roosevelt is genuine and his gratitude to him for his help in the power controversy is sincere. He even relaxed his old objection to a presidential third term and urged Roosevelt to run again.

Norris has not always seen eye to eye with Roosevelt. He agreed that something should be done to prevent the scrapping of one New-Deal measure after another by a conservative Supreme Court. The remedy, he believed, was not to pack the Court but to require that at least seven out of nine judges agree before an act of Congress may be declared unconstitutional.

Norris is still firm in his opposition to entering war but his old view of strict neutrality has been modified by his antipathy for dictators and their limitations on personal freedom. He favored the repeal of the arms-embargo and the substitution of the "cash and carry" provision in order to deter the dictators from making war. He could not follow the President to the point of favoring conscription. "Compulsory military training," he declared, "can not long prevail in a democratic form of government without leading the government into the realm of dictatorship." Again Congress seemed to him to be becoming the center of hysteria as it had been before we entered the World War.

George W. Norris, the reformer, the true democrat, will be remembered for his great constructive accomplishments. Probably his greatness was best expressed by William Allen White:

In this land no one living has done so much as George W. Norris for his country to change the old habits and set us moving along wise political paths into new ways of strength and light. When one compares what he has really done in his generation and then one stands his achievements up alongside Webster's or Blaine's, who were great figures in their time but who achieved practically nothing, one realizes the solid stature and enduring usefulness of George W. Norris.

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FRANCES PERKINS

by

DUDLEY C. GORDON



HERE is little question as to who is America's most outstanding woman. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt holds that honor without dispute. But the distinction of holding second place, many believe, belongs to Miss Frances Perkins. Some time after her appointment as the first woman to hold a place as Cabinet officer, a national magazine took a poll of 144 newspapers, who voted that the second most outstanding woman was Madame Secretary of Labor. She has continued to hold that position despite the fact that she has sought to avoid publicity.

It is astonishing that most Americans know so little about our country's second most outstanding woman. And what little we know is largely a distortion of the truth. Yet, we can readily find an explanation for our ignorance if we stop to think of the source of our information.

Before proceeding, it might be enlightening if the reader took a moment to recall what he knows of the qualifications and achievements of the person who has held the arduous post of secretary of labor for more than seven and one-half years. He might try jotting them down. Is there a pencil handy? Then go ahead—

Did it take more than a minute to complete the task? If so, the reader is better informed than most Americans on affairs of the day. If it took only half a minute, then the reader should heed what follows. His sense of fair play will urge him to give credit where it is due.

Next, let him ask himself where he obtained his information.

What little most people actually know about the talents and work of Miss Perkins has been gained through an unsympathetic press. It is well known that at least 85 per cent of the newspapers of the country have frequently been opposed to President Roosevelt and his policies—and his Cabinet officers, especially the Secretary of Labor, are as much a target as is the President. Quite unconsciously, the press may have some justification for turning their guns toward Madame Secretary, for if their owners are opposed to the social experiments promulgated by the present administration, when they attack her they are aiming at the initiator of many of the social gains which have been credited to the President.

This is especially true regarding matters relating to labor and social

welfare, for example: child welfare, wages and hours, industrial insurance, workmen's compensation, industrial hygiene and safety, and the National Labor Relations Board. These have been among the chief claimants upon her attention. Instead of replying to attacks in the press, she has been working away at these and a host of other matters which come under her jurisdiction.

Now let us examine the qualifications of Miss Perkins. She is no neophyte in her chosen field. Recognition that she was our second most outstanding woman came after twenty-five years of diligent study of labor and social problems in this country, during which time she became the leading expert in her profession. Her achievements had become so marked that when President Roosevelt was assembling his Cabinet he was willing to overthrow a precedent which had stood for 150 years and invited her to become the first member of her sex to hold a place among the official advisers to the Chief Executive.

President Roosevelt was inaugurated during a time of great social and economic stress and it was highly essential that his Cabinet officers be the most competent authorities available. It was no time to pay political debts. Mr. Roosevelt recognized this and he sought the best-informed expert in social and labor problems in the country. Miss Perkins was that person. No matter if she is a woman, he knew that she would fill the post adequately. Years before, when he was a member of the New York Legislature, he, Robert F. Wagner, and Governor Alfred E. Smith had come to know Miss Perkins. They knew her to be a most efficient director of the State Factory Commission, and they observed her work with the highest approval. So impressed was Governor Smith that he made her a member of the State Industrial Board. She acquitted herself with such distinction at this and other posts that she became the leading authority in her field.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt became governor of New York he appointed Miss Perkins as state industrial commissioner and found she possessed the many qualities necessary for the fulfilling of that trying post. He found her to be resourceful, clever, tactful, and fearless. He discovered too, that she was remarkably patient and had a considerable power of conciliation. This power she had developed earlier while working with Jane Addams at Hull House. She writes:

Miss Addams taught us to take all the elements of the community into conference for the solution of any human problem—the grasping politician, the corner saloon-keeper, the policeman on the beat, the president of the university, the head of the railroad, the labor leader—all coöperating through the latent desire for association which is characteristic of the American genius.

All of these talents recommended her highly later, when she was being



FRANCES PERKINS

considered as a possible secretary of labor. It was these essential qualities, together with her desire for social justice expressed through her advocacy of unemployment-insurance, the abolition of child labor, the five-day week and minimum-wage scale, old-age pensions, vocational guidance and public employment agencies, which undoubtedly made the President ready to welcome her as an adviser who would aid him in leading the country to a happier and more equitable social order.

It is indeed fortunate for labor that one who is so conversant with their needs and problems is to be found among the President's counsellors. She has been known to go among the workers in times of strife in order that she might learn their side of a dispute. She also makes it a point of being available to anyone who has something of value to say about the different aspects of labor difficulties, for she readily believes in humanizing industrial relations.

Miss Perkins gained her experience in the field since graduating from Mount Holyoke in 1902. She first took up teaching and then went to Hull House in Chicago where she was associated with the renowned Jane Addams. She took her master of arts degree in sociology at Columbia in 1910 and then did graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania. About this time she became secretary of the Philadelphia Research and Protective Association and later, the executive secretary of the Consumers' League. For a year, in 1911, she lectured in sociology at Adelphi College in Brooklyn.

The year 1911 was a momentous one in the life of our Secretary of Labor, as it was for the cause of labor over the country. It was then that a horrible experience induced her to make a life-work of the gargantuan task of improving the lot of the worker.

One day while enjoying a cup of tea with a friend in Washington Square, she became an unwilling spectator at one of New York's holocausts in the garment center. In the midst of their visit an alarm brought out the fire-equipment from a near-by station. Miss Perkins followed the engines to a blazing warehouse where she witnessed a sight she can never forget. It was the faces of girls in the windows of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company's sweatshop, in the upper stories of the burning building. There was no escape for them. Fire-escapes were lacking and 146 working girls lost their lives either from burning or by leaping from the windows.

From that moment Miss Perkins was certain as to her mission in life. It would be to fight against the abuses under which laborers suffered. Since then she has been conducting a steady campaign of the education of

employers and employees, of legislators and the general public as to the social and economic values of satisfactory working environments.

The background of Miss Perkins is such that provides few crusaders for the laborer. She was born in Boston on April 10, 1882. Her family were well-to-do New Englanders of English and Scotch ancestry who have been in this country since the days of the "Mayflower." She was married in 1913 to Paul C. Wilson, who later became secretary to Mayor John Purroy Mitchel of New York. They have one daughter.

Anti-Semitic propagandists who have sought to discredit our Secretary of Labor by claiming to hold proof that she is a Jewess have been informed by her as follows, "I am not a Jew, but if I were, I would be proud to acknowledge it."

Miss Perkins has found that the post of secretary of labor is no sine-cure. How could it be when William Green and John L. Lewis frequently acted like a pair of prima donnas as they jealously guarded their rights as leaders of labor against employers who often begrudged labor a more equitable share in their enterprises? There is much to be said in defense of both sides of the controversy, and it is to be expected that it will take considerable time to bring about that harmony which will permit each to receive his due. First, labor will have to learn to use its new-found power with moderation; and second, employers must soon recognize the social advantages of contented workers.

During this period of pulling and hauling between employers and employees, the many bureaus in the Department of Labor have done a prodigious job despite many handicaps. Among these obstacles to an understanding coöperation are laws that were sometimes ill-considered or hastily drawn and which have developed unforeseen angles which will have to be ironed out equitably, and the lack of a properly trained personnel who will administer these laws with consideration for all parties.

The highly publicized National Labor Relations Board is a new machine for the settlement of labor disputes via law and the conference table, rather than by the use of pressure and violence. Of the more than twenty-seven thousand cases brought before the N.L.R.B. during the first five years of its existence, the vast majority were settled out of court. Only eight per cent required the application of the law. As yet, the machine is not running as smoothly as it might. It is still in the breaking-in stage. However, it is doubtless true that historians of these times will record the N.L.R.B. as one of the main achievements of this administration—and of labor, too. Much of the credit for the establishment of the mediation board must be attributed to Miss Perkins, who has long advocated its use.

Because of mutual distrust both employers and employees have feared the introduction of the slow conference method of reaching agreement. Traditionally, they both resorted to "big muscle" demonstrations and have been extremely cautious before adopting more civilized innovations. Gains will be made more rapidly for both sides when results bring a return of confidence.

Another matter which has figured prominently in the anti-administration press has been the charge of Communism against the labor leader, Harry Bridges. In Miss Perkins' attempts to see that his constitutional rights were not denied him, she appointed Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School to hold a hearing to consider the charges against Bridges. The hearing, held in 1939, continued for more than ten weeks. After weighing the evidence produced, Dean Landis found no grounds for deporting the labor leader and Bridges was exonerated.

Madame Secretary, who years ago successfully fought for a fifty-four-hour work week in New York, is elated with the new forty-hour week which permits families of workers to enjoy social and recreational activities previously unattainable. She is also immensely proud of the achievements of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Children's Bureau, and the social service and research-work of the other bureaus under her direction. Especially has she been interested in unemployment-insurance and a federal employment service.

Despite her many duties which often hold her in her office far into the night, Miss Perkins has written many books based upon her ideas or experiences gained in her work. That this vigorous woman in her later fifties possesses a happy combination of charm and forcefulness is attested by magazine articles written about her since she became secretary of labor. A few of their titles reveal her personality as it impressed their authors. They are: "Fearless Frances," "Loquacious Linguist Whom Labor Loves" and "Liberal Politician." That her work is appreciated by her own sex was shown when the American Women's Association awarded her a medal in 1933, "for eminent achievement."

Persons who are really informed upon the work being done by Miss Perkins believe that the country is indeed fortunate in having a secretary of labor who is both understanding and impartial. She has been characterized by them as being "a friend of organized labor and unorganized labor; of wage-earner and employer."

Perhaps the finest tribute that could possibly be made to Miss Perkins was the letter written by Jane Addams to the editor of the *Forum Maga-*

zine at the time the President announced the appointment of the new Secretary of Labor. Miss Addams wrote:

Perhaps no one in the United States is better equipped for the duties of secretary of labor than Frances Perkins, the present industrial commissioner for the State of New York. Her training, from a postgraduate study of economics through years of investigation in factories and mercantile establishments, as well as her long experience in hearing appeal cases under the Workman's Compensation Act, has given her a significant knowledge both of working men and of labor conditions.

During the past three years she has given such intelligent attention to the problems of unemployment that her monthly statements of employment trends have been accepted as authoritative by those deeply concerned for industrial stability. Her appointment would confer distinction and honor upon women throughout the nation.

As secretary of labor, Miss Perkins has made mistakes. She has made mistakes of commission, as might any pioneer. Her mistakes have been made while attempting to solve problems where, often, she was a pathfinder. Today, even her most exacting critic will admit that in many respects the social and labor relations within our borders have improved immensely since she took office. And both employer and employee will agree that society in this country has advanced far beyond conditions reported to have existed in England during the reign of Charles II, as written in an old history of the British Empire as follows:

Of the laboring classes we know little. Four-fifths of them were engaged in agriculture. In Devon, Suffolk, and Essex the highest wages were paid, averaging five shillings a week without food. Those engaged in manufactures earned about six shillings weekly. Children were employed in factories to an immense extent, and were thought fit for work, even by the benevolent, at six years of age.

Yes, we have come a long way, and Frances Perkins, secretary of labor, has been a splendid guide.

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MICHAEL I. PUPIN

by

ALFRED D. FLINN

MICHAEL IDVORSKY PUPIN was born October 4, 1858, in the village of Idvor, province of Banat, Austria Hungary, a Serb by race. This province is a part of Yugoslavia today. To feel the thrill of his experiences, his affection for his noble mother, Olympiada, his loyalty to his race and his adopted country, to learn of his struggles for an education and his achievements as scholar, scientist, engineer, and writer, to absorb somewhat of his fine philosophy, his poetic spirit, and his genial, inspiring personality, one must read his autobiography, *From Immigrant to Inventor*, and *The New Reformation*, his narratives and interpretations of the labors of other scientists. His father was Constantine Pupin.

In 1690, upon the invitation of Emperor Leopold I of Austria, Charneyevich, patriarch of Pech in old Serbia, moved with thirty-five thousand picked families to the north side of the Danube and Sava Rivers to become guardians of the southern borders of the empire against the Turks. To these families a narrow strip of territory was assigned, which came to be known as "the military frontier" of Austria. Idvor was one of the settlements. In 1869 Francis Joseph undermined the loyalty of this freedom-loving race by abrogating the old agreement. This treachery engendered a new nationalism.

From this ancestry and the physical characteristics of the country around his native village Pupin derived his high traits of character, his poetical and philosophical temperament, and his courageous, generous spirit. But how can warrior blood and tradition account for the genial friendliness which characterized "Mike" Pupin to his familiars, from youth up? Reflection replies that the truly brave and high-spirited are also chivalrous, kindly, and loyal.

In Idvor Michael had his first schooling, but his greatest mentor was his wonderful mother. She first revealed to him his mental capacity and inspired him to develop it. When he outgrew the village school, she opened the way to the town of Panchevo, where in a higher school he first learned of the natural sciences. It was Mother again who overcame paternal objection and made possible the long journey to the famous schools of Prague. His natural proclivity to observe and inquire, his boyhood among wholesome natural surroundings, the summer nights under skies flashing

with stars as the young herdsmen guarded from thieves their precious oxen, and the herdsmen's communications one with another by sound signals, were the origins of his interest in sound and light.

The new nationalism of the Serbs of Vovodina imbibed by the young Pupin, brought minor clashes with Magyar and Teutonic oppression that impelled him toward free America. Lincoln was the first American of whom knowledge came to Idvor; he was venerated along with Serbian heroes as a great liberator. From the teacher of science in Panchevo Michael heard of Franklin and his kite and carried home new ideas about lightning and thunder at variance with the myth of Saint Elijah and his car rumbling across the heavens. On the way to Prague he fell in with an American couple, who befriended him. Their courtesy, so greatly in contrast with treatment from other strange peoples in Austria Hungary, strengthened the attraction toward their country. After some unhappy months in Prague, being allured by an advertisement of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company, he converted his few belongings and shipped steerage for New York.

One sunny March morning in 1874 Michael Pupin, a lad of fifteen, walked out of Castle Garden into the streets of the metropolis with the clothes on his back, a red fez on his head and a nickel in his pocket as his total material possessions. His struggle through the hard times following the Panic of 1873 to make a living, learn the language and customs of his new country, and continue his education with the aid of chance acquaintance and Cooper Union, occupied several years. Step by step he won his way upward in earning capacity, in Americanism, in education, and in social connections. Mental capacity, eager desire for broad knowledge and understanding of life, remarkable memory, industry, and sturdy physique were resources of which he made excellent use. In September 1879, he was admitted with high standing to Columbia College in the City of New York.

American college life was a new variety of existence for the young Serb. Cane rushes, competitive athletics, class and college loyalty, brought new conceptions of Americanism. He mastered these lessons so well that muscular strength and skill and his personality won popularity among classmates, and mental achievements gained the commendations of the faculty. He learned to "play the game," in the best American sense of good sport. His fellows rewarded him with the presidency of his class. The faculty graduated him with honors in 1883.

The day before Michael Pupin received his bachelor of arts diploma he obtained his naturalization papers. He contrasts the scenes:



Courtesy of John Fritz Medal Board of Award

MICHAEL I. PUPIN

Two ceremonies which are recorded in my life as red-letter days took place on successive days. The ceremony which made me a citizen of the United States took place in a dingy little office. I received my diploma of bachelor of arts in the famous old Academy of Music. There was nobody present in the naturalization office except myself and a plain little clerk. The graduation ceremonies were presided over by the venerable President Barnard, and the academy was crowded with a distinguished and brilliant audience. One ceremony made me only a bachelor of arts. The other made me a citizen of the United States. Which of the two should have been the more solemn?

Columbia's arts course and its able professors impressed young Pupin deeply:

The study and the contemplation of the ancient civilization of Greece and the new civilization of the Anglo-Saxons, which appealed to me as the two greatest civilizations of human history, made every other study in my college curriculum appear insignificant, although I gained several prizes in the exact sciences, and although I never gave up the idea that my future work would be in the field of science.

Toward the end of Pupin's Senior year, the professor of physics performed the simple experiment with a magnet and a coil of wire that demonstrated Faraday's discovery of electromagnetic induction. "It was the most thrilling physical phenomenon that I had ever seen, and I remained awake almost all night." He sought to understand. He was told, of James Clerk Maxwell, the great Scotch physicist who had lectured at Cambridge University, and he became interested in Maxwell's work. He said:

That was the experiment which helped me to decide a very weighty question. I was much tempted to turn to letters, but the magic experiment which had aroused my dormant enthusiasm for physics, caused me to bid good-by to letters and turn to science, my first love.

Upon the advice of able counselors, he decided to go to Cambridge for postgraduate study.

In June 1883, therefore, Pupin sailed for Glasgow. With only brief stops at Cambridge and a few other places, he hastened to Idvor for the first visit since his departure for Prague eleven years before. His father had died while he was at Prague. That home-going and the weeks of companionship with his wise mother were notable experiences. The summer of 1883 was a happy period.

In October Pupin, now twenty-five years of age, established himself at Cambridge University. Two years at Cambridge brought much greater understanding of mathematical physics and the works of its exponents. He made the personal acquaintance of Tyndall, Lord Rayleigh, and other distinguished British scientists and educators. Appreciation of England and its people also was gained. The summer of 1884 was spent in France mastering the language and acquiring familiarity with the works of French scientists.

Neither Columbia nor Cambridge had given Pupin any experimental research. His work had been in lecture-halls and libraries rather than laboratories. There were then no research laboratories worthy of the name in American educational institutions and but few in Great Britain. He felt keenly the lack and was urged to supply this deficiency. Helmholtz was then the world's outstanding experimental physicist, enjoying unprecedented reputation and influence. With introductions from President Barnard of Columbia College, and from Tyndall, Pupin went to the University of Berlin in October 1885 and began studies and researches in experimental physics under Helmholtz.

His mother's death early in the winter of 1886 brought a profound sorrow. "Twenty-seven years later the Serbian Academy of Sciences announced that the income of a foundation in memory of Olympiada Pupin would be expended annually to assist a goodly number of poor schoolboys in Old Serbia and Macedonia."

Emperor William I died in March 1888. His funeral with impressive ceremonies and processions attracted many visitors to Berlin. Among them was a Columbia classmate of Pupin, A. V. Williams Jackson, who brought his mother and his two sisters. A Berlin associate invited Pupin and these friends to share his balcony affording a fine view of the procession. Pupin thus met the Misses Jackson. He fell in love with Sarah Katharine and decided to act upon his mother's advice to marry an American girl, as he had become a citizen of the United States.

In September 1888 Pupin went to New York, having learned that Columbia College was planning to establish a Department of Electrical Engineering. He was chosen teacher of mathematical physics, to begin his duties in September 1889. Having thus "secured a job," he promptly sailed for London. Here he met Mrs. Jackson and her daughters and was married. Then he returned to Berlin and resumed his research activities under Helmholtz. He received his diploma as a doctor of philosophy in the late spring of 1889. With his bride he arrived in New York in September to establish a home and prepare for his duties at Columbia.

On an April morning in 1896, while lecturing to a class, Professor Pupin suddenly collapsed. A hard struggle with a severe attack of pneumonia ensued. His wife in her care for him also became ill with the same malady and died while he still was in a serious condition. From this double shock he seemed unable to recover either full health or his interest in life and scientific activities.

On medical advice he spent the summer of 1896 in Norfolk, a village among the hills of northwestern Connecticut. Progress was slow until his

physician, a lover of horses, presented him a pair of beautiful young cobs, only partially trained, from the physician's own stud. Boyhood love for horses and experience in training them rekindled an interest in the breast of the convalescent man. Comet and Princess Rose under his loving and skillful training, became prize-winners at the New York and Philadelphia horse-shows of 1897-1898. To Norfolk, with its salubrious air, Dr. Pupin became strongly attached. There he bought a farm and created an establishment, in fulfillment of his dreams, where he spent much of his time.

Those years, 1883 to 1889, during which Pupin pursued his studies and travels abroad, witnessed revolutionary advances in physics and chemistry and the beginnings of the branch of engineering that was devoting itself to the electrical arts, particularly lighting, telephony, power, and transportation. Into these developments Pupin entered with his inborn zest and passion for knowledge and the new methods of approach acquired in Europe.

In the Department of Electrical Engineering at Columbia salaries were pitifully small, equipment meager and ill adapted to real research, but the teaching load heavy, beyond the limits of efficiency. The insignificant structure provided for a laboratory was known among the students as "the cow-shed." Starting with these handicaps, Dr. Pupin made great contributions to idealism in American teaching and pursuit of science and to the winning for science of its proper place in the educational institutions and the industries of our country.

At Boston in the summer of 1890 Dr. Pupin delivered his first lecture before the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, founded in 1884. His subject was "Practical Aspects of Alternating-Current Theory." He became a worker and a leading spirit in the Institute and in numerous other professional and scientific organizations. He had a large share in establishing the Engineering Foundation and in organizing the National Research Council. He was a member of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Mathematical Society, the American Philosophical Society, the American Physical Society; an honorary member of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, the Electrotechnical Society of Germany, and a corresponding member of the Royal Serbian Academy, to mention only his more important national memberships. At various times he was president of the New York Academy of Sciences, the Radio Institute of America, the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and also chairman of the Engineering Foundation.

Dr. Pupin made many contributions to the advancement of the sciences in general and of the new physics, in both theory and application. His principal contributions are summarized in the following paragraphs.

He was the first to produce an X-ray photograph in this country which was employed as a guide for surgical operation. This was in January 1896. At the same time he invented a method of rapid X-ray photography by placing a fluorescent screen between the patient and the photographic plate. This shortened the time of exposure to a fraction of a second, although the X-Ray tube employed was a soft tube. This was in February 1896, when hard X-ray tubes were not available in this country. This method of rapid X-ray photography is now universally employed. In the course of this work he discovered secondary X-ray radiation produced by the impact of primary X-rays upon solid conductors as well as non-conductors. This secondary X-ray radiation is employed today in the study of X-ray spectra.

Electrical resonance, and electrical tuning, and their application to resonance analysis of alternating currents are subjects to which he devoted protracted fundamental study. A patent was granted to him for producing selectivity by tuning electrical circuits of variable inductance and variable capacity. This patent was sold to the American Marconi Company in 1902, and is today one of the foundation pillars of the radio art. The expression "electrical tuning" was first employed by him and has been universally adopted.

He was the first to solve the mathematical problem of electrical transmission over telephone-wires having at periodically recurring points inductance coils. He formulated the rule that such a conductor acts like a uniform conductor for all frequencies for which there are several coils per wave length. The solution of this problem led to the construction of the so-called loaded telephone-conductors; called in Europe, *Lignes Pupinisé*. Such conductors aided by vacuum tube repeaters are now employed in this country as well as in Europe for the purpose of uniting distant centers of population into one telephonic community. Distance is no longer a barrier to telephonic communication. The toroidal coil suitably laminated is employed in the construction of these cables. The problem of this coil was solved by Pupin first. A patent was granted for this type of coil and served as a basis for further development work performed by the Western Electric Company in this country, and by Siemens and Halske in Europe. Without the toroidal coil the loading of telephone cables would have small technical value.

The advisability of rectification in wireless reception was first suggested by Pupin, and the first apparatus capable of producing rectification was his electrolytic rectifier, published in November 1899. Since that time other types of rectifiers, and particularly vacuum tube rectifiers, have been developed, and rectification forms today one of the foundations in the radio

art. It should be observed here that Pupin's electrolytic rectifier entitled him to the broadest claim in radio rectification.

The mathematical theory of artificial lines of every kind, called today "networks," was developed by Pupin and published in 1899. This theory forms the mathematical foundation in the construction of the electrical filters of today.

The negative resistance idea was first suggested by Pupin and a negative resistance was first produced by means of an induction motor running beyond synchronism. He showed that generating such a resistance in a circuit containing inductance, capacity, and resistance, makes the circuit highly resonant, and that in fact continuous electrical oscillations can be produced in this manner. His pupil, E. H. Armstrong, produced this negative resistance by means of a three-electrode vacuum tube, employing what he calls a "feed back." This led him to the invention of the high-frequency vacuum tube oscillator. Patents relating to this negative resistance idea and its applications were obtained by Armstrong and by Pupin, and they were sold to the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company in November 1920.

As a teacher, Professor Pupin was proud of the fact that he had in the course of his academic career Gano Dunn, Robert Andrews Millikan, Irving Langmuir, and Edwin H. Armstrong for pupils.

In recognition of his inventions and discoveries he was awarded six gold medals by various scientific bodies:

The Elliot Cresson Medal of the Franklin Institute;

The Edison Medal of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers;

The Honor Medal of the Radio Institute of America;

The Honor Medal of the Institute of Social Sciences;

The Hebert Prize of the French Academy of Sciences;

The John Fritz Gold Medal, by a board composed of representatives of the four national societies of Civil, Mining and Metallurgical, Mechanical, and Electrical Engineers, with the following citation: "As Scientist, Engineer, Author, Inventor of the Tuning of Oscillating Circuits and the Loading of Telephone-Circuits by Inductance Coils."

Among the honorary degrees conferred upon Dr. Pupin by various colleges and universities were the following: sc.D., Columbia University, 1904; LL.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1915; sc.D., Princeton University, 1924; LL.D., New York University, 1924; sc.D., Belgrade University, Yugoslavia, 1929; sc.D., Prague University, Czechoslovakia, 1929.

He received the George Washington Award of the Western Society of

Engineers, 1928, and decorations of White Lion, Order (II), of Czechoslovakia, 1929, and White Eagle, Order (I), of Yugoslavia, 1930.

On the occasion of the presentation of the John Fritz Medal, January 27, 1932, in the Engineering Societies Building, New York, Dr. Pupin delivered a noteworthy and inspiring address on "The Power Age." His words were full of the deepest philosophy of physical science and the lofty appeal of the finest spirit in mankind. He characterized as essential to man's attainment of the good life, an understanding and practical use of the moving power of heat, the moving power of electricity, and the moving power of love. Each of the three is divine in origin and eternal, but man must utilize the third sincerely in order that he may safely enjoy the former two and the dominion they give over the physical world. This address was published in *Electrical Engineering*, the monthly journal of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, February 1932, and in *Research Narratives* of the Engineering Foundation, March 1, 1932.

During the participation of the United States in the Great War 1917-1918, Dr. Pupin devoted his energies to a number of scientific investigations directed toward aiding our country and its allies, especially devices for detection of submarines. Following the armistice, he spent seven weeks in the consultations accompanying the negotiation of the Treaty of Versailles.

Beginning in 1889 Dr. Pupin was continuously connected with Columbia College and Columbia University until his death. He was successively assistant teacher of electrical engineering, instructor in mathematical physics, adjunct professor of mechanics, professor of electro-mechanics, and, after 1932, professor emeritus in active residence. This last title carried with it full maximum salary for life and was given by Columbia University in recognition of distinguished and long continued academic service. Dr. Pupin's death occurred March 12, 1935.

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JOSEPH T. ROBINSON

by

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN



JOSEPH TAYLOR ROBINSON, United States senator from Arkansas for twenty-four years, and candidate for vice-president in 1928 on the Democratic ticket headed by Alfred E. Smith, spent most of his life in public service. Between sessions of Congress he continued the active practice of his profession, the law, but the greater part of his time after the age of thirty-one was given to the larger field of statesmanship. Counting seven preceding years in the House of Representatives of Arkansas, he held elective offices without interruption from his twenty-fourth year till his death. With the exception of a few weeks, when he was governor of Arkansas, his career developed in legislative bodies. His experience and his personality combined to make him one of the best contemporary American examples of statesmanship in law-making assemblies.

The contrast between the law-making bodies of today and those of the early days of the Republic too often has been exaggerated. It is true that, more and more, policies and measures are determined in committees and that the public sessions of representative chambers are nowadays often devoid of interest and importance. Significant debates which influence public opinion, however, were not as frequent in the old days as is usually assumed by those who contrast our present senators and representatives with Benton, Clay, Calhoun, and Webster. Nor are they altogether lacking today. State legislatures and the national Congress not infrequently debate great public questions on as high a plane as in days of the elder statesmen. Today, as in times past, serious-minded, forceful leaders in these assemblies are forming their own convictions, shaping public opinion and molding the destiny of their country. Among these recent leaders few are more worthy of our consideration than Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas.

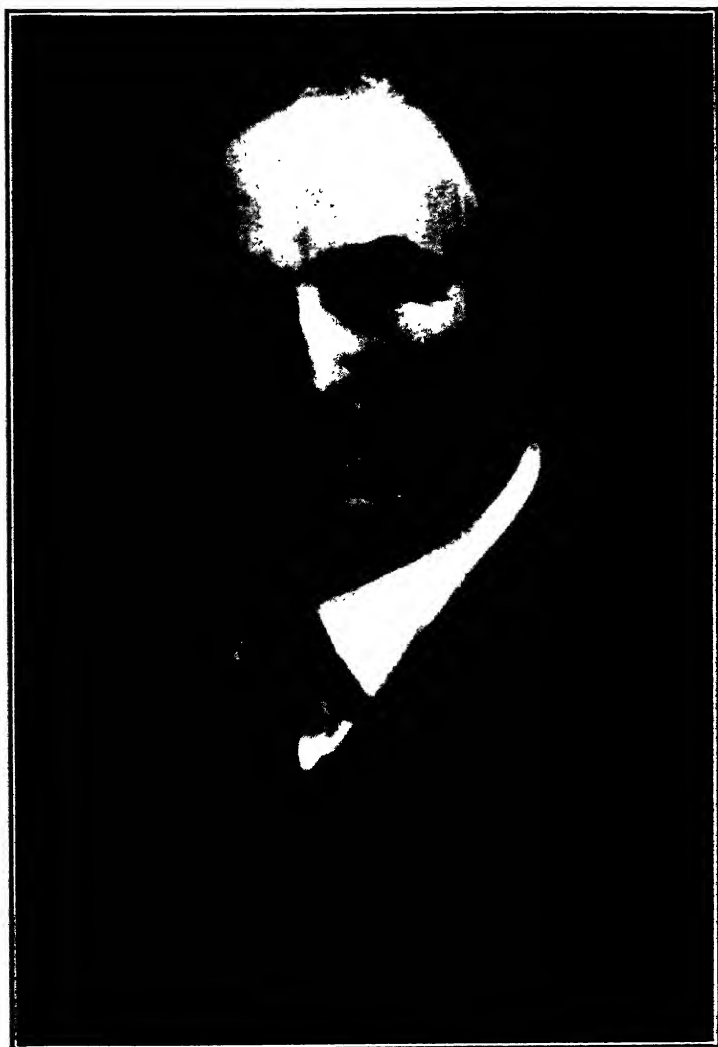
He was born near Lonoke, the county seat of Lonoke County, east of Little Rock, Arkansas, August 26, 1872, the son of James and Matilda Jane (Swaim) Robinson. His father was one of that useful and necessary, but now rapidly disappearing class, the country doctor. The income of this class has never been commensurate with its services, and Dr. James Robinson was no exception to the rule. Young Joe had none of the so-called advantages of wealth. He got his elementary education in a country

school. At seventeen he passed the examination for the county school-teacher's license. He taught a country school for two years and saved enough to start on a college course.

He entered the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville in 1891, a quiet, plainly dressed, hard-working student. Whatever promise of future achievement he there showed was apparent, not in the sports and "side-shows" of college life, but in the steadfastness with which he stuck to the main issue, education through the appointed channel of the college courses. A goal was firmly fixed in his mind, the mastery and the practice of law. The college and the faculty were there to help him; he respected them and worked steadily forward under their direction. In the summer of 1895 he studied law at the most famous of Southern universities, the University of Virginia. The same year he was admitted to the bar of his state and received license to practice. He began at Lonoke, in the firm of Trimble and Robinson. The following year, December 15, 1896, he married Ewilda Gertrude, daughter of Jesse Miller of that town.

Meanwhile, he had begun his political career by winning election (1895) to the House of Representatives of his state. In the course of time he moved to the capital, Little Rock, and made it his home for the rest of his life. There he continued his successful practice of law, eventually becoming a member of the firm of Coleman, Robinson, and House. Perhaps the best known of his cases was the defense of A. B. Banks, president and director of a chain of banks which failed in the depression beginning in 1929. Banks was accused of being an accessory to receiving deposits in institutions which he knew to be insolvent. Public sentiment ran strongly against him. For friendship's sake, and at the risk of sharing the unpopularity of the accused, Senator Robinson volunteered to serve without fee as senior counsel for the defense. His fearless and vigorous defense, did not, indeed, secure the acquittal of his client, but attracted wide attention and added to his already well-established reputation as a leader of the bar.

Robinson served in the General Assembly of Arkansas until 1903. Among the most important measures which he sponsored was the creation of a state railroad commission. In the years 1895-1903 the railroads of the country may be said to have enjoyed, in every sense of the word, a monopoly in transportation. River and canal traffic had declined into insignificance, the electric interurban was just appearing above the horizon at the end of the period, the automobile was yet a curiosity even in large cities, and there were no paved roads outside of towns. Many of those



Shrader Studios, Little Rock, Arkansas

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON

in control of railroad companies took advantage of their monopoly to impose upon investors by selling extravagant issues of stocks and bonds, in popular parlance, "watered stock"; they imposed upon the public by charging excessive rates for both passengers and freight, and upon the government by controlling or defying legislation. A national Interstate Commerce Commission had been in existence for some years, but it was not as yet very effective and it regulated only interstate traffic. Some states were regulating railroads within their boundaries by legislation, some were creating state public service or railroad commissions. Robinson championed the last course as a remedy for existing abuses. He introduced a bill for the creation of a state railroad commission with extensive authority and power to regulate roads within the state. His bill was defeated, but later, with modifications considerably curtailing the powers of the commission, it was passed and unquestionably helped somewhat to solve the problem the state faced in 1895.

In 1902 Robinson was elected representative from his district, the Sixth, in the national House of Representatives. Thus he entered the field of national politics. He was reelected for four succeeding terms, serving from 1903 to 1913, during the Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft administrations. Only in the last two of these ten years did the Democratic party control the House. As a member of the minority, Joe Robinson gradually won recognition for his good judgment in opposing the administration on party lines where such opposition was most effective. Then, and later as a member of the Democratic minority in the Senate, he was vigorous, but not factious nor irresponsible, in his opposition to the majority. He won the respect of the leaders of both parties.

In the House he advocated national legislation to curb child labor and to prevent the domination of industry and business by the "trusts" which were being formed. The Standard Oil Trust, which existed from 1882 to 1892, was replaced in 1899 on a larger scale by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. This quickly attained control of the petroleum business and of its allied products. The billion dollar United States Steel Corporation was incorporated in 1901, also under the laws of New Jersey. These two powerful combinations were followed by others, and the small, independent manufacturers and business men seemed threatened with either extermination or economic serfdom. The Republican party, though it enacted legislation against the "trusts," did not prevent their formation. The Democratic party made opposition to them one of the principal points of its program, and Representative Robinson became one of its spokesmen. By the time Woodrow Wilson was elected president,

however, both parties confined themselves to various forms of regulation. "Big Business" still presents many problems with which no political leadership has dealt to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Throughout his congressional career Robinson fought for reduction of the tariff. The fight against the high protective tariff, however, for long was unavailing, and in 1909, in the first year of Taft's administration, the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act raised many of the rates. This was the turning-point, for it excited general discontent and proved to be one of the chief causes for the election in 1910 of the first Democratic majority in the national House of Representatives since Cleveland's last administration (1893-1897). When, two years afterward, that party won the presidency and both houses of Congress, the Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act reduced the tariff on many articles and put a number of others on the free list. After the World War, however, the tariff was increased. Its subsequent reduction from the high point of the administration of Herbert Hoover, not so much by general tariff laws as by reciprocal trade agreements, had Senator Robinson's hearty support.

Meanwhile, in 1912, he entered the race for election as governor of Arkansas. His campaign was made in advocacy of the reform of state taxation and finance, especially the creation of a budget committee to formulate each year a complete statement of expenditures proposed for the following year and the payment of expenses out of income and not by borrowing. He advocated also a state banking department and a corrupt practice act to insure honest elections. The question of prohibition was then prominent throughout the South. Robinson favored local option, that is, the choice by local units of government between prohibition of the sale of liquor and allowing it. He stated, however, that if a state prohibition law were passed he would sign it.

He won the nomination and the election; on the fourteenth of January, 1913, he resigned his seat in the House of Representatives and on the sixteenth he was inaugurated governor. A prohibition law was passed, and true to his promise Governor Robinson signed it. Little else was done before the death of one of Arkansas's United States senators left a vacancy and the Legislature (which then elected United States senators) chose him (January 28) for the place. He thus had the unique distinction of being a representative, a governor, and a senator all within the same month.

With the Democratic party in full control of the government, Senator Robinson turned to the congenial task of supporting the administration of President Wilson in its comprehensive legislative program. Reduction of

the tariff, the federal reserve system of banking, the income-tax, and the ratification of the constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of United States senators by the voters were among the achievements of President Wilson's first term. In all of them the new senator enjoyed hearty collaboration with his colleagues.

Then came the entanglement of the United States in the World War and with it the enormous expansion of governmental control of business and of our fighting forces. In the former, Senator Robinson was active in the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In the latter, he took a prominent part in the investigation of aviation. Throughout the war he did his full share in maintaining the friendly support of the government by both parties in all the measures taken to support the nations with which the United States was associated and to defeat Germany and her allies. The united loyalty of both the Republican and the Democratic parties reflected great credit upon the former and at the same time was a tribute to the patriotism of the Democratic leaders in refraining from seeking advantage in party strife.

It was a great misfortune that this coöperation was discontinued when victory was at length achieved and peace was to be made. In the election of 1918 President Wilson unwisely appealed for a Democratic Congress; on the other hand, Republican senators under the leadership of Henry Cabot Lodge, took up a bitter personal and factious opposition. The close of the war, therefore, found the United States in an atmosphere unfavorable to the achievement of a satisfactory peace. When the new Congress assembled in 1919 the opposition was strong enough to challenge, and, as the event provided, to defeat the President's program for ratification of the Peace of Versailles and the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations.

Senator Robinson steadfastly supported the plans developed by President Wilson after the armistice to heal the ghastly wounds left by the war and to put the world in the path of peace. As permanent chairman of the Democratic national convention at San Francisco in June 1920, he vigorously attacked the opposition program of the Republican majority in the Senate, the program of a separate peace with Germany, repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles, and refusal to participate in the League of Nations. The chief issue of the presidential campaign of 1920, he said, was whether the United States should contract with other nations to prevent unnecessary wars; whether the waste and sacrifices of unjustifiable conflicts should be superseded by orderly tribunals for the settlement of disputes among nations. If the United States should repudiate

the Treaty and the League of Nations, he went on to say in this stirring speech:

The small nations which obtained their independence through association in the war with the Allies will be overcome by their recent enemies and Europe quickly will collapse into its pre-war condition of oppression and threatened anarchy . . . Our country will incur the distrust and contempt of her former Allies and our people will earn a reputation for selfishness and irresponsibility which will require centuries to counteract. More than all this; the sacrifice of the war will prove worse than useless. Shall this be permitted? Ask the mothers who gave their sons to fight for civilization on the far-stretched battle-fronts in France whether the dead buried beneath the crosses there have fallen in vain. Ask the heroes who staggered back from the front wounded, blinded, hopeless. Ask Almighty God if mankind must forever live in the menace of catastrophes like that through which the world so recently has passed.

Mankind has lived "in the menace of catastrophe" during most of the years since 1920; whether this was due to the defeat of the Democratic party in the election and to the refusal of the United States to join the League of Nations may be a question for debate; but the catastrophe of the second World War which broke out in 1939 is a reality not open to dispute. The conquest by Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia of one after another of the nations of Europe and Asia more than fulfilled Senator Robinson's fears and prophecy.

With the election of President Harding the Democratic party again found itself in the minority in the Senate and the House. In 1923 Senator Robinson succeeded Senator Underwood as floor-leader of his party and chairman of the minority conference. He opposed the administration's Washington Conference Treaties (the "Four-Power" and the "Naval Arms Limitation" Treaties); he consistently advocated American representation in the Permanent Court of International Justice.

International developments have fairly forced themselves on the United States since 1914 and no intelligent American can ignore them. As Senator Robinson rose to national leadership he naturally became more and more interested in international affairs. He went to Europe in 1923 as an American delegate to the Interparliamentary Union, and participated actively in its comprehensive deliberations on the development and the problems of representative assemblies the world over. While abroad he attended sessions of various bodies in the League of Nations at Geneva. His observation of the European situation during this trip, doubtless with the trend of public opinion at home also in mind, led him to the conclusion that for a while, at least, the United States should take no part in European affairs. At a later date he was appointed by President Hoover one of the representatives of the United States at the London Naval Conference. It was a fitting recognition of the place he held in the

minority party of the Senate as its leading authority on foreign relations.

When the Democratic national convention in 1928 nominated Alfred E. Smith for the presidency, geographical and political considerations made "Joe" Robinson a most "available" candidate for the vice-presidency. His great personal popularity and his recognized ability, as well as the position which he then took upon prohibition and foreign relations, led to his enthusiastic nomination for that office. Back in 1900 he had been one of Arkansas's presidential electors and had been chosen electoral messenger to take the vote of the state for William Jennings Bryan to Congress. Now his name, along with that of the head of the ticket, appeared on the ballot which his state sent to Washington. But, in spite of the large popular vote for the Democratic candidates, the majority of the ballots were cast for Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis; Senator Robinson, as indeed he had expected, continued his career in Congress.

Though a native and a lifelong resident of a region which constitutes a well-defined section of the United States, the Senator from Arkansas, throughout his career, displayed little leaning toward sectionalism. His convictions doubtless were influenced by those of his associates, but he was not the kind of man to be either governed or blinded by prejudice. An occasion which brought this quality to the attention of the country was his address, "Lincoln—a Tribute from the South," delivered in 1914 at Springfield, Illinois, before the Lincoln Centennial Association. This group, organized on the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the man who made that city famous, has invited each year distinguished men to address it on the twelfth of February. One of the first speakers thus invited from the South was Senator Joseph T. Robinson. He there expressed the attitude of the open-eyed and broad-minded men who have grown up in the South since the Civil War toward slavery and toward the Great Emancipator:

On his own responsibility, after having attempted to determine in advance the social and political questions which freedom to the slaves would bring to the South, Mr. Lincoln acted without hesitation, and vindicated his claim to greatness. In no other way could slavery have been abolished. In no other way could the present glory of the South have been made possible . . .

I have said that the South unanimously honors the memory of Mr. Lincoln because of his generosity and magnanimity in the hour of its desolation. There is yet another greater reason. Emancipation was far more necessary to the section immediately afflicted with slavery than any other. If slavery had continued, it would have made the poor white man's condition intolerable. It fostered an aristocracy of landowners, excluded the poor white man from opportunities of profitable labor, and barred to him the avenues of progress. At the outbreak of the war the total number of slave-owners in the United States did not exceed 374,000. The remaining millions that constituted the white population of the South were compelled to earn their living by competition with slave

labor. Aside from the idleness and arrogance which slavery cultivated, it created social and industrial conditions among the whites repugnant to free institutions and inconsistent with the constitutional standard of personal liberty.

In this same address Senator Robinson revealed one of the sources of his leadership in assemblies in his power to stir the imagination and the emotions of men through his insight into human nature and through his own obviously genuine sympathy with the subject of his appeal. No one could better sense or more eloquently express the essence of Lincoln's greatness than this visitor from the South:

His great heart followed the Union armies through disasters to final victory; out to where the grey lines dashed against the blue; where hearts throbbed like drum-beats; where battle-clouds obscured the sun by day and flashing swords and glittering bayonets paled the gleam of stars by night; out to where the ranks closed above the fallen, where many a brave soldier sank to his last sleep charmed by dream melodies of childhood, lullabies that sounded above the clamor of conflict like hallelujahs of the redeemed above the noise of Hell!

May never again such a trial come to any man. May never again such strife disturb our land. If in the future it shall come, may there be found another who will use his power as resolutely, yet as mercifully as then did Abraham Lincoln . . .

Abraham Lincoln belongs in the select company of the world's renowned. Centuries of alternating progress and decline, social upheavals, industrial earthquakes and political revolutions may pile their dust about him. They can not entomb him. Mankind is his debtor. His deeds will endure.

The strenuous life Senator Robinson led, and the responsibilities which were put upon him, required vigorous health and endurance. These he had in abundant measure. Slightly above average size, well-muscled and solidly built, he carried himself splendidly as one conscious of power. A strong, penetrating, yet pleasant voice afforded a fine vehicle for his convincing debate and his stately oratory. His strong, clear-cut features gave one the impression of seriousness, yet also of freedom from anxiety. And, indeed, he took life, and particularly public questions, seriously. His gift for politics did not lie in persiflage nor in the substitution of genial personalities for convictions. He was more often a fighter than an entertainer.

Outdoor activities contributed to his health and kept him youthful in appearance and carriage. He was an inveterate and an excellent golfer; he fished in almost every place in the country where fishing was good; and he seldom passed a year without a long hunting-trip, usually a duck hunt. He had a claim, also, to a grouse-shooting championship in Scotland. It is obvious that sport with him was not a prescribed medical regimen, but a love of sport for its own sake.

The great amount of important legislation proposed during the first administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt and in the first months of the second made the position of the majority-leader of the Senate difficult

and exacting. It finally overtaxed the rugged constitution of Senator Robinson. In 1937, shortly after President Roosevelt's inauguration for his second term, the proposal to change the number and limit the terms of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States brought on a desperate struggle in Congress, especially in the Senate. The session continued into July in weather hot even for Washington at that time of the year. Fighting a losing battle for the President's proposal, Senator Robinson on July 14 suffered a heart attack. His sudden death removed from the political scene as sturdy and as loyal a statesman as any who labored at guiding the United States through the generation of the World War.

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JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER JR.

by

THEODORE O. WEDEL

THE name of Rockefeller has become a symbol in the modern world. What Alexander the Great represents in the age of conquest, or Napoleon in the era of great soldiers, or Louis XIV in the time of gilded thrones, John D. Rockefeller is in our age of "Big Business," the representative man of the billionaire era. To be the richest man in the world! The very thought conjures up before youthful minds pictures of pleasure palaces, of yachts and Monte Carlo, of the limitless romance of spending money. To men and women of an earlier generation concentrated wealth such as that symbolized by the Rockefeller name meant not merely romance but a real or fancied danger to the state and to society. It meant power over the necessities of life, a power which seemed to be stronger than parliaments and presidents, and which was to be feared like that of pirates and buccaneers.

Yet a study of the Rockefeller dynasty as it survives to our own day presents anything but a picture either of romance or of danger to the commonwealth. John D. Rockefeller Sr. was for years a harmless retired business man, going happily on his way toward being a hundred years old, engaged in planting trees on his estates, playing golf, and giving away dimes to casual strangers. John D. Rockefeller Jr. reigns in his stead. And in place of a man enjoying a spendthrift fortune, we meet an ordinary citizen in his sixties, at work eight hours a day in an office, burdened as honestly by the cares of wealth as a laboring man might be by the cares of poverty.

A civilization not yet ready to turn communist may, indeed, be grateful that its representative millionaire presents a study in disillusionment. He illustrates the truth that the mere possession of riches is not of itself romantic, nor does it have an inevitable ethical meaning. A man of wealth can become either a saint or a villain. He can be bored with life or feel the burden of fate like the rest of us. "I did not pick this job," is Mr. Rockefeller's own verdict on his place in society. To see wealth through a veil of illusion is as silly as to sentimentalize the supposed virtues of poverty. A remark of Samuel Johnson, wise man of the eighteenth century, is worth remembering. Boswell, his companion on a visit to a nobleman's estate, after marvelling at the beauty of park and manorhouse, had expressed the natural thought of an observer, "One should think that the proprietor of all this *must* be happy." "Nay, sir," said Johnson, "all this

excludes but one evil—poverty.” John D. Rockefeller, the elder, in a passage in his *Random Reminiscences*, speaks of wealth in a similar fashion:

The mere expenditure of money for things, so I am told by those who profess to know, soon palls upon one. The novelty of being able to purchase anything one wants soon passes, because what people most seek can not be bought with money. Those rich men we read about in the newspapers can not get personal returns beyond a well-defined limit for their expenditures. They can not gratify the pleasures of the palate beyond very moderate bounds, since they can not purchase a good digestion; they can not lavish very much money on fine raiment for themselves or their families without suffering from public ridicule; and in their homes they can not go much beyond the comforts of the less wealthy without involving them in more pain than pleasure. As I study wealthy men, I can see but one way in which they can secure a real equivalent for money spent, and that is to cultivate a taste for giving where the money may produce an effect which will be a lasting gratification.

It may, however, be due to Mr. Rockefeller Jr. more than to his father that our generation is ready to accept such a sentiment from its greatest multimillionaire almost at its face value.

Certain it is that when, on January 29, 1874, John D. Rockefeller Jr. was born, the Rockefeller name was not a symbol of a bored and benevolent bank-balance. The Rockefeller fortune was just beginning to be made. Standard Oil was a lusty young corporation, glorying in its youth, and walking in the sight of its own eyes, and not yet come to judgment. The story of its rise to monopolistic power over the oil world, of the war of words and of lawyers which ensued, of the evils it did and the triumphs it enjoyed, can not be told here. This particular part of the Rockefeller saga is romantic, if you like, a tale of war, with Mr. Rockefeller, the elder, exhibiting a soldier's virtues of magnanimity and honor as well as a soldier's ruthlessness in actual battle. The American people, for a time, hated him and elected Theodore Roosevelt president in order to destroy him. Anyone reading the fearsome tale as our fathers tell it, can not avoid noting the contrast between popular hatred then and calm indifference now. It is noteworthy that neither father nor son thought it necessary to admit to a mood of repentance. The nearest the father ever came to a mild confession was to allude to the business code of the age. He replied to his accusers, in effect, in the words of the French deputy: "So intense was the corruption that even I did not altogether escape."

What the younger Mr. Rockefeller's attitude toward the ethics of his father's business career is we do not know. His own life has been lived, fortunately for him, on a different plane. The home in Cleveland, Ohio, into which he was born, never, indeed, had contact with the big wars of 26 Broadway. It was a stern, puritanical home. Both father and mother were members of the Baptist Church and practiced a Bible religion in the family as well as the meeting-house. The elder Mr. Rockefeller's reading



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JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER JR.

was limited largely to the newspaper, the Bible, and a volume of sermons. The son, youngest born in a family including three daughters, had a serious unbringing. Pennies were carefully watched; allowance money was strictly rationed. The elder Rockefeller made of the pocket-ledgers figuring in his own early struggles in the business world a precious family possession, exhibiting them to children and grandchildren as an example of the way to get on in the world. Account-books appear, in fact, in the story of the Rockefellers, down to the third and fourth generation, as a mild obsession. The young John, certainly, was taught to balance his books. For violin practice he was given five cents an hour. Working on the Cleveland estate, he received, as did other laboring men, fifteen cents an hour, the current rate. The education of children of wealth in the use of money is probably not easy at best. In the Rockefeller home, clearly, it did not produce spend-thrifts. "There were other children," says Mr. Rockefeller Jr. himself, "who had a great deal more than we had. Particularly we felt that we were in a terrible plight as compared with some of our cousins."

These are evidences of the strange laws of compensation at work in connection with the supposed advantages of great wealth. The average American can be accused of living beyond his income, of spending his energies in "keeping up with the Joneses." The Rockefeller family has striven for the opposite goal, and has found an equal difficulty in achieving simplicity. Mr. Rockefeller Jr. boasts, for example, of buying neckties on Sixth Avenue rather than on Fifth, and accuses some of his laboring men of insisting on clothes made by a tailor while he himself is content, on occasion, with a suit taken down from a shelf. He permits an interviewer to relate an incident of his school-days:

I received a regular allowance for clothes of \$100 a month. It happened that I was thrifty and I had a liking for faithful garments. I recall that a shiny coat I obstinately wore caused amused comment from my fellow students, but I stuck to it, not through any principle that one who could afford more should set an example by using less, but simply because I liked the coat. I mention this to illustrate a point. I believe the proper rearing of children is more difficult for the very rich than for the more moderately circumstanced.

One may refer in this connection to another of his quoted sayings: "The secret of sensible living, of the sane solution of all problems, whether personal or group problems, is simplicity."

Simplicity is, in fact, a notable characteristic of Mr. Rockefeller, both as a boy and as a man. He has been remarkably successful in achieving a reputation for modesty and even for humility. One evidence of this is the fact that the story of his private life can be briefly told and is quite devoid of lurid or exciting detail. He attended a private school in New York City, his father having moved from Cleveland to a house on Fifty-

fourth Street. At nineteen he entered Brown University. He proved to be a student interested in the serious activities of the college, particularly on the side of religion, enough of a scholar to win election to Phi Beta Kappa. At Providence, too, he met the future Mrs. Rockefeller, a daughter of Senator Aldrich, Abby Greene Aldrich. Their marriage took place in 1901.

Life after college was for him foreordained, apprenticeship and then ruling as master in his father's office at 26 Broadway. His role as billionaire executive, to be sure, was different from that of his father. Since 1911 Mr. Rockefeller Sr. gradually withdrew from active business and then passed away on May 23, 1937, at the age of ninety-eight. Some seven hundred fifty million dollars have been turned over to the various benevolent organizations now famous under the Rockefeller name throughout the world. The portion retained by the family as private wealth may still be worth a billion, and Mr. Rockefeller Jr. is, of course, as a holder of stocks, an important capitalist. The responsibilities which he directly assumes, however, are largely limited to the management of the great benevolent trusts. He is now in command of the family fortune, and has continued its tradition of wise giving. His own interest in benevolence, instead of finding its sole outlet in the great philanthropic machines founded by his father, has taken an interesting turn toward architecture. Monuments in stone all over the world bear his name—the League of Nations Library at Geneva, the International House at Columbia University, and another at Berkeley, California, the Library of the University of Tokio, Rheims Cathedral, and the historic town of Williamsburg, Virginia.

Mr. Rockefeller lives at 10 West Fifty-fourth Street, in outward habit not distinguishable from scores of the humdrum business men of the city. His is a personality of dignified self-effacement. He does not even emulate his father's colorful appearances on the golf-course. His knowledge of golf, self-confessedly, is slight, consisting in the ability to hit the ball once in ten times, in waiting until a lost ball stops rolling before picking it up, and in wearing a snappy golf suit rather than a gymnasium costume. He anticipates playing a pretty good game eventually, if his money holds out! His family life is one of passionately guarded privacy, one, too, which echoes the Puritanism of his youth. Amusements are not proscribed—Mr. Rockefeller himself enjoys dancing—but they are watched over by the law of measure. The children of Mr. and Mrs. Rockefeller are John Davison III, Nelson Aldrich, Mrs. Abby Rockefeller Milton, Lawrence S., Winthrop, and David.

Among the characteristics of Mr. Rockefeller none is more notable than his continued interest in religion. Few incidents in his otherwise quiet career created more of a sensation than his appearance in the family church,

the Fifth Avenue Baptist, in the role of leader of its Bible class. The inevitable notoriety caused some difficulties, none of which, however, spoiled the impression of utter sincerity made upon his hearers. In recent years Mr. Rockefeller has identified himself very definitely with the liberal or Modernist wing of the Baptist communion, and has been instrumental particularly in giving wide influence to the ministry of Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick. The new church on Riverside Drive, where Dr. Fosdick is pastor, was built largely through the help of the Rockefeller family.

Mr. Rockefeller's talks before his Bible class have been extensively reported, and for a plain reason. The philosophy of the richest man in the world may not be novel or profound when compared with the polished opinions of genius, but it is obviously important. It may directly concern the destiny of millions of his fellow citizens as even the most brilliant thinking of a college professor does not. The mere fact that a billionaire teaches in a Sunday-school is a fact which may some day startle a historian. To realize its significance one could echo, though apologizing for any implied irreverence, Samuel Johnson's humorous opinion of a woman's preaching: "Sir, a woman's preaching is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all." The surprise in connection with Mr. Rockefeller is increased by the discovery that he does perform his task with pedagogic success. His religious teaching avoids doctrine or a conscious wrestling with the doubtful doom of humankind. It is sane and sensible and preaches the humanitarian, nonmystical code of liberal Protestantism. Mr. Rockefeller does not talk much about God, but a good deal about the utility of a virtuous and sober life in this world. "My idea of religion," so he summarizes his creed, "consists in love for one's fellow men as exemplified in the life of Christ on earth. Nothing else is of vital importance." This note on the practical runs through most of his remarks.

He has a firm belief in the value of work, accomplished by Christian men practicing the qualities of industry, perseverance, and absolute honesty. He believes that it is possible to accumulate wealth honestly, that it is criminal to devote wealth to improper uses. He believes in the value of Christian service, in religion lived as consistently on work-days as it is talked about on Sundays, in the fundamental order of the universe, and in the justice of God, who will right the evils of the world.

In one or two of his remarks Mr. Rockefeller reveals the fact that his philosophy of doing good to others does not ignore the harsher aspects of the economic law. Like Carnegie and other millionaires who are products of our American struggle for existence and perhaps idealize it for its tonic moral effect, Mr. Rockefeller, despite his usual praise of Christian love, may

not desire a state of society in which ruthlessness is altogether banished. He is at least quoted as saying: "The growth of 'Big Business' is merely the survival of the fittest." During a Sunday's discussion of the story of Joseph, again, he lauds the hero for his acceptance of a cruel social system: "He (Joseph) cheerfully accepted his lot as the will of God and tried to be as good a slave as he knew how. That is a side of Joseph's character that we would do well to emulate." In spite of the irony of listening to a homily on the meekness of poverty by a billionaire, I am inclined to admire his consistent individualism, for keeping separate the "things of God" and the "things of Caesar." It is the sentimentality lurking in his humanitarianism that is of more doubtful honesty, however sincerely held. The questions he leaves unanswered concern the difficulty of bridging the gap between a ruthless law of commerce and the brotherly love of the Gospels. But Mr. Rockefeller does not pretend to be a finished thinker. His modesty always offers him a safe retreat. Before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations he was once asked a subtle question of political theory. "I am not a student of government," replied Mr. Rockefeller.

On some of the practical problems of moral conduct his remarks are full of homely wisdom. It is worth noting that he has stood ready to soften the Puritanism of his family background. In spite of his mother's early belief that dancing did more harm than good to the youth of the country, he feels that it is an amusement that is beneficial and good when practiced with friends in a proper environment and with healthy and happy thoughts.

Mr. Rockefeller's influence as an advocate of religion rests, after all, more upon his example than his precepts. The like is true of his effect upon the moral codes of the market-place. He has, it is true, in the field of economics appeared full-fledged as an author. His volume of essays and addresses, *The Personal Relation in Industry*, is a very competent discussion of the human problems concerned in reconciling Labor and Capital. Whatever be their theoretical importance, however, it is during the two or three times when Mr. Rockefeller has dramatically put them into practice that he has stood in the lime-light. The writing of his series of essays was occasioned by his own experiences as defendant before the bar of public opinion. The story begins in 1914, when a strike among the coal-mines of Colorado led to serious warfare between operators and representatives of the labor-unions. Mr. Rockefeller Jr. held controlling interest in the coal companies. Blood was shed, and the bitterness of the miners resulted in a vilification of the "black" Rockefellers, in picketing 26 Broadway, and in attempting the assassination of Mr. Rockefeller Jr. himself. A government commission investigated. Mr. Rockefeller spent three days on the witness-stand. He

admitted frankly that he had trusted perhaps too candidly the testimony of his officials, and accepted the challenge to investigate the facts for himself. His characteristic humility won him popular esteem. One of the chief agitators of labor revolt, a woman known as Mother Jones, was, for the moment at least, quite won over by Mr. Rockefeller's open-mindedness. She testified after an interview: "I'd misjudged that young man sadly. I called him a high-class burglar. I told him so this afternoon. I said, 'Mr. Rockefeller, my name for you has been "the high-class burglar."' He laughed, and I must say he took it good-naturedly." Mr. Rockefeller Jr. lived up to his promise to learn at first hand something of the laboring man's point of view. He spent three weeks in Colorado, mingling with the men in mine and mess-room, dancing with their wives and enjoying the thrill of camaraderie. One result of his tour of education was the forming of arbitration committees, so-called "republics of labor," which permit management and workers to meet in a friendly fashion.

Most of the essays in his book were written in defense of this particular conception of industrial democracy, and his theories have stood the test of experience better than many other attempted remedies. The Colorado mines successfully weathered the labor disputes of 1928. Without going into the technical details of his scheme, it can be said that Mr. Rockefeller believes in the "human touch" in business, that Labor and Capital are partners, that the representatives of both sides must meet as men, "reproducing as far as possible the earlier contact between owner and employee." Mr. Rockefeller even rises to eloquence in expounding his altruistic idealism:

Never was there such an opportunity as exists today for the industrial leader with clear vision and broad sympathy . . . Future generations will rise and call those men blessed who have the courage of their conviction, a proper appreciation of the value of human life as contrasted with material gain, and who, imbued with the spirit of brotherhood, will lay hold of the great opportunity for leadership which is open to them today.

Mr. Rockefeller Jr. figured again in the news as a champion of the moral law in business. Colonel R. W. Stewart, chairman of the Board of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, had refused to testify frankly before the Senate Committee investigating the Teapot Dome oil scandals. Mr. Rockefeller had repeatedly urged Colonel Stewart to tell what he knew. When his advice was not followed, Mr. Rockefeller, though only a minority stockholder in the Company, launched a campaign to oust Colonel Stewart from control of the Company and won his fight. With rare exceptions, representatives of public opinion all over the nation hailed Mr. Rockefeller's militant stand as worthy of great praise, coming as it did from within the world of "Big Business" itself rather than merely from pious editors viewing the corruption from without. His own words, commenting on his responsibilities as a capitalist are worth quoting:

I am a stockholder in many corporations, and I am desirous always of using my influence in the support of able and trustworthy management, and I am prepared at any time to withdraw support from management that no longer justifies the confidence that has been put in it. As a stockholder in any company I want no profit derived from compromise with right. I want no officer in any company in which I own stock, whether he be high or low or an employee, to do anything that I myself would not be willing to do.

Idealization of Mr. Rockefeller Jr. is not necessary for an appreciation of the distinguished place he holds in the modern world. He has been called by a competent critic "the most liberal-minded of all the greater multi-millionaires." One can see in his career how important a single individual can be in maintaining an entire social system. Great wealth has always been a symbol of power, and a fear of power has always characterized democracies. Yet, in our own day, with society in turmoil, there is undoubtedly less terror of great wealth than existed forty years ago. At the time when the great Rockefeller foundations of benevolence were established, they were branded by many as dangers to society and as mere bulwarks behind which predatory wealth could continue a subtle warfare upon society. The charters under which these foundations operate have not been altered, and they could still become instruments of oppression in a class struggle, yet the fear of an earlier generation strikes us as strange. The reason for this change of opinion can perhaps be traced back to the integrity of character of the man who is crowned with the Rockefeller name. Sentimental political thinking is always concerned with reforming systems rather than with the personalities of those who manage the systems. Yet individual character counts for more than the makers and destroyers of systems realize. Our era of billionaires need not fear the assaults of the demagogue provided that the billionaires are good men, obeying the ancient slogan of chivalry, *noblesse oblige*, and concerning themselves with their duties instead of their privileges. For those who understand the true import of the words, it is a sufficient characterization of Mr. Rockefeller Jr. to call him a Christian gentleman.

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WILL ROGERS

by

WILLIAM ALLEN HUGGARD

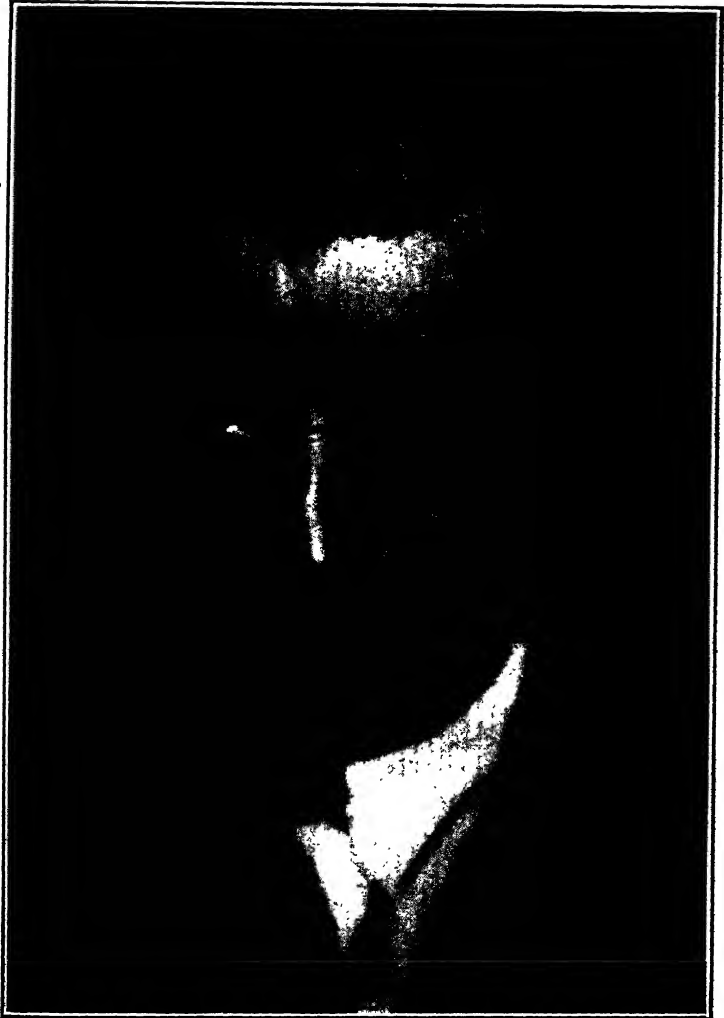
WILL ROGERS used to say that he wanted the inscription on his tombstone to state that he had joked about all the prominent people of his time, but had never met a person whom he disliked. He was proud of that fact and could hardly wait to die, he would add, so that it might be carved. Nothing could better reveal the genial spirit which was the distinguishing trait in his personality. Sometimes the comic mask conceals an embittered face. But underneath the humor of this man there was no misanthropic, cynical view of life. His wit was not the artificial costume of the professional clown; it was the spontaneous overflowing of his nature, and because it was so genuine, it won for him wide esteem and affection. When word of his death came on an August morning in 1935, there were millions of Americans who experienced a sense of bereavement almost personal. For Will Rogers had not only become a widely known national character; to many who read his sayings he seemed very nearly a personal friend.

Will Rogers was a symbol of one of our cherished American traditions—the tradition of the American boy completing the journey from log cabin to White House, or, at the least, from obscurity to prominence in our national life. Though not born into abject poverty, or at a time when the hardships of the frontier were most severe, he nevertheless lacked the aristocratic family background and the fortunate environment of the New England Cabots and Lowells; he had to lift himself by his own boot-straps in the self-reliant manner of the frontiersman. Both his father, Clem Rogers, a cattleman and local judge in the Indian Territory, and his mother, Mary Schrimpsheer, were of part Cherokee Indian descent. The mother, a sweet-souled Methodist, hoped that Will might become a minister of the gospel, not knowing that he was destined to become a minister of good will. It was on November 4, 1879, that their son was born in the ranch house which they had but newly built on the side of the Verdigris River, near the present town of Claremore, Oklahoma. Will was the seventh and last addition to the Rogers family, and in honor of William Penn Adair, a Cherokee friend of Clem Rogers, he was given the unwieldy name of William Penn Adair Rogers. He later challenged "literary fellows" to beat that name.

His early years were those of the lad who prefers the instruction of the out-of-doors to the lessons learned in school. If his frontier neighborhood offered no majestic lakes and mountains like those which aroused the genius of young Wordsworth, he found pleasure in bending saplings, in riding his pony, and in practicing with his lariat. Sometimes there was the excitement of a prairie fire, and often there were the ghost stories of Rab Rogers, Clem's former slave. As the boy listened to these tales, perhaps he unknowingly absorbed lessons in story-telling which later in life served him well. When he was seven years old, his meagre formal schooling was begun in the Drumgoole school, near the present village of Chelsea. It was twelve miles from the Rogers ranch, but Will enjoyed riding his pony to and from the school, and liked to show off the new saddle which his father had bought for him. His part-Cherokee teacher, Miss McCoy, presided over a brood composed mostly of poverty-stricken, full-blooded Cherokees. Will Rogers' lifelong sympathy for the unfortunate was illustrated by the concern which he felt for his little schoolmates. One day he persuaded his mother to send the teacher cloth for girls' dresses, and he often shared his own well-filled lunch-box with those whose rations were scanty. Later he attended the Harrell Institute at Muskogee; the Willie Hassell School at Neosho, Missouri; and Kemper Military Academy at Boonville, Missouri. But his indebtedness to these institutions was small in comparison with what he owed to the instructions of life outside the school and to his native abilities. Speaking of his life at Kemper, he later said that he spent two years there—one in the fourth grade and one in the guard-house. In 1898 he left Kemper without finishing the year and found work on a ranch in the Texas panhandle.

After four years of varied experiences as hired cowhand, as manager of his father's ranch, and as contestant for steer-roping prizes at the rodeos so popular in the cattle-country, Will Rogers, then twenty-two, set out for adventures in the Argentine, arriving there after a journey by way of England, in May 1902. His professed purpose was to observe the cattle-ranches of that country, but we may suspect that he was moved also by the adventurous youth's desire to see the world. Finding it difficult for an American hand to compete with native labor for work on the Argentine ranches, and reaching the end of his store of money, he fell back upon the classic expedient of poor but resourceful travelers. He secured passage on a cattleboat bound for Port Natal, Africa, exchanging his labor for transportation.

Soon after reaching port, he joined an American wild-west show, in



Courtesy of Fox Film

WILL ROGERS

which he was dubbed "The Cherokee Kid." While with this troupe, he rode bucking bronchos, did roping stunts, and took Negro parts in thrilling melodramas. Later in life he perceived that this experience in showmanship had been a valuable one. From his boss, an American called Texas Jack, he learned how to make a mediocre act seem interesting to the audience; and, most important of all, he discovered the great secret of getting off the stage in time—of stopping when the audience wanted more. He applied this lesson in the art of brevity years later, when he wrote his syndicated daily "box" containing only four or five witty sentences which never wearied the reader. The show took him from South Africa to New Zealand and Australia. He returned to America in 1904. He had been around the world. But he came back so "broke" that his friends accused him of wearing overalls for underpants.

Showmanship was now in his blood, and he did not wish to settle down as an Oklahoma rancher. He was spoiled for such a life and preferred to do his cowboy act before an audience. He was therefore glad to sign up with Jack Mulhall's wild-west show, which performed at the World's Fair at St. Louis in 1904, and the following year at Madison Square Garden in New York. At one of these performances a steer broke through the railing and charged the frightened crowd, but Rogers' lariat zipped through the air and caught the animal over the head before it could injure anyone. The next day he was proclaimed a hero by the New York press; and when Mulhall's show finished its New York run, he decided to stay in the city where he had won his first small measure of fame.

For the next several years he worked in small-time vaudeville, but achieved no great success until he learned to accompany his lariat tricks with those sage, drawling comments which struck the people's fancy and later made him a national character. It was one night in the year 1912 that he discovered his gold-mine. He was to lasso a pony as it ran before the footlights. But he missed! Apparently talking only to himself, he drawled sadly, "Wal, if he'd a' stuck out his tongue, I'd sho' enough caught him." The applause revealed to him his richest resource and led him to include a monologue in his routine. From 1914 to 1919 he played with Ziegfeld's Follies, and it was here that he developed his skill in making witty yet penetrating remarks on some person or event of national interest. One night, when the nation was thinking of Henry Ford's "peace-ship," which had sailed for Europe for the purpose of getting the boys out of the trenches by Christmas, Will twirled his lariat and let fly the opinion that if Ford would fire his diplomats and hire the

Follies girls, he could not only get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas; he could have the Kaiser, Lloyd-George, and Clemenceau shooting craps for the head of the line to the stage-door. This was the beginning of his career as a philosopher for the masses.

But in 1919, when Will Rogers left the Follies to make a moving picture for Samuel Goldwyn, he was not yet a national character. It was through his work on the screen and his writings during the decade following 1919 that the Oklahoma cowboy became known to the millions. He entered upon his movie career with a characteristically modest wisecrack. He said that Goldwyn sent for him when he decided to make fewer and worse pictures. The first was *Laughing Bill Hyde*, adapted from Rex Beach's novel. Then came *Almost a Husband*, *Two Wagons—Both Covered*, *The Headless Horseman*, and *A Texas Steer*. These early Rogers pictures, all silent films, were not deemed outstanding by movie critics. Yet they must have proved attractive to the movie fans and profitable to the producer, who would probably not otherwise have continued them.

When the talking picture arrived, it was the perfect vehicle for spreading abroad Will Rogers' witty drawl, and hence bringing him into the national consciousness. In 1929 *They Had To See Paris* was a big hit and made him a number-one movie star. Later, he appeared in films which many still recall with pleasure: *So This is London*, *The Connecticut Yankee*, *David Harum*, and *Judge Priest*. Though he always asserted that he was no actor, he had the actor's supreme gift, the ability to project a character so that it seemed real. And this was especially true of those scenes in which he was called upon to lay aside the comic role and adopt a serious tone. He could then with beautiful simplicity strike a deep emotional chord. As the director, Frank Borzage, expressed it, Will Rogers was a great comedian because he could make audiences forget that he *was* a comedian whenever he was called upon to portray the deeper human emotions. At the time of his death, he was under contract to make ten additional pictures, three of which had been completed: *Steamboat Round the Bend*, *Doubting Thomas*, and *In Old Kentucky*.

Besides acting in the movies, Will Rogers had a brief experience in the legitimate drama. Before audiences on the West coast, he played the leading role in Eugene O'Neill's *Ah, Wilderness*. Despite the fact that critics were enthusiastic about his performance as the father, a role in which George M. Cohan had starred, he cut short his engagement upon receipt of a letter from a clergyman who objected to the scene in which

the father advises his wayward son. He said that if the scene struck even one person as objectionable, he could not say the lines again—not even to himself. In this action he revealed the cleanliness which was an integral part of his nature. He never cared for that notoriety which may be secured by appealing to unrefined tastes.

Though untimely death ended a brilliant movie career, it is unlikely that his fame as a movie star could have been anything but transient. But as a writer he seems to be assured of a more permanent place among the notable men of America. He wrote, not unworthily, in the tradition of Artemus Ward, Bill Nye, and Mark Twain, and it is difficult to imagine that he will be denied recognition as one of the best of the American humorists. *The Cowboy Philosopher on the Peace Conference* was the first of a series of books in which playfully, but with an undercurrent of serious thought, he discussed some aspect of contemporary history or some human foible. In those days when there was hope of a warless world, he was astute enough to perceive that the Peace Conference after the World War was a sham; and he pointed out that the peace covenant states that there shall be no more war, but also tells where to get ammunition in case there is one. In *The Cowboy Philosopher on Prohibition*, he poked fun at the national hypocrisy of prohibition, though personally he was an abstainer. *Rogerisms—What We Laugh At* discusses his philosophy of humor.

Perhaps the cleverest of his books is *The Illiterate Digest*. This is a collection of comic sketches on miscellaneous topics—from a defense of tipping one's soup-plate to how to tell a butler from a gentleman. As regards soup, he concluded that the great problem for many people is not how to eat it, but how to get it. Having examined Emily Post's seven hundred pages, he wrote: "You wouldn't think there was that much Etiquette, would you!" He learned that the butler's suit, unlike the gentleman's, has no braid on its trousers, but a perplexity remained: "Now, all I got to do is find out how to tell the Gentleman." In such comments he illustrated his talent for deflating the idols of a society which cares more for appearances than for realities. His wit was deadly to all sham and pretense.

Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President contains sage observations on conditions in post-war Europe. Arriving in London in the midst of the great general strike, he was impressed by its lack of violence in comparison with American conflicts between Capital and Labor, and said that it should be called "A Temporary 'Cession' of Employment without Monetary Consideration for an Indefinite Period, Without Ani-

mosity or Hostile Design." His opinion was that not even an American League umpire could have called it a strike. In Rome he observed that, while everybody wanted to see where Saint Peter was buried, nobody wanted to live like him. He neatly summarized the attitude of Europe toward America by writing that in Europe it was open season for grouse and American tourists, the former being put out of their misery by shooting. He perceived the difficulties of disarmament among countries with inherited hatreds, and made the then astounding statement that Germany was the real winner of the World War. Altogether, this book is more than pleasant comedy; it is also a collection of sharp observations.

He continued the role of a shrewd innocent abroad in *There's Not a Bathing-Suit in Russia and Other Bare Facts*. That perennial comic material, operations, is the subject of *Ether and Me*. In these works Will Rogers' weakness and strength as a writer of humor are apparent. He could not, or at least he did not, construct the broad canvases of Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*; his creative effort was not sustained on a single piece of material. Rather, his genius was for the epigram. Like sparks from a rapidly turning wheel, his wit flashed in every direction—now here, now there. His books are therefore not artistic units; however, they are collections of witty fragments, each one of which might be lifted from its context without loss of its vitality. In brief, cogent witticisms, Will Rogers was a master workman, for through them his personality, a blend of the humorist and sage, could find freest expression.

The daily column was his *forte*, and in it he achieved his greatest success as a writer. Appropriately, this feature which so happily combined humor with substantial thought had its beginning in the sober New York Times. While in London in the year 1926, he cabled the following message to the editor:

Nancy Astor, which is the nom de plume of Lady Astor, is arriving on your side about now. She is the best friend America has here. Please ask my friend, Jimmy Walker, to have New York take good care of her. She is the only one over here that don't throw rocks at American tourists.

This was published over his signature in the July 30 issue, and placed in a favorable position, though not on the front page. It was the first of a series that continued until August 15, 1935. His last column was dispatched from Alaska, where he had seen the difficulties confronting the government's resettlement colony at Matanuska Valley, and had written that pioneering for spinach is very different from pioneering for gold. Through the McNaught Syndicate the columns were published

in more than five hundred newspapers, and were probably circulated more widely than any other newspaper feature in the world.

Some day these wisely comic sayings should be collected into a book. Such a volume could stand with the best works of American humor; moreover, it could be a valuable reference book for future American historians. Will Rogers' columns were always timely, and hence would afford insights into American social history from 1926 to 1935. The sayings of this cowboy philosopher could illuminate a past decade better than dates and bare facts ever could. As Mark Twain left a record of the American frontier in his books, *Life on the Mississippi* and *Roughing It*, so Will Rogers has, in a different manner, recorded the life of a later time. His claim on posterity's remembrance is based on something more substantial than the shallow wise-crack. It would be a real loss if his columns should suffer the fate of the newspaper feature which flashes into sudden popularity but falls as quickly into oblivion.

When Will Rogers left Seattle in August 1935, and began an airplane journey around the world with Wiley Post, he had become one of the most famous men in the country. To his laurels as actor and columnist he had added the fame derived from speaking over the radio and from the lecture-platform. "As Will Rogers says"—these were words heard frequently when Americans talked with one another. He was our national Aesop. But at the height of his remarkable success death came with startling abruptness. Near Point Barrow, Alaska, the plane crashed, observed only by a few natives who could throw no clear light on the reason for the tragedy. When word reached the August 17 issues of the newspapers, the nation's sorrow was illustrated by the tributes spoken in Congress and by thousands of plain citizens. It was proposed that Will Rogers be given burial in our national cemetery at Arlington, but he would have been glad that it was decided not to break the precedent of burying only military heroes there. The sincere sorrow of the American people would have seemed to him a sufficient memorial.

As one surveys his career, from its lowly beginnings to its dramatic end, it appears that Will Rogers was great not only for what he did but for what he was. His services in provoking the smile that leads to thought were invaluable, for if it is to keep its sanity and poise, a nation needs the comic spirit which flowered so abundantly in him. A democracy like ours must have its comic muse to jest at our follies and keep us from equating geese with swans. Will Rogers, child of the democratic frontier, did this remedial work admirably. But he was really greater than anything he said or did. Behind Will Rogers, the actor, writer,

and speaker, there was Will Rogers, the man. He was devoted to his family, generous and sympathetic with the needy, kind in his dealings with everyone.

In this rough-hewn American the soul of the gentleman found an abode. This is the testimony of those who knew him best and the still more indisputable testimony of the many actions in which he revealed the nature of his inmost self. Let one example suffice: While appearing in Indianapolis for a lecture engagement, he found time to visit the James Whitcomb Riley Hospital for crippled children. He walked through the wards with a greeting and joke for each little patient, bringing to each the gift of his good cheer and sincere affection. A few hours later he received a small lariat, covered with flowers. He placed it carefully in his satchel and said he would keep it—always. The richly human spirit of Will Rogers was at once the source and the essence of his greatness.

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ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

by

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE



shy, solemn child, whose old-fashioned ways led her family to give her the nickname "Granny," but who grew up to be one of the most dynamic and vital people in the public eye—this is the story of Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt was born in New York City on October 11, 1884, the daughter of Elliott and Anna Hall Roosevelt. From both sides of her family she inherited a tradition rich in the history not only of the Hudson Valley, but of the entire United States. Her mother's ancestors included a number of old New York families—the Livingstons, the Clarksons, and the De Peysters—a group whose recognition of an obligation to those less fortunate than they was as much a part of a rigid conventional pattern as the exclusion in social relationships of all but the "right" people and the pursuit of proper cultural interests. Her father's family had also long enjoyed prestige and wealth, an old Dutch family which several centuries before had settled in the Hudson Valley. Her father's brother, Theodore Roosevelt, had brought the family into national prominence through his active and colorful political career.

Eleanor's childhood was not, from her own account, a particularly happy one. When she was eight years old her mother died, and less than two years later her father, to whom she had been particularly devoted, also died. Perhaps because of these early tragedies, she was very close to her younger brother Hall, whom she continued to mother until both were grown up. After her mother's death she went to live with her grandmother, Mrs. Valentine G. Hall, at Tivoli-on-the-Hudson, not far from Poughkeepsie, New York.

Until the time that she was fifteen, Eleanor Roosevelt was educated primarily by private tutors and governesses and consequently enjoyed little companionship with children her own age. For a short while, when she was five years old, she was sent to a convent in France to learn French, but this was apparently her only youthful contact with formal schools. When she was fifteen, however, she was sent to England to finish her education at Mlle. Souvestre's school, Allenswood, not far from London. The three years spent at this school were of great influence in Eleanor Roosevelt's life, for not only did she enjoy for the first time the intimate contact with her contemporaries which is so integral a part of boarding-school life, but she came under the strong influence of Mlle. Souvestre. In company with the

remarkable headmistress, she travelled widely on the continent, and further broadened her outlook by vacation visits to English relatives and French friends.

After three years at school, Eleanor Roosevelt returned to America to take up the social life which her family position dictated. Although she made no formal debut, her name was included among those being presented to society, and she devoted the year to the social duties and pleasures incidental to a young girl's "coming-out." By the next year, 1903, however, the purely social life had begun to pall, and she began to evince an interest in social service, which, in its broadest sense, has been an abiding and dominating influence in her life. As a member of the Junior League, she taught calisthenics and fancy dancing to a class of small children at the Rivington Street Settlement House. It was in this year, too, that, through her interest in the Consumers' League, she became aware of the terrible working conditions then prevalent in garment factories and workshops. Visits in Washington at the home of her aunt, Mrs. William Sheffield Cowles, gave her her first introduction to the world of politics—an introduction which was made more interesting and colorful by the fact that her uncle, Theodore Roosevelt, was then president of the United States.

On March 17, 1905, she was married to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a distant cousin, whom she had known since childhood. According to her own account, the bride and groom were completely outshadowed in the eyes of the guests by the presence of Theodore Roosevelt, who had come from the White House to give the bride away. While her husband finished law school and established himself in the profession of law, Mrs. Roosevelt devoted herself to home-making, social duties, and the problems of raising a large family. The Roosevelts were the parents of six children, one of whom, the first Franklin Junior, died in infancy. The other five are Anna Eleanor, born May 3, 1906; James, born December 28, 1907; Elliott, born September 23, 1910; Franklin Junior, born August 14, 1914; and John, born March 16, 1916. During the early years of their marriage, the Roosevelts made their home in New York, spending considerable time also at Hyde Park, Dutchess County, New York, and Campobello, New Brunswick.

In 1910 Mrs. Roosevelt began her practical education as a politician and a politician's wife, for in that year Franklin Delano Roosevelt was nominated by the Democratic party and elected to the New York State Senate. Two years later she went to her first Democratic national convention where her husband worked diligently to bring about the nomination of Woodrow Wilson.

In April 1913 his services were rewarded by an appointment as assistant

secretary of the Navy, and in the autumn of that year Mrs. Roosevelt took up the arduous social duties expected of Washington officialdom. New experiences came also with official tours for naval inspection and with representing the government at the San Francisco Fair of 1915. With the declaration of war in 1917, Mrs. Roosevelt took an active part in various efforts, including the Red Cross and the Navy League. After the armistice Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt went to Europe where he was empowered to wind up Navy affairs in connection with the war.

In 1920 the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt as vice-president on the Democratic ticket gave Mrs. Roosevelt her first taste of campaigning for a national office. She went with her husband and a party of Democratic leaders on a four-week campaign trip which took them as far west as Colorado.

With the election of Warren G. Harding on a "return to normalcy" platform, the Roosevelts returned for the time being to private life, and Mrs. Roosevelt was free once again to take up her interest in social problems for which official duties had left little time. At this time she was induced to assume an active role in the efforts of the League of Women Voters, taking charge of reports on national legislation and traveling extensively through the state in the interest of welfare and labor legislation. Charities such as the Bryson Day-Nursery also attracted her support, and in 1921 she became a member of the Women's Trade-Union League.

Although many people believed that the Democratic defeat in 1920 had marked finis to the political career of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, events were to prove these prophets wrong. Partly in an effort to reawaken her husband's interest in politics after his illness of infantile paralysis, Mrs. Roosevelt consented to aid in raising funds for the women's division of the Democratic state committee, of which she soon became finance chairman. This marked her first real personal experience in practical politics. In 1924 she worked to further the presidential ambitions of Alfred E. Smith, and when he lost the Democratic nomination to John W. Davis, she aided in Smith's successful campaign for reelection as governor of New York State. During Smith's campaign for the presidency in 1928, she was again active, serving as chairman of the women's advisory committee of the national Democratic convention. With her husband's election as governor of New York State in the same year, she relinquished most of her active personal connections with politics to take up her arduous duties as "First Lady" of the Empire State.

Mrs. Roosevelt's political interests have continued, though sometimes in a restricted form, even during her husband's active official life. In 1934 she headed the finance committee for and gave a number of speeches sup-

porting the campaign of Mrs. Caroline O'Day as United States representative-at-large from New York. She has accompanied Mr. Roosevelt on campaign tours, though she has made it a policy to remain in the background on these occasions. Similarly in her regular press conferences, inaugurated in 1933, she has tabooed political comments. But since 1933 she has been an effective if unofficial political force. On her wide travels, which she estimated totalled one hundred fifteen thousand miles in three years, she has acted as the President's "eyes and ears," reporting on the working of new policies, and on public reaction to the Democratic program.

Not all of her interest was taken up by politics during these years. In 1925, in coöperation with three other women, Mrs. O'Day, Miss Nancy Cook, and Miss Marion Dickerman, she established the Val-Kill furniture-shop at Hyde Park, New York. The workers at Val-Kill produce hand-made reproductions and adaptations of early American furniture. Profits of this highly successful venture are divided among the craftsmen. Mrs. Roosevelt has brought the shop a great deal of publicity by sponsoring its regular sales and writing of its activities. In 1936 the four associates turned over control of the Val-Kill project to Otto Berg, the chief cabinet-maker, but she continued to lend it the prestige of her support.

Mrs. Roosevelt's cultural interests are broad. Although she is not herself a musician, she has a keen appreciation for that form of art. Typically she has expressed this enthusiasm in constructive effort. She aided in the fund-raising campaign of the New York Philharmonic Society in 1934 and of the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington the following year, when she was also an honorary sponsor of the Metropolitan Opera Guild. She is an omnivorous reader, sandwiching wide reading into her comparatively few leisure moments. Reading aloud, she discloses in her accounts of her days, is one of the pastimes of her family. In spite of a very active life she has found time to do considerable writing herself. In 1933 she undertook with her daughter Anna the editorship of a Bernarr Macfadden periodical entitled *Babies Just Babies*. In that year, too, she began to conduct a question and answer column in the *Woman's Home Companion*. Beginning in 1936 she has written a daily column entitled "My Day," which has appeared in a large number of metropolitan daily newspapers under the supervision of the United Features Syndicate. For many years she has contributed articles on a wide variety of subjects to magazines.

Mrs. Roosevelt is also the author of a number of books. In 1932 she published *When You Grow Up to Vote*, and three years later, *A Trip to Washington with Bobby and Betty*. She also wrote a book, *This Troubled World*. An informal autobiography, *This Is My Story*, which appeared first in the form of a series of magazine articles, and was brought out as a

book in 1937, carries the account of her life up to the time of her husband's election as governor of New York State in 1928. *My Days*, published in 1938, made available in book form the informal reminiscences and reactions to important and unimportant daily happenings and problems, which had appeared in her newspaper column. In 1933, in writing a series of essays entitled *It's Up to the Women*, she brought before her feminine readers the challenge which the depression offered and suggested ways in which they might meet this challenge. In 1932 she edited some of her father's letters under the title *Hunting Big Game in the Eighties*.

Her long-standing interest in education also found practical outlet. In 1927 an old friend, Miss Marion Dickerman, who had been vice-principal of a private grade and high school for girls, the Todhunter School, on East Eightieth Street in New York City, had an opportunity to buy the school. Mrs. Roosevelt aided in the purchase of the institution and became its vice-principal. She also taught classes in literature, history, and government. In addition to the informal discussion groups which she led, Mrs. Roosevelt took her students to see for themselves how the government worked—visiting, among other places, the New York State Legislature, Ellis Island, and a police line-up. She continued her teaching at Todhunter even after Franklin Roosevelt was elected governor, returning from Albany to meet her classes. This proved impossible after he became president of the United States, but Mrs. Roosevelt retained a keen interest in the school, returning in the autumn of 1933 to give a series of lectures on government, and at later times to deliver commencement addresses.

Mrs. Roosevelt's activity in connection with the Todhunter School was but a tangible evidence of her belief in the function of private schools. Although believing firmly in the necessity and efficiency of public education, she has expressed her conviction that private institutions, because they cater to a smaller and more selected group, justify their existence by pioneering in education, evolving and testing new and progressive techniques, which may, if proved practicable, be adapted to the larger classrooms of the public schools.

Perhaps the dominating feature of Mrs. Roosevelt's public life and thought as expressed in her speeches and writings has been her keen sympathy and understanding for the problems of the under-privileged—whether they be poor in economic goods, in physical health, or in opportunity for self-expression. Interest in the problems of young people has been a natural result of her quick sympathy. She has been an outspoken advocate of the child labor amendment—a cause in which she met the opposition of her son James. She has been a firm supporter of the National Youth Administration which enabled young people to go on in school, who might other-

wise have been forced to go to work. She has been a friendly sponsor of the Girl Scouts and the Camp-fire Girls, urging the members of these organizations to guard democracy and preserve peace. The American Youth Congress, too, met her warm support in spite of the opposition of those who felt that this group was too radical to merit the approval of the President's wife.

Because of Franklin Roosevelt's illness, she has been particularly interested in the rehabilitation of children and young people who have suffered from infantile paralysis. The President's birthday balls, held annually to raise funds to combat and aid in the cure of infantile paralysis, have received her support. When in 1934 she was given the Gimbel Philadelphia achievement award, she asked that the check be sent to Warm Springs, Georgia, the place which has received much publicity as a paralysis sanitarium because of Mr. Roosevelt's interest and visits there.

The tragedies of the Spanish Civil War and the invasion of Finland found her as always ready to help. She "adopted" two refugee children, one Spanish, the other Finnish, assuming financial responsibility for their welfare, and she has served as patroness to charity functions in behalf of refugee children. In 1939 when she was presented the \$1,000 Humanitarian Award of the Order of Eastern Star, she asked that it be turned over to the American Friends Service Committee for its work among the children stricken by the war. To this Committee also went the proceeds of a number of her commercial radio broadcasts.

In regard to the problems of women, she has also been a consistent liberal. Although she calls herself a feminist, she is not in favor of equal rights for women, but on the contrary believes firmly in the necessity of protective legislation. She was an early advocate of a minimum-wage law for women. In an attempt to insure better working conditions for women workers, she urged the purchasing public to avoid buying clothes made in sweatshops. When the National Recovery Administration was established, she welcomed the gains which it represented not only for women workers but for labor in general. This enthusiasm led to her assumption of the chairmanship of the advisory committee of the National Blue Eagle garment-label campaign. The depression brought forth arguments that married women should give up jobs to make way for single women in industry, and against such a policy Mrs. Roosevelt vehemently protested. Not only did she oppose the exclusion of married women from employment as a possible economic injustice, but she argued further:

That point of view is perhaps necessary during an emergency and it may be necessary for a woman to relinquish voluntarily her work if the man is earning enough for the family to live on, but as a permanent concession to the needs of society I rebel, for it seems to me that we have built up our nation on the theory

that work is honorable; that those who can do something creative and productive may be doing some intangible good to their own souls, which, if they were not allowed to express themselves in work, might mean a loss to themselves in enrichment of personality, and in their happiness, and therefore, in the end, a loss to the community at large.¹

Although she has been particularly interested in the economic problems of women, she has not confined her efforts at economic betterment to her own sex. A firm believer in the democratic way of life, Mrs. Roosevelt has recognized that a degree of economic security is a necessary preliminary to an effective democracy. Consequently she has approved Mr. Roosevelt's recovery program, which has had as its basic aim the attainment of economic security for the mass of the people. She has taken considerable interest in the Works Progress Administration, urging the public to consider the W.P.A. as a constructive program of work rather than purely of relief. She has inspected a number of government housing projects, and been an advocate of rural resettlement. Her interest in a government-sponsored furniture factory at Reedsville, Virginia, continued in spite of the disapproval of competing business interests. Although she has supported the recovery efforts of her husband's administration, she has insisted that the basic problem should not be forgotten:

We curtail production to keep up prices, which is necessary as a temporary expedient. But we are so busy doing that and meeting the emergency, that we don't seem to have time to think of the greater problem of distribution, which will allow us greater production and more well-being for a greater number of people.²

Negroes also have found her an ardent advocate of a liberal attitude toward the problems of their race. Pleas for racial tolerance have been frequent in her addresses, radio speeches, and writings. The federal Anti-Lynching bill she supported as a means of bettering the position of Negroes. In 1939 when the Daughters of the American Revolution, which she had joined in 1933, refused the famous Negro contralto, Marian Anderson, permission to sing in their Washington auditorium, Mrs. Roosevelt resigned from the organization in protest. So conspicuous has her championship of the Negro been that in 1940 she was cited for her services in improving race relations by the New York Public Library and Negro Life and History Study Association.

Mrs. Roosevelt has often described herself as a pacifist. She has frequently taken part in the annual conferences on the Cause and Cure of War. At one of these conferences she urged the adherence of the United States to the World Court as a means of assuring peace. Government ownership of munitions plants, she believed, would be an effective aid toward reaching the great goal. As a pacifist she announced in 1936 her opposition

¹Roosevelt, Anna Eleanor. *It's Up to the Women*, N.Y., 1933, pp. 149 f.

²Roosevelt, Anna Eleanor. *My Days*, N.Y., 1938, p. 186.

to compulsory military training in civil schools. In that same year she undertook a lecture-tour in the cause of peace. Mrs. Roosevelt's pacifism is not, however, of the completely non-resistant variety. Rather she believes:

There seems no question to me that being a pacifist means that you do not seek a fight, that you use every means in your power to prevent a fight, and that this includes giving all the assistance you possibly can, short of military assistance, to other nations who are honestly trying to keep out of war. It also means you do not try to impose your opinions on other people or force them to grant you anything they do not wish to grant. But if war comes to your own country, then even pacifists, it seems to me, must stand up and fight for their beliefs.³

According to her own definition Mrs. Roosevelt has been a consistent pacifist, for she has vehemently denounced aggressor nations in the past few years, condemning German and Italian intervention in Spain, Russian aggression in Finland, and Germany's war program.

Basic in Mrs. Roosevelt's pacifism and in her championship of underprivileged groups, wherever they may be found, are her profound beliefs in the essential dignity of human life and an all-pervading confidence in democracy. On this subject she says:

More nearly than any other form of government the democratic form has allowed people to share in their own government. While important leaders have arisen here and there, still, on the whole, the control has been in the hands of the majority of the people.

That, it seems to me, is more truly in keeping with the fundamental desires of the people, who are groping for something which will give them security from war and from want, and a chance to work out their little happiness.⁴

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FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT TO 1933¹

by

DEXTER PERKINS

THE two dominant figures in the Democratic party in New York State during the last two decades present a variety of interesting contrasts. One of them, Alfred E. Smith, was born in modest circumstances, was entirely self-educated, made his way up the political ladder step by step, and while achieving success of a high order, failed of the greatest of the prizes to which he aspired, the presidency of the United States. The other, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was the son of well-to-do parents, received an expensive private school and university education, passed from a relatively brief apprenticeship in politics into the Wilson administration, came back into the governorship after eight years in private life, and has now stepped from that office into the highest in the land. A few years ago Smith would doubtless have seemed the saltier and the more important personality; today the man who is president of the United States must challenge the interest and attention of every citizen.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born in New York City on January 30, 1882. On both sides he belongs to families of means and station. He was brought up on his father's farm at Hyde Park, was educated privately in his earlier years, and went to Groton School when he was fourteen years old. From there he passed to Harvard College, where he graduated in 1904. In college he showed those qualities of friendliness and sociability which still characterize him, and he played an active role as the editor of the college paper. It seems not improbable, moreover, that the example of his namesake and relative in the White House at the time that he graduated, fired him with that interest in the public service which was to direct his career. His enthusiasm for the Navy, and for naval history, is also a point of similarity with his famous cousin, Theodore Roosevelt, who wrote a history of the War of 1812 only shortly after completing his college education.

Unlike Theodore, however, Franklin Roosevelt did not enter politics immediately after his graduation. He went, instead, to the Columbia Law School, and prepared himself for the practice of law. In 1907 he entered the firm of Carter, Ledyard, and Milburn, taking a special interest at the beginning of his work in admiralty cases.

¹An interpretation written in 1933.

The opening of his political career comes with his attendance on the state Democratic convention in Rochester in 1910. There is no reason to believe that he had any influential role there, of course; but after the convention he accepted the nomination for the state Senate from his own district, then strongly Republican. A banner Democratic year was 1910 throughout the country; an immense party upset was in progress; in New York State scandals in the state Legislature had weakened the Republican position; and the young Roosevelt, with his vigor, his energy, his agreeable personality, was rewarded for an intensive campaign with victory at the polls.

The session of the Legislature which followed was a most interesting and dramatic one, and found the new senator in opposition to Tammany Hall, and, incidentally, on the other side of the fence from that increasingly important Tammany man, Alfred E. Smith. It was necessary to elect a senator to succeed Chauncey M. Depew. Charles F. Murphy, the leader of the Hall, had picked one William Sheehan, a man of ability, but a politician of the old school, and as many thought, too close to certain corporate interests. Roosevelt put himself at the head of a small group of Democratic legislators who opposed this selection. With his supporters he refused to enter a caucus to consider the Democratic choice, and put forward a candidate of his own in Edward M. Shephard. For ten weeks the Legislature was in deadlock. But the young insurgent leader held on, and after a long struggle Murphy compromised, and a respectable, if not brilliant, senator was elected in the person of James A. O'Gorman. The political battle at Albany had attracted wide attention, and probably advanced the cause of direct election of United States senators, a change which was brought about with the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913.

Roosevelt's term in the Senate lasted for two years. In the course of it he played a role of some importance in the preconvention campaign which nominated Woodrow Wilson for the presidency. From the time of the inauguration of Wilson as governor, Roosevelt believed that the Jersey man was the logical person to carry the Democratic standard in the campaign of 1912. Late in the fall of 1911 he made a visit to Trenton, coming back more convinced than ever. He organized the Wilson strength in New York, and though not able to go to the Baltimore convention as a delegate, carried on a vigorous propaganda there in favor of his presidential choice. In the elections of that year, he was himself reelected state senator, though unable to make a serious campaign on account of an attack of scarlet fever.

The identification of Roosevelt with the Wilson cause meant that he was almost certain to be called to take some part in the new administration.



Photo by United States Army Signal Corps

· FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

He had met Josephus Daniels at the nominating convention, and when the new President chose Daniels as his secretary of the Navy, Daniels in his turn invited the rising young New Yorker to accept the post of assistant secretary. This post had been filled by his famous cousin less than two decades before.

The choice was very decidedly a happy one. Roosevelt was *persona grata* to the naval men themselves; he was in close relations with his chief; and he knew how to get on with the politicians at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. He was an excellent administrator, a man of ideas with the capacity for carrying them out. Always sensitive to the currents of public opinion, and at this time decidedly a strong Navy man, he played a not unimportant part in the preparedness campaign. When the entry of America into the World War came about in 1917, he redoubled his energies, and made a really excellent record. He cut administrative red tape ruthlessly, even going so far as to authorize large expenditures before Congress had voted the money. He had a large part in a project which many naval men pooh-poohed vigorously, the erection of the North Sea barrage against the German submarines. He went to Europe in 1918 to discuss matters with the Allied leaders, and he was present for a time at the Versailles Conference. He became an ardent supporter of the policies of President Wilson.

At the San Francisco convention of 1920 Roosevelt figured along with his friend and rival, Alfred E. Smith. In 1918 Charles F. Murphy, always practical and anxious to secure a candidate with strength up-state, had offered Roosevelt the nomination for governor. The offer had been refused, with the suggestion that Alfred E. Smith was the man to pick. Murphy acted upon this suggestion, Smith was nominated and, by a close vote, elected. He soon impressed the people of New York with his character and capacity, and at the convention of 1920 he was the favorite son of his own state. Roosevelt seconded his nomination for the presidency. In return Smith, after losing the presidential nomination, made one of the seconding speeches when the vice-presidential nomination went to the popular Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

The campaign that followed was a hopeless one. The accumulated grievances and burdens of the war were sure to lead to a political reaction. The election of the Republican candidate, Warren G. Harding, was almost certain. Yet Mr. Roosevelt made a vigorous campaign and over a thousand speeches, ardently supporting the cause of the League of Nations.

The next year came a great personal trial. A person of abounding health and physical vigor, Franklin Roosevelt was stricken with infantile paralysis. The possibility of complete inactivity for the rest of his life stared him in

the injunction in labor disputes, and many others. A still more striking demonstration of his attitude was seen in 1931 when New York, of all the states in the Union, led the way in dealing with the problem of public relief. A special increase in taxation was brought about to provide for relief, and the Legislature of 1932 submitted to the people a proposition for a bond issue to bring about further aid. Roosevelt appointed a remarkably able nonpartisan commission to administer these funds.

Another feature of his work as governor was his interest in agriculture. His most important achievement in this regard was his lightening in some degree of the burdens of farm-taxation. He travelled through the rural districts of the state, seeking contacts, and informing himself as to conditions. By skillful publicity his interest in these problems was made widely known, and had not a little to do with the interest in him which began to develop in the West.

Roosevelt was naturally renominated in 1930. He had undoubtedly grown in strength in his two years of office, and he now assumed a forthright wet position on the Eighteenth Amendment, a step undoubtedly wise from the political point of view. When the votes were counted, he was found to have won by over seven hundred thousand plurality, and actually to have carried up-state New York, usually Republican plurality, by over one hundred fifty thousand. His plurality in New York City exceeded that of Alfred E. Smith, the idol of Manhattan, in any of his candidacies.

Mr. Roosevelt's reelection in 1930 by such an overwhelming majority naturally made him a serious contender for the presidential nomination in 1932. He was, in fact, superbly available. His name itself was a national asset; his heroic struggle against disease made him attractive to many persons; he was strong in the state of the Union which has the largest number of votes in the electoral college; but more important than any of these things, he was sufficiently liberal in his outlook to appeal to the West, while his associations with the Warm Springs Foundation and his frequent visits to Georgia endeared him to the South. No other candidate had so broad a national appeal. In addition, Roosevelt soon discovered a remarkable political manager in the man he made chairman of the state committee, James A. Farley. No shrewder or more astute organizer has ever conducted a prenomination or a presidential campaign than this trained politician. In 1931 he embarked upon a tour of the West lining up support for his chief. By the time the convention met, already a majority of the delegates had been secured, and the only candidate who formed the spear-head of an important opposition, in the sense of commanding a large number of instructed delegates, was Alfred E. Smith. Thus the two friends of 1920 and 1924 were brought into dramatic conflict with one another.

In the face of the growing Roosevelt strength, Mr. Smith had long hesitated as to what his course should be. It was clear that he hoped for the nomination once more in 1932, and that there were certain sections of the country, notably the Northeast, in which he commanded wide-spread and enthusiastic support, yet he long delayed an actual announcement of his candidacy. When it did come, it was in the nature of the case accompanied by more or less veiled attacks on the Governor. Equally naturally, Mr. Smith's support came from the more conservative sections of the Democratic party.

A serious factional struggle might have resulted. But confronted with the best opportunity of victory since 1912, such a struggle was precisely what most leading Democrats were anxious to avoid. Accordingly, since it had been demonstrated from the opening roll-call that Mr. Roosevelt had much more than a majority of the convention, on the fourth ballot former Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, the leader of the California delegation, announced the switch of the votes of that state from John N. Garner, speaker of the house, to the Governor. The result was his speedy nomination, with the Speaker as the candidate for vice-president. The nominee, in a dramatic gesture, flew to Chicago and accepted the nomination in a dramatic and well-chosen speech.

Mr. Roosevelt entered upon the campaign with excellent chances of victory. His most critical situation was in his own state, and it is worthwhile to go back and review his relations with Tammany Hall, and the part played by the question of corruption in New York City in the campaign. Roosevelt had, as we have seen, begun as a strong anti-Tammany man. But both Tammany and he had changed, and the old warfare between them might have died out entirely if it had not been for the scandals which arose in connection with Tammany rule in the metropolis. As early as 1929 hints of graft arose in connection with the New York judgeships. Mr. Roosevelt vetoed a measure conferring upon him the power to investigate, as a mere maneuver of the Republican Legislature to put him in a hole. But in 1930 in the face of increased clamor and the palpable weakness of the District Attorney in Manhattan, the Governor ordered an investigation under the direction of Hamilton Ward, the Republican Attorney-General. He followed this with a suggestion to the judges of the Appellate Division that they appoint Samuel Seabury, a well-known anti-Tammany man, to make a thorough investigation of the magistrates' courts. When various Tammany leaders holding official positions refused to forego their immunity and testify freely, Roosevelt warmly denounced such action. His policy was by no means cowardly, but it did not satisfy the reformers and it made Tammany, under the leadership of John F. Curry, simply

furious. After his reflection, the Governor went further. He asserted his entire willingness for a legislative investigation of the situation in New York City, and put funds into the budget to permit such an inquiry. He appointed Seabury, anathema to Tammany, to investigate the office of the district attorney in New York City. And when charges were preferred against Thomas Farley, the sheriff of New York County, for permitting gambling and other objectionable practices contrary to law, Roosevelt not only dismissed the sheriff from office, but laid down the advanced doctrine that a public official must be able and willing to satisfy public opinion as to the source of his private income. The effect of this action was partially nullified, however, by the appointment of another Tammany man to the post of sheriff, and by the wide-spread conviction that more drastic action might have been taken.

In the meantime the reformers moved against the popular, glib little man who was mayor of New York. They had demanded his removal in the spring of 1932, but Roosevelt, after securing the Mayor's answer to the charges made, had refused to take action. More evidence accumulated, however, and in the summer of 1932 new and far more elaborate charges were preferred by Mr. Seabury, acting as the investigator for the legislative committee. In the hearings before the Governor which followed Mr. Roosevelt appeared at very great advantage. He met the situation courageously and honestly; and what was equally admirable, he showed an intellectual grasp that was nothing less than extraordinary. When it became apparent that the hearings were tending towards his removal, Mayor Walker resigned. His resignation strengthened rather than weakened Mr. Roosevelt. When the Tammany leader, Mr. Curry, sought to supplant Herbert Lehman, lieutenant-governor, and the presidential candidate's nominee for governor, Roosevelt acted with vigor, and won his way.

His campaign for the presidency was managed with great ability by Mr. Farley, and well conducted by himself. It was in good temper, indicated a willingness to consider all sections and interests in the working out of a program, and avoided, for the most part, embarrassing commitments, while diffusing a general atmosphere of hopefulness. Tactically speaking, it rested upon fairly simple principles. In the East, the forthright wet plank in the Democratic platform, calling for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, and the enactment of beer legislation, was depended upon to win votes. In the South and West, a liberal attitude on social and political problems was stressed. The victory that followed was astounding. Never before in the history of the Democratic party has so large a percentage of the total popular vote gone to a Democratic candidate. While the greatest overturn took place in the Middle West, in every part of the Union Roose-

velt was successful. He carried forty-two out of forty-eight states, and attained a popular plurality of more than seven million. He was also given a Congress overwhelmingly Democratic, in both branches. No president, perhaps, has ever entered office in a stronger political position.

In the months between his election and his inauguration, Mr. Roosevelt carried on intensive preparations for the work of the presidency. While refusing to accept the views of President Hoover *in toto* on questions of foreign policy, he coöperated in some degree with the outgoing administration on these questions. In many respects his diplomatic action followed the lines laid down by his predecessor. In domestic matters he steadily declined to assert definite leadership until assuming office, though frequently conferring with Democratic leaders in Congress.

In the last days of February, Mr. Roosevelt announced his Cabinet. It contained three members who had hitherto been Republicans. It contained none of the outstanding intelligences in the Democratic party, with the possible exception of Senator Thomas F. Walsh, whose untimely death occurred just before the inauguration. But it was widely regarded as an excellent piece of political engineering, and as a group of men which would give loyal and united support to the President.

Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration occurred under circumstances of the greatest tension. A banking crisis had been spreading over the country in the three weeks preceding his induction into office. It reached its climax on March 3, the day before the inauguration, when virtually all the banks of the nation had closed. The new President, once sworn in, acted with great vigor. He secured from Congress sweeping measures of economy and rehabilitation. The first impression which he made upon the nation was decidedly favorable. It was the impression of a strong and vigorous national leader. Men admired his cheerfulness, his serenity and poise in days of intense strain, his capacity for instant and yet judicious action.

1933 — 1941

by

WALTER SYLVESTER HERTZOG

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, governor of New York, had little difficulty in persuading the people, with his winning smile and pleasing radio voice, that the United States needed a "New Deal."

The verdict at the polls on November 8, 1932, was a Democratic landslide, with a popular majority of more than six millions.

When Inauguration Day arrived the country was confronted with a crisis of the first magnitude. State after state had closed its banks to prevent runs by panic-stricken hoarders. On March 5, 1933, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation closing all the banks for four days and then summoned Congress to meet in extra session on March 9 to cope with the situation.

The New Deal which President Roosevelt promised the electorate was a program of economic and social reform. It was a program which challenged the attitude of *laissez faire* toward social responsibility. It won him the confidence of the American people, brought him reelection in 1936 and again in 1940, for a third term, as president of the United States.

In the presidential campaign of 1940, Mr. Roosevelt promised to continue his social reforms, to meet the revolutionary changes in government that have accompanied the second World War, and to meet the needs of the American people. In his first two terms the President brought into being much of his New-Deal program.

One of the most important laws sponsored by the Roosevelt administration was the Social Security Act, signed by the President on August 14, 1935. Previous to its enactment there had been considerable agitation for old-age pensions. The Social Security Act met that demand with a system of old-age and unemployment-insurance. The Act provided for federal-state coöperation for unemployment-compensation, public assistance to the needy aged, the needy blind, and dependent children. The old-age insurance provisions were liberalized in August 1939. Federal aid was also extended to states for vocational rehabilitation, health and welfare services.

The right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively became the law of the land on July 5, 1935, when President Roosevelt signed the National (Wagner) Labor Relations Act. The Supreme Court, on April 12, 1937, upheld the Act. This law gave labor the right to choose its own representatives and discouraged unfair labor practices upon the part of employers. Enforcement is through the National Labor Relations Board and the many efforts of powerful business interests to nullify its provisions have failed. Labor hailed the Wagner Act as a new "Magna Charta" and the organization of workers into unions has doubled. The rise in union organization was accompanied by policy differences within the American labor movement, with one branch of labor splitting away from the American Federation of Labor into the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

In defense of his New-Deal program to bring broader social benefits to a greater number of people, President Roosevelt declared that "one-third of the nation" was "ill-clothed, ill-fed, and ill-housed." In 1937 the Wagner-

Steagall Act created the United States Housing Authority permitting it to construct low-cost, subsidized housing on a large scale. The housing program is a long-range one, providing for slum-clearance and limiting housing facilities to families whose incomes do not exceed five times the rental. The National Housing Act of 1934 created the Federal Housing Administration, which is authorized to insure lending corporations against losses incurred on residence mortgages and on loans for repair, alteration, and improvement of property.

To meet the great unemployment crisis, the Works Progress Administration was established by President Roosevelt May 6, 1935. The W.P.A. was empowered to provide jobs for those in need of emergency relief. Critics called the W.P.A. "boondoggling," but, by 1940, New-Deal supporters were able to point to the fact that the agency had undeniably decreased the wide-spread suffering among the jobless destitute and that it had also expended billions of dollars upon school buildings, parks, playgrounds, roads, and other facilities essential to the public welfare.

To aid a distressed agriculture the New Deal set up the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in 1933. Under the legislation creating the A.A.A., farmers have been paid millions of dollars in benefits for soil conservation and improvement. Prices for farm products have advanced with a diminishing production, but the law aims to prevent a limitation of crops that would work hardship on the general consuming public. The process was termed "plowing under" and, while it met bitter opposition because farmers were paid cash for not growing products, it has remained an inherent part of the New Deal.

President Roosevelt's belief that certain natural resources should be controlled by all the people of the country brought about the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1933. The T.V.A.'s general purposes are to develop the Tennessee River system, to sell electric power at cheap rates, to spread the use of electricity throughout a region where most of the inhabitants were denied its benefits, and to control costly floods. In line with the power policy which created the T.V.A., President Roosevelt also authorized construction of two great dams in the Northwest, at Grand Coulee, Washington, and Bonneville, Oregon. Numerous smaller dams also were built.

These above-mentioned reforms were by no means all of the social legislation enacted at the instance of the Roosevelt administration. These, however, embrace the more important aspects of the New Deal—unemployment relief, labor's rights, public ownership, farm-relief, social security, and adequate, low-cost housing. Stemming from them have been many other, but less far-reaching instrumentalities which President Roosevelt and

Congress employed to bring order out of the chaos existing prior to his first inauguration.

The Republican administrations which preceded President Roosevelt, particularly between the years of 1921 and 1932, had seemed indifferent to demands for social reform. The policies they adopted seemed selfish ones and allowed the Democrats to make great political capital out of the charge by Candidate Roosevelt in 1932 that the government was dominated by "economic royalists." Mr. Roosevelt, upon taking office for his first term, was faced with the enormous job of restoring the national buying power. Historians, at a much later date than the present time, will be able to evaluate the virtues and short-comings of the New-Deal "spending" and "pump-priming" policies. But, it is certain that the Roosevelt program did win the endorsement of the majority of the American people.

By 1936 the New-Deal policies had proved to be politically potent. In the presidential campaign of that year President Roosevelt was opposed by Governor Alfred M. Landon, of Kansas. Rich and powerful industrial leaders formed the Liberty League and the Republican candidate campaigned on promises to relieve the "New-Deal strangle hold on free enterprise."

That the American people saw no virtue in returning to the "good old days" was proved in November 1936, when all but two states in the Union—Maine and Vermont—instructed their electors for President Roosevelt and the New Deal.

President Roosevelt said in 1937:

We must not forget the broad central truth that this administration has pledged itself to the people of the United States to carry on with a wide social program pointed toward higher living standards and a more just distribution of the gains of civilization. Much of the program is already in effect, but its continued and complete success depends on a wider distribution of an immensely enlarged national income. Such enlargement presupposes full employment of both Capital and Labor—reasonable profits and fair wages—a resumption of that vigorous moving equilibrium which began in 1933.

The ultimate answer to the conditions of today is a cordial and confident coöperation not only between government and every kind of citizen, but also between every kind of citizen and his government. As never before in our history, the well-being of those who have much, as well as those who have less, depends upon a contented society of good will, where the good will rests on the solid foundation that all have enough.

During his first term President Roosevelt encountered little real opposition in either house of Congress. In his second term, immediately following the midterm elections of 1938, Republican strength in the House of Representatives increased. The first serious revolt against the New Deal came with the President's proposal to increase the United States Supreme Court to fifteen members. Few leaders in the Democratic party supported his Supreme Court program, and he was accused, with great vehemence, of trying to

"pack" the judicial body with his own appointees so that all New-Deal legislation would be held constitutional. His attempt to enlarge the Court was a dismal failure and it led to the ever-recurring charge by his political enemies that he was attempting to nullify the democratic system of government and establish a dictatorship.

His enemies have also accused him of weakening the financial stability of many foreign governments by heavy Treasury Department purchases of billions of dollars' worth of useless gold at high prices; of the foolish purchase of a great supply of silver from Japan and Mexico; and (until his partial embargo in 1940) of failure to embargo shipments of oil, gasoline, scrap-iron, machine tools, and steel to Japan, thus making possible the rape of China. These critics have also uttered jeremiads against New-Deal spending policies, claiming that our total indebtedness, now nearing seventy billions of dollars, will sooner or later plunge the country into a prolonged depression.

On September 1, 1940, more than twenty-two billion dollars had been appropriated or authorized by the Congress then in session. This incredible sum for which many believe President Roosevelt and his congressional and financial leaders have made totally inadequate provisions in revenues, is vastly more than was ever before voted by any single session of Congress in time of peace. Seventeen billions for defense with billions more to come and seventy billions of debts at present is a staggering amount, sure to be increased by future expenditures and appropriations. Most Americans do not begrudge the billions spent and to be spent for the national defense, but there was fear in some quarters when these huge appropriations were made that the money might be squandered by politicians.

The world is in the midst of a terrible new war, partly the result of the World War of 1914-1918. If the United States were to disappear under the sea, the loss of her total wealth of over three hundred fifty billion dollars would only defray the cost of the first World War. It has been estimated that our cost in that war will be over one hundred billions of dollars, since we shall be paying for it for many years in pensions and other benefits to soldiers and their families. The Civil War began eighty years ago but the total expense of that long struggle is still accumulating.

In the field of foreign relations President Roosevelt has acted, in concert with England, to stop the march of European Fascism. In one famous speech at Chicago in 1938 he called upon the other democracies of the world to "quarantine the aggressor," only to be disappointed later by the "appeasement policy" of the Chamberlain government in Britain—a policy which did not prevent, but merely delayed by a few months the present war.

The Chamberlain government was ousted and as this is written, President Roosevelt's policy of giving all possible aid to England, short of participation in the war with armed forces, has been extended.

The Pan-American Good Neighbor policy of President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull was warmly greeted in 1940, for it was expected to do much good. However, we must bear in mind that many of the Latin American countries are republics in name only and dictatorships in reality. Time will tell how effective the Good Neighbor policy will be but its principal objective, to draw the nations of the North and South American continents into closer political, commercial, and social harmony, has been hailed as a means to prevent the encroachment of European dictatorships in the Western Hemisphere. In case of war, we can not perhaps be certain of the assistance of all Latin American countries against the Axis Powers. Argentina has shown signs of being pro-Italian, Brazil has a tremendous German population, and, in Chile, a 1940 "Popular Front" government has both Axis and Communist sympathies. Mexico is strongly influenced by political radicalism and, before the United States' Good Neighbor policy was launched, was drawing close to Japan through her fisheries and her oil exports.

The outbreak of the second World War found the United States unprepared to meet foreign aggression on two fronts. President Roosevelt immediately created a National Defense Commission, staffed by important leaders of American industry and labor, and began speeding up the manufacture of war materials for the aid of England and for our own defense. The Axis Powers, Germany and Italy, concentrated their efforts towards the defeat of Great Britain. If England should be defeated, the United States would be the one remaining great democratic power. Roosevelt realized the potential threat of armed attack and, within a few months after the war began, the United States was preparing to manufacture great quantities of planes and other war materials.

For the first time in the nation's history the Congress of the United States adopted a peace-time conscription bill after writing into it provisions empowering the government to commandeer private industries which refuse to coöperate in the vast national defense program. Prior to this President Roosevelt signed a measure empowering him to mobilize 408,000 National Guardsmen and Army Reservists for a year's active duty. The President has displayed a determination to help England short of war. With this idea in mind he sold fifty old Navy destroyers to her in exchange for long-term leases on British islands off the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of the United States. When these bases are fully manned and equipped, our defense will be projected at least a thousand miles out into the Atlantic.

A large supply of ammunition and arms as well as thousands of airplanes were shipped to England by the United States. While England attempted to save herself from invasion, the United States "stepped up" her defense program so as to be fully prepared, should an enemy attempt to attack us. Japan has provided the most immediate threat by joining the Axis Powers and continuing to insist upon a "New Order in Asia." As Germany and Italy intensified their assaults upon Great Britain, President Roosevelt imposed a scrap-iron embargo on Japan, gave loans of twenty-five million and one hundred million dollars to China, began courting the friendship of the Soviet Union, and gave new impetus to his Good Neighbor policy in Latin America.

Many of the President's critics, as the war spread throughout Europe, began to realize that the New-Deal social security program and other reforms would help to achieve national unity—a unity sorely needed in this age of Caesarism. Many business interests which had frequently opposed Roosevelt during his first two terms backed him for a third term in 1940. A substantial group of powerful financial interests, however, supported the Republican nominee, Wendell L. Willkie, a public utilities executive.

A majority of the American people have consistently supported President Roosevelt. They applauded him for his moral courage, for his ability to "do something"—after years of apparent inaction by his predecessors in the White House—during those first dark days of his first term in 1933. His ideal that "no one must starve" has been accepted by all. He has proved himself a master politician and, although he was "born to the purple" and grew up in aristocratic surroundings, he has shown himself not without the "common touch." By his persistent work for a greater distribution of wealth among low-income groups, by his strength and determination in overcoming a serious affliction, by his practical sympathy for the helpless children who enjoy the benefits of the Warm Springs Foundation for infantile paralysis, by the utter democracy of holding a "wienie bake" for visiting royalty—by such traits and deeds President Roosevelt has endeared himself to the people.

Thus, in the presidential campaign of 1940, the opposition to his nomination at the Democratic convention was feeble. The third-term issue, however, figured prominently in the campaign. Wendell Willkie, the Republican candidate, ridiculed the claim of Democrats that Roosevelt was an "indispensable man." Willkie won wide popular support, but he was unable to defeat Roosevelt.

On November 5, 1940, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, or "F.D.R.," as he is popularly known to millions, won a third term by receiving 449 electoral votes to Wendell Willkie's 82 and by winning 38 of

the 48 states. The popular vote was closer. Between four and five million votes separated the candidates. Henry A. Wallace, of Iowa, formerly secretary of agriculture, becomes the new vice-president on January 20, 1941, instead of John Nance Garner, the Texan, who was Roosevelt's running-mate in 1932 and 1936.

The President asked at the close of his campaign for a "vote of confidence." He asked for the opportunity to lead the people "steadily forward to the open fields, to the glowing light that shines ahead." He said he was confident that "we will make the clear, sure footing ahead before the next term is over."

His courage, his assurance, and his confidence in the face of the growing world-crisis made him the first leader in American history to be chosen to guide the destinies of this great democratic nation for a third term—a great honor and responsibility indeed!

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JOHN A. RYAN

by

ARTHUR DUNNING SPEARMAN

OTHING human is foreign to the interest and concern of a true Christian priest. Father John A. Ryan of the Catholic University felt that the most human thing he could concern himself with was a living wage for all America's working men. He was the first student of social problems to give to Americans a scientific study and presentation of the need and conditions of a living wage. That problem and its solution has been the key-note of his great life-work. His first book, fundamental in the field, was published in 1906 under title of *A Living Wage, Its Ethical and Economic Aspects*.

Father Ryan is himself a priest from the people. He was born May 25, 1869, on a small farm twenty miles south of St. Paul, Minnesota, in the township of Vermillion, Dakota County. His parents, both born in county Tipperary, Ireland, were sprung of that hardy and gifted physical stock which only needed the opportunities of freedom and America to make its great contribution to world-progress and culture. The heritage which they brought from Tipperary was of the honest virtues of religion, industry, and courage in suffering. The paternal grandfather had there gone through the horror of eviction with all his family at the hand of the Tory landlord. It was winter, and new-born twins had perished by the roadside.

The future sociologist's mother and father met in Minneapolis, Minnesota. She too could tell of her parents, herself, and her brothers being driven from their landholding by a notorious landlord, though with slightly less cruelty than the Ryan family had experienced. Such a background could not but make the young priest, Father John A. Ryan, understanding of the problems of the poor.

Minnesota, when the Ryans settled in Vermillion Township, was a frontier. Only a decade was ending from the bloody clashes of Indian and white. The deep religious faith which nerved the young couple to face and conquer the wilderness was also to be the motive which nerved Father Ryan in his sincere battle for betterment of working men's and women's conditions and wages. The Ryan family, parents and children, made their way of a Sunday ten miles in a lumber-wagon to attend divine worship. When really bad weather

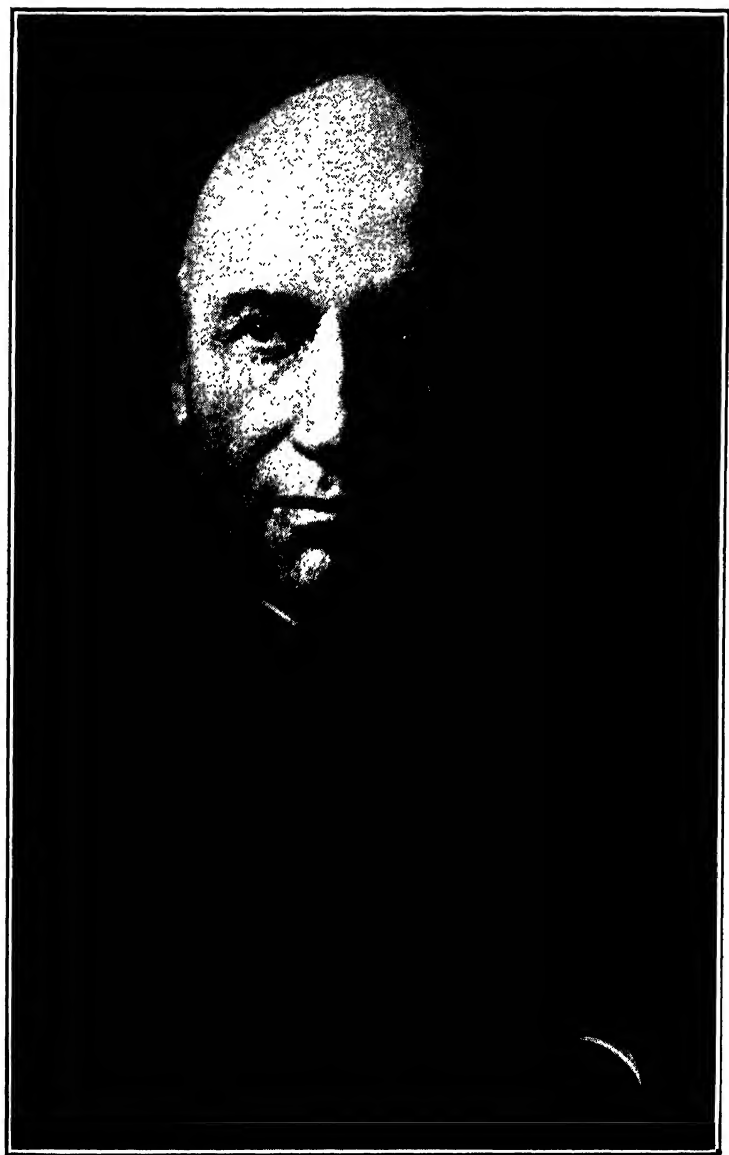
interfered, the father led family devotions in the home. This consisted of the meditative recital of the Rosary in common, with the reading aloud by one of the older children of a chapter from *The Life of Jesus Christ*.

Education rightly begins in the home. Its first text-book is functional, found in the moral example and in the manners of the mother and father. The senior Ryan held high standards of integrity, and evidenced them in such dealings with his neighbor as were revealed in his payment of the full amount of a bond on which he had gone surety with two other men to help a neighbor. When the borrower failed to meet his obligation, and the two co-signers refused to share the burden, Mr. Ryan paid the amount himself in full. The other signers had transferred their properties to their wives' names to avoid payment. Natural virtue does not always go without reward, for years later the brother of the original borrower willed to Mr. Ryan an amount of property sufficient to cover both the principal and interest.

Vocational training of a well-rounded and practical kind came to young John Ryan on his father's land. His father long continued to be the directing spirit in all the farmwork. Mr. Ryan's death at eighty, which occurred while he was hoeing his son's garden, was a consistent pattern of avoiding idleness.

If John Ryan's father was an industrious, religious man, his mother was the "strong woman" of Sacred Scripture. She pioneered with her husband on the land, took care of all household tasks unaided until her oldest daughter could assist, and bore eleven splendid children, only one of whom died soon after birth, the others living to active maturity. Mrs. Ryan had only the aid of the neighborly midwife, yet herself lived to enjoy a trip to California at the ripe age of eighty. Father Ryan likes to point out the interesting sociological implications of his family in its history of two children becoming nuns, two priests, and six marrying to give thirty-nine healthful citizens to the United States. Father Ryan's studies in social questions began in the laboratory of life, and his priestly field-work has kept him ever in touch with "the masses" whose welfare his research and courage have furthered.

Young Ryan found his school opportunities until his seventeenth year in the ungraded district-school. It probably did not exceed the equivalent of sixth grade in a city school. In 1886-1887 his parents, at considerable sacrifice, managed to let him have a few months at the Christian Brothers' School in St. Paul, giving him the opportunities of studies proper to a junior high school. He finished here in June 1887, and in the following September entered St. Thomas Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, which



Photograph by Bachrach

JOHN A. RYAN

at that time was, in effect, a senior high school, junior college, and ecclesiastical seminary. The expenses here were defrayed by his grandfather for four or five years, a scant two hundred dollars a year making possible to him the college education which so many of his neighbors could not afford their sons. An important early home influence, which besides the normal Catholic books of devotion, sermons, and church history, undoubtedly shaped Father Ryan's later career, was the habitual reading of the weekly newspaper from New York entitled, *The Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*. The problem of economic justice was thus brought before him.

The completion of six years of philosophical and theological studies prescribed for Catholic priesthood prepared John A. Ryan for the reception of Holy Orders in 1898. That same year, Archbishop Ireland, whose dynamic character had done so much to develop his archdiocesan seminary, sent Father Ryan for graduate studies in moral and social science at the Catholic University of America. The fruit of this valuable opportunity was to be his later notable contribution, the pioneer work in the field, *A Living Wage, Its Ethical and Economic Aspects*, published in 1906.

This book was the introduction for most American scholars to the great Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII, which dealt with the conditions of the working classes throughout the world, pointing out their basic human rights and needs and the corresponding obligations of employers to respect such rights while endeavoring sincerely to meet such needs. This Encyclical Letter, generally referred to by its opening Latin words, *Rerum Novarum*, had world-wide implications and repercussions. It was the first judgment from ecclesiastical circles upon the philosophies at once of Karl Marx and the opposite extremists of *laissez faire* economics.

John A. Ryan, schooled in the boyhood surroundings of manual labor, familiar with the grievous abuses of the English capitalistic and landlord system, was quick to appreciate the great papal pronouncement as a true Magna Charta for the modern working man, and as the necessary basis for any democratic economy that was to survive.

His book on the living wage popularized the teachings of Leo XIII, and helped to clarify the tense labor atmosphere that had followed the decade of the Haymarket Riots of Chicago and the growing hostility between worker and manager. Father Ryan, by his book, did away once for all with the fallacy that there was only a fixed amount of wage-money available in the world, and that economics required all the sacrifices toward

business solvency to be borne by the wage-earner, whose belt had presumably to be drawn in indefinitely to make "prosperity" possible to the more fortunate. The forceful young priest pointed out the patent fact, forgotten by the boards of directors of the "gay nineties," that the human workman is not a commodity to be bought and sold without reference to his individual human life and development, but that each worker is a man with a body that needs ample food and rest, with a soul that longs for appreciation, understanding, and happiness, and a family of wife and children. These too, even to the youngest child, have their own human right and needs of clothing, shelter, moderate recreation, spiritual and intellectual refreshment. All of this is life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for the workman and his family. In return, Father Ryan pointed out, the workman owed industrious work, loyalty, and friendliness to his employer, a spirit of coöperation and understanding fellowship.

Of vital importance, and far-reaching in its consequences, was the message brought through Father Ryan's book and lectures to the American Catholic workers that the Holy Father at Rome, whose spiritual guidance they so valued, had proclaimed in the Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, the moral right of workmen peacefully and honestly to organize themselves into labor-unions because in the prevailing world economic conditions this was the sole means at their disposal to obtain in practice the realization of the human rights and needs which were God-given to them.

The career of Father John A. Ryan had now notably begun. His studies and activities became continuous and constantly more far-reaching in their value. While professor of moral theology and economic ethics at St. Paul's Seminary from 1902 to 1915, he brought out his book on the living wage, and then delved into the early Christian literature of the Church Fathers to study the communal life based on the religious affiliation reflected in Saint Paul's epistles. He studied the patristic writings upon the right of property, the rights and duties of the wealthy, the human dignity of servants, workers, and the privileges of the poor. The results of his research were published in 1914 as *The Alleged Socialism of the Church Fathers*.

Father Ryan's studies and activities had now brought him much in touch with the extremist writings and lectures of Socialist philosophers. While appreciating the sincerity of many, he felt it necessary to point out the economic fallacies of their program. The challenge of his literary scalpel was taken up by the noted Socialist writer and lecturer, Morris Hillquit, who engaged in a series of published debates with Father Ryan

which ran in *Everybody's Magazine* in 1913-1914 under the title, "Socialism, Promise or Menace." They were immediately republished in book form by Macmillan. The same firm brought out his *Distributive Justice* in 1916.

To those who, while they would rule the Church out of politics, yet expect her to have met and solved in a practical way the economic problems of changing centuries, Father Ryan offered the stimulating book, *The Church and Socialism*, in 1919. The implications of the World War, with its utter unbalancing of the domestic as well as the international economic relationships in the fields of agriculture, as well as in manufacturing and banking, called for a planned program of reconstruction necessary to restore individual interests large or small to a more proportionate correlation. Father Ryan published his work, *Social Reconstruction* in 1920, and followed it with the printing of a series of lectures on *Capital and Labor*. This called for a restatement of the fundamental Christian views on the dignity both of the person and the occupation of the worker, which, in collaboration with Rev. Joseph Husslein, S.J., Father Ryan published as *The Church and Labor*. The revised edition of his earlier work on *The Living Wage* was also issued in 1920. To reach a wider audience and popularize to the workers' study clubs and the undergraduate student the great principles of the Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, Father Ryan collaborated in 1921 with Rev. R. A. McGowan in the publication of *A Catechism of the Social Question*.

The seemingly simple expedient of the separation of Church and State long adopted in so many European and New World countries has not been without unfavorable results for the working man during the industrial revolution. Father Ryan felt that these effects as facts should be reckoned with in any effort to reorient current civilization. The spiritual value of the individual human being with his immortal life-principle, the soul, and his gift of self-determination from the Creator which the Church had always called Free Will, had been wholly overlooked; or at least the ignoring of human values had been connived at by governments that allowed coolie labor or its equivalent to be brought in and used like cattle to displace more costly white labor. The fact that Church and State do exist side by side challenges an intelligent evaluation of their relationship, and the possibilities for mutual human helpfulness. This Father Ryan studied in his book of 1922, on which he collaborated with Rev. M. F. X. Millar, S.J., under the title of *The State and the Church*.

The Supreme Court and the Minimum Wage, published by Father Ryan in 1923, marks an important phase in the life-work of this unusual

priest-sociologist. In 1915 he had been called from St. Paul Seminary to occupy the chair of moral and industrial ethics at the Catholic University, Washington, D.C. He was thereby situated most favorably to observe the workings of government at close range, and he realized that the human equation was injuring the practical execution of the ideals of democracy bequeathed by the founding Fathers and made vocal in the enunciations of Thomas Jefferson. He sensed, indeed, that he was sitting by the bedside of the dying "Ancient Regime." During this period the eminent group of jurists then composing the Supreme Court handed down the unfavorable decision on the Minimum-Wage Law, and in their majority opinion exalted the legal aspects of the right of property above the human right to livelihood. The eminent jurists did indeed need education of the right sort, Father Ryan felt, for they had failed to realize that the natural right to property is based on the needs of a still more fundamental natural right, that to the support of human life. He accordingly published his book on this unfortunate decision of the Supreme Court by which that august body had so weakened its prestige and prepared the way for the later occupation of the Supreme Tribunal by the New-Deal justices.

In pointing the economic path between the extremes of the Right and Left, between Tory *laissez faire* on the one hand, and Marxist rejection of all right of private property on the other, Father Ryan has outlined the full view on the question of property which he feels both Right and Left must needs consider if they are to attain the real welfare of humanity, and avoid such expropriation as liquidates millions of human beings of the world-wide "kulak" or small-owner class. The question of profit-sharing he worked out in the Ryan-Callahan plan in collaboration with Colonel P. W. Callahan, of the Louisville Paint and Varnish Company, as follows:

After payment of reasonable current expenses, a generous living wage is to be paid all employees. Six per cent is allowed to each owner of legitimate shares of stock. Of the remaining profits, 50 per cent goes to the stockholders, and 50 per cent to the workers.

In his *Christian Doctrine of Property*, published in 1923, Father Ryan advanced a more radical doctrine of profit-sharing which did not meet with general approval. In the main, however, he has been accorded recognition for his well-reasoned outlook.

What is taught in the classroom today will be practiced in the world of reality tomorrow. John A. Ryan realized this. It is the testimony of yesterday witnessed in its fulfillment all about. Father Ryan accordingly

offered his student synthesis, *Industrial Democracy from a Catholic Viewpoint*, in 1925.

Following the date of publication of *The Church and Socialism* in 1919, a new ideology had forced itself upon the attention of the world-mind. It was the reaction from the vagaries of experimental Socialism, but had adopted as its own many of the more objectionable elements of leftist thought, and strengthened their reassertion with the overreaching power of dictatorship. The philosophies and practices of Fascism and Naziism marked a departure in the story of modern nations. This prompted Father Ryan to write in 1925 his *Declining Liberty and Other Papers*. He followed this in 1928 with *The Catholic Church and the Citizen*, which was a challenge to the widening totalitarian attitude that the citizen belonged soul and body to the State. Father Ryan's work was a reaffirmation that if the citizen owes much to the State, he owes more to God who gave him rights prior to those duties owed the State, while his real duties to the State become more obligating because of the State's brief of legitimate authority from God, the author of man's social nature.

In 1933, John A. Ryan received the honorable recognition of his Church when he was invested with the robes and title of Monsignor. His splendid work had well deserved this measure of appreciation. Fearless, John A. Ryan had labored untiringly to further the welfare of those whom he felt most needed a protagonist. His fellow-workers of the clergy had learned to esteem and respect his work and his views. While in the general principles of morality and human relationship, the distinction between essential right and wrong is unchanging, the practical decisions of eminent men may often differ on detail. Such is the case in the career of Monsignor Ryan. Probing into new fields of economic study, he was confronted with new problems. Practical decisions, attitudes, and policies required rapid thinking. Many of the American Catholic clergy have differed from Father Ryan in his opinions and proposed solutions of urgent problems, but they have done so with full appreciation of the magnificent contributions to modern social betterment which he has made.

In appreciating the intenseness of activity which Monsignor Ryan has imposed upon himself since his ordination to the priesthood in 1898, it may be recalled that he has published to date fourteen full-length books, seventeen important monographs, and one hundred twelve magazine articles listed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and in the *Catholic Periodical Index*. This output, in addition to his regular classroom work, radio lectures, and the normal ministerial occupations of a priest, is accountable for the large place which this priest-economist occupies in

practical American life. Perhaps the most difficult test of the social studies which he had made came to him when he was a member of the "Denver Committee of Religious Forces" formed to arbitrate the heated problems of the Denver tram strike of 1920.

His just and able efforts in that crisis won the appreciation of all, and from that time Father Ryan has taken an increasingly active place as an adviser to government and civic groups intent upon the public peace and the well-being of the far-flung working classes. From a conscientious critic of government in such matters as the Supreme Court's rejection in 1923 of the Minimum-Wage Law, Father Ryan has become a frequently consulted authority in Washington, and has been particularly close to the New Dealers in the planning of some of the more worthwhile policies and legislation of the progressive if often experimental period of 1932-1940.

The influences which supplemented Father Ryan's curricular activities, and the civil and religious traditions of his parents, are deserving of special mention. A dynamic enthusiasm for the cause of labor such as has marked Father Ryan's life-work must be traced to many powerful forces of stimulation. In addition to his boyhood reading of *The Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, perhaps the most personal orientation of the younger Ryan's objectives was given him by the unique Minnesotan of the last century, Ignatius Donnelly—statesman, politician, social reformer, agitator, and author, popularly acclaimed by his countless friends, admirers, and sympathizers as "the sage of Nininger," where he resided in Minnesota.

In Father Ryan's autobiography (to be published by Harper and Brothers), the frequent meetings of the young clerical student with Donnelly, the then established publicist and campaigner for workmen's rights, are recorded as a vital influence. During the campaign which elected Ignatius Donnelly as an independent to the lower house of the Minnesota Legislature in 1886, John Ryan had become much interested in the proposals of economic reform advocated by Donnelly, the Farmers' Alliance, and the Knights of Labor. When Donnelly took his seat in the Legislature, Ryan, then a student at the Christian Brothers' School at St. Paul, attended the legislative sessions almost daily to absorb the ideals of his friend, whom he afterwards characterized as the most entertaining and effective speaker of that great group of the period, Bryan, Ingalls, Towne, and Bourke Cochran.

Another man whose life-pattern powerfully guided the young priest was James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore. The great first American Cardinal was a sincere friend to members of every creed and

class, worker, student, and business man. He was a providential friend in particular to the American workers whose cause had been jeopardized by the extreme radical element. Personal violence had brought ill repute in many sections upon the first great effort at American unionism, the Knights of Labor.

Archbishop Gibbons, when invited to Rome in the year 1887 to receive the "Red Hat," as the cardinalial honor is popularly called, made the chief activity of his trip the proper presentation of the ideals and needs and real purpose of the rank and file of the Knights of Labor to the Vatican authorities. The Memorial which Archbishop Gibbons left with Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Congregation appointed to deal with the matter, had far-reaching consequences. It was without doubt one of the influences which coalesced with the efforts of several outstanding French and Spanish Catholic sociologists, to focus the attention of Pope Leo XIII on the problems of workers which he so forcefully and justly set forth in the labor Encyclical referred to, *Rerum Novarum*. Father Ryan in his own views on labor was largely helped by and often referred to the expressed attitudes of James Cardinal Gibbons, whose intimate friendship he long enjoyed.

The third personality to enter intimately into the formation of Father Ryan's social values was his immediate superior in the hierarchy, Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul, Minnesota. He has recorded Archbishop Ireland's influence upon him as that of a genuine American, a fundamental humanitarian, and a Christian gentleman. The Archbishop of St. Paul was an outstandingly public-spirited man. He was the personal friend of James J. Hill, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and a host of men of their calibre in the far-reaching American development centered around the turn of the century. He felt confidence in the integrity of most captains of industry, and was perhaps too trustful of the sincerity of the others. But he was himself a man of broad vision and human understanding. His attitude toward union labor was set forth in his great address on Labor Day, 1903. It explains in large measure his helpful attitude toward the efforts of his diocesan priest and seminary teacher, John A. Ryan, whose teachings and writings were directly subject to the Archbishop's supervision. Archbishop Ireland said in part:

History is witness that great benefits have accrued from unions both to labor itself and to society at large. During the Middle Ages unions or guilds brought together the members of the trades, protecting the weak . . . obtaining for all substantial justice and social recognition . . .

Then came the French Revolution with its wild worship of individual rights . . . The economic doctrines of the so-called Lancastrian school authorized capital to see in the laborer only his output of labor, and to purchase that output at the lowest market price. Then it was that the operators of the "black field" of England

reduced their miners to the level of beasts of burden, and as at that level men seemed still to cost too much, put women in their stead, and later for a similar reason, substituted children for women.

How very different is the position of labor today. The change is due very largely to an improved public opinion, and to an enlarged Christian humanitarianism in the whole social body; but it is due very largely . . . to the intelligent self-assertiveness of labor itself.

A man of such views could and did give every opportunity to the young teacher in the theological seminary to improve his knowledge and experience in his chosen field of the conditions of labor. If Father Ryan's teachings on labor problems were vital and aggressive with the courage of a pioneer, Archbishop Ireland recognized that they were orthodox in the best Christian sense, of applying the basic principles of Christianity which had been taught "always, and everywhere, and by all" orthodox members of the Church, to the new chronology, to the milieu of nineteenth and twentieth-century industrialization and invention.

Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* was read by Father Ryan in 1882 or 1883. While then too immature to evaluate the theories of this earnest if theoretical economic philosopher, Father Ryan has said that it did serve as a stimulus to him to study more carefully into the field. The People's party platform, presented by Ignatius Donnelly at the Omaha convention of 1892, arrested the young clerical student's attention, and he cast his first presidential vote in that year for James B. Weaver, their candidate. Father Ryan now recalls that many of their platform planks may be read today in the terser and more specific language of the great social Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XI, called by its initial Latin phrase: *Quadragesimo Anno*, from the fact of its publication to the world just forty years after the *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII.

In the summer of 1894 Father Ryan, moving steadily if almost unpremeditatedly along the path of his career, read for the first time a complete manual of economics. It was an English translation of an Italian work by the Rev. Mateo Liberatori of the Jesuit Order. Under the title of *Principles of Political Economy*, it had been done into English by a professor of that subject at Stonyhurst College, England. The works also of W. S. Lilly and Richard T. Ely were much read by Father Ryan. Lilly, in his economic study entitled *On Right and Wrong*, laid down the sane basis and norms of property ownership which Father Ryan later used so effectively in his criticism of the Supreme Court decision of 1923, and by which he paved the way in his far-reaching personal campaign for establishment of minimum-wage laws, such as that of Minnesota, which he personally wrote for presentation to the Legislature, and which served as an inspiration for so many other state minimum-wage laws.

The vital place that true education must play in a democracy has always been a matter of concern in the career of John A. Ryan. As valedictorian of his seminary class of 1892 Ryan chose as his subject, "High Ideals in Education." His inspiration for the talk, he has written, was from his reading of *Education and the Higher Life* by the gifted bishop and literary figure of Peoria, Illinois, John Lancaster Spalding. "For many years," Father Ryan records, "he exercised a greater influence upon my general philosophy of life, my ideals, my sense of comparative values than any other contemporary writer." Father Ryan was particularly impressed by the following passage from the book named:

Is the material progress of the nineteenth century a cradle or a grave? Are we to continue to dig and delve and peer into matter until God and the soul fade from our view and we become like the things we work in? . . . Human nature has not changed, and now, as in the past, crowds follow leaders. What the best minds and the most energetic characters believe and teach and put in practice, the millions will come to accept. The doubt is whether the leaders will be worthy—the real permanent leaders, for the noisy apparent leaders can never be so.

If democracy is the best government, it follows that it is the kind of government which is most favorable to virtue, intelligence, and religion. It is faint praise to say that in America there is more enterprise, more wealth, than elsewhere. What we should strive to make ourselves able to say is that there is here a more truly human life, more public and private honesty, purity, sympathy, and helpfulness; more love of knowledge, more perfect openness to light, greater desire to learn, and greater willingness to accept truth than is found elsewhere.

It should be our endeavor to create a world of which it may be said that there life is more pleasant, beauty more highly prized, goodness held in greater reverence, the sense of honor finer, the recognition of talent and worth completer than elsewhere.

Father Ryan has striven to realize these ideals in his own efforts. The close association which he enjoyed with the better thinkers and leaders among the New Dealers enabled him to bring about by his suggestions to them many of the worthwhile social efforts which will be remembered and praised when the less popular policies of the Franklin Roosevelt administration will have been superseded. John Ryan, the seminarian, had become interested in the possibilities of social reform through legislation as early as February 1894. It came about through his being assigned the writing of an analytic essay on Leo XIII's Encyclical on the conditions of the working classes. To most American Catholics, who, like their fellow Americans, had been indoctrinated with theories of non-intervention which were not very different from the *laissez faire* school of economics, Leo XIII's declaration of the duties of the state to regulate business insofar as necessary for the common good appeared little short of socialistic. But Father Ryan realized that virtue always treads the middle path, taking the good from whichever side it approves it, and rejecting the extremes and injustices of either the Left or the Right.

In the same vein, and most helpful to the young sociologist, was the

work of Dr. Richard T. Ely, of Johns Hopkins, University of Wisconsin, and later, Northwestern. In 1889, Ely had included in a small volume entitled, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, a chapter on "Ethics and Economics." He pointed out therein the duty of government to provide for the welfare and prosperity of the whole body politic and all its constituent members. Father Ryan met Dr. Ely first in 1897, and the acquaintance ripened into a lifelong friendship. Indeed it was Dr. Ely's kindly interest that secured a publisher for Father Ryan's pioneering work, *A Living Wage*, the introduction to which by Dr. Ely served to win it notice from many of the learned profession who might otherwise have overlooked the work of the young priest. The substance of Dr. Ely's views as expressed in the chapter on "Ethics and Economics" were largely reëmphasized in the important labor Encyclical of the Roman Pontiff Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*, published some forty-two years later. Another work by Dr. Ely, *Socialism and Social Reform*, came into Father Ryan's hands in 1894, soon after its publication. It presented the first systematic program of social reform that had come to the young priest's attention. While some of this book's recommendations are still open to sincere debate, most have already been enacted into law of a sound and helpful kind.

In his personal political views, Father Ryan had supported the People's party through the nineties and into the turn of the century. He believed in the soundness of much of their social reform program, and became a friend of the Bryan policies which he believed needful for the economic welfare of the farmers and workers. As the Democratic party with occasional exceptions seemed at the time to be more progressive in the field of social reform than the Republican party, Father Ryan later followed its political fortunes with keen personal interest.

It was not unnatural then that when, in 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in the face of imperative need of immediate government action to save the United States from the very verge of revolution which in the opinion of informed men then threatened, John A. Ryan, already well known in the field of social ethics and economics, and located at the Catholic University, Washington, D.C., was prompt in his coöperation with every best effort of the New Deal.

In 1933, when Ryan was honored with special recognition of his work by the Pope, the officials of the federal government also entered into the celebration of the day, and at a banquet tendered Father Ryan, the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, paid him the following tribute:

Father Ryan has been a valiant, far-sighted, and zealous crusader in the interest of the average man and woman working for wages and salary . . . He has had

rare social understanding, sympathy with those in distress, and yet outstanding fairness to all sides of the industrial public. It has been the devotion, the courage, the vision, and the perseverance of such men which has been such a great factor in successful efforts toward obtaining social justice.

At the same banquet, Mr. Edward Keating, editor of *Labor*, and co-worker with Monsignor Ryan in many of the movements for social reform alluded to, paid a similar high tribute:

To tell why American workers love and trust Father Ryan would be to sketch the story of his life. At the dawn of the century he was fighting for workmen's compensation. He asked industry to treat the crippled worker with the same consideration shown the crippled machine. That was very radical then. But time has vindicated Father Ryan . . .

He demanded adequate child labor laws. He believed we should obey our Lord's injunction to safeguard His "little ones" . . . He emphasized the workers' right to organize without interference or coercion from the employer . . . he tried to induce his government to curb those financial and business interests whose greed for profits, and still more profits, brought on the debacle of October, 1929.

Senator Norris then added his tribute to Monsignor Ryan for his campaign against the forces which were despoiling America of its natural resources, and Senator Henrik Shipstead, of Minnesota, outlined Father Ryan's proposed social reforms which had already been written into the law of the land. Dr. William J. Kerby, of the Catholic University faculty, said in part:

Other speakers will interpret Monsignor Ryan's career in the terms of quantity and quality of service in social thought and reform. I have wished to seek an interpretation of him in the terms of his faith as a Catholic priest and of his philosophy . . . It is the function of real philosophy, religion, and morality to strive constantly toward the integration of life around its ideal. Monsignor Ryan has insisted upon ideals that bring beauty back to life, and he has resisted wrong with constant fealty.

Today, Monsignor John A. Ryan is continuing his lecture work with his whole-souled zeal for the welfare of the common man and woman of our industrial era. He is especially active in his concern for the welfare of the family as the basic social unit. He is concerned with the meaning of America's vital statistics on the break-up of every seventh home by divorce, and the emptying of the grammar-school and upper classrooms by artificial birth control. He is convinced that the crime wave which is so unenviably high in the United States is radically traceable to the moral breakdown of the home which he considers the adolescent boy's and girl's natural insulation against the forces of unfavorable city environment. His views have been incorporated in current magazine articles under titles such as "Family and the Wages Policy," (*Catholic Charities Review*, September 1932); "On Christian Marriage," (*Ecclesiastical Review*, March 1931); and "Religion, the Indispensable Basis of Democracy," (*Vital Speeches*, August 15, 1939).

At present, Monsignor John A. Ryan is director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council, a position which extends his sphere of influence throughout the wide-spread social and charitable institutions of the various Catholic dioceses of the United States, and enables him to coördinate the social efforts of the Council with the many government agencies with which he is in constant touch. Many of the fruits of his experience with these agencies for social betterment he incorporated in his discussion of problems published in 1937 under the title, *Seven Troubled Years*. Also his autobiography, when published, will be to students of social welfare of all creeds a first-hand introduction to sociology in the best sense of the word, and will also preserve the intimate memories of a great American priest.

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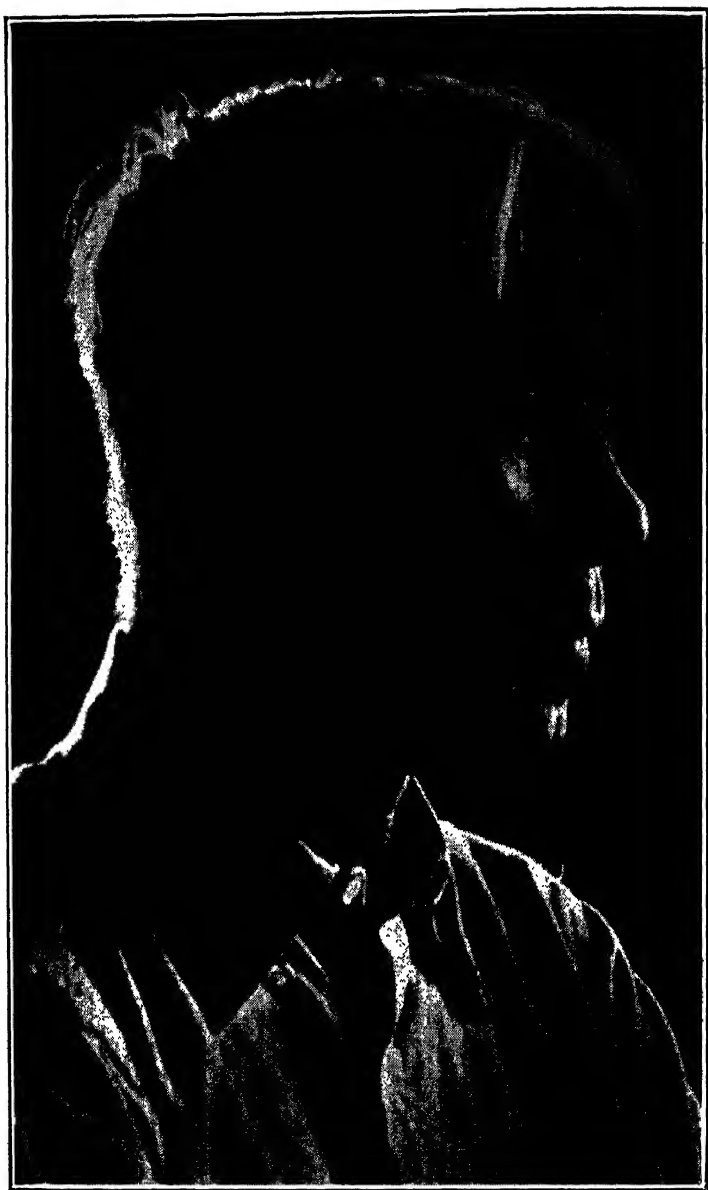


Photo by Edward Steichen. Courtesy of Harcourt, Brace and Company

CARL SANDBURG

CARL SANDBURG

by

DUDLEY C. GORDON

THE popular conception of a poet does not apply to Carl Sandburg. Nothing about him suggests the garret or the drawing-room. Instead, he is a weather-beaten he-man, the product of the prairies whose praises he sings. He is a two-fisted writer who has staked out a literary claim among the common people who make our industrial world tick.

A revealing clue as to the manner of writer Sandburg is may be found in one of his definitions of poetry where he says, "Poetry is the achievement of the synthesis of hyacinths and biscuits." His writings offer more of the substance of the biscuit than of the delicacy of the hyacinth. He combines skillful verse-writing with social criticism when he writes of steel-mills, brick-yards, prairies, or lusty cities, all of which he has known intimately.

Carl Sandburg is as much the voice of the worker of today as was Robert Burns the bard of the farmers of his time. Each of them rose from the common people, made use of folk-speech, and was well initiated into the folkways of his times. Each knew the monotony and drudgery of manual labor at first hand, yet each sang of the dignity of the laborer. They both had faith in the sterling qualities of the great mass of the common people.

These significant singers of such different eras have much in common, but, while Burns wrote romantically about "Auld Lang Syne," "My Jean," and "A Man's a Man for A' That"; Sandburg, the realist, writes of "Losers," "Red-Headed Cashiers," and "Chicago." Burns was the forerunner of Wordsworth, whereas Sandburg is a disciple of Whitman, the poet of democracy.

Sandburg is a poet, and more. Although there are many who contend that his verse-writing is outstanding, others commend him as reporter, lecturer, ballad-singer, and biographer, as well as student and practitioner of democracy.

The life-story of Carl Sandburg resembles that of a Horatio Alger hero. Born to August and Clara Johnson, Swedish immigrants who had come to this country only a short time before his birth on January 6, 1878, young Carl spent his early boyhood in Galesburg, Illinois. The odds were against his attaining distinction. Poverty and inadequate schooling,

however, were overcome and eventually he became one of our most successful writers.

When Carl was just a young boy he acquired the name of Sandburg. His father worked on a railroad construction gang which included several August Johnsons, and at times there was confusion over the matter of receiving the right pay-check. To avoid this annoyance Papa Johnson changed his name to Sandburg.

At the age of thirteen young Carl ended a sketchy school career and began a long series of jobs all of which have influenced his writing tremendously. He possessed keen powers of observation and his active use of them in each new type of work increased his understanding of and sympathy for workers. Included among the jobs he held between the ages of thirteen and seventeen were that of driver of a milk wagon, porter in a barber-shop, scene-shifter in a cheap theater, dish-washer, truck-handler in a brick-yard, and turner-apprentice in a pottery.

At seventeen young Sandburg felt the urge to "Go West" which he satisfied via the "bumming" route. He rode in side-door pullmans and came to know well those itinerant philosophers whom we call tramps. In order that he might eat he washed dishes in Kansas City, Omaha, Denver, and elsewhere. He even went from door to door, offering to paint stoves in exchange for meals. Upon his return to Galesburg he obtained work as a house-painter.

Seeking adventure in 1898, he signed up as a private in Company C in the Sixth Illinois Volunteers at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War and saw active service in Puerto Rico for eight months. It was at this time that a momentous change in the current of his life occurred. While in camp he came to know a young man who had attended Lombard College in Sandburg's home town, Galesburg. This young man prevailed upon young Carl to continue his education. Following this advice, Sandburg entered Lombard College as a special student soon after his discharge from the Army. While attending college he worked as tutor, bell-ringer, and janitor of the gymnasium. Excelling at extra-curricular activities, he became captain of the basketball team and editor-in-chief of the college magazine and the class annual.

Sandburg's introduction to Lombard was almost providential, for here he found an intellectual environment which appealed to him. Earlier, at a time when orthodoxy was almost universal, the college had been founded as a liberal Universalist school. It is doubtful if he could have so readily adjusted himself in a traditional college where the bony hand of medievalism is so often felt.

Upon his graduation in 1902 Sandburg became a salesman of films. Thereafter, he became advertising manager for a department-store, a district-organizer for the Social-Democratic party in Wisconsin, and news-reporter in Milwaukee. Meanwhile, in 1904, he privately published his first book of poems, *In Reckless Ecstasy*, which is now an item of interest to the growing number of Sandburg collectors.

Another year of great import to Sandburg was 1908, for then he persuaded Miss Lillian Steichen, sister of the noted photographer, Edward Steichen, to change her name to Sandburg. They now have three charming daughters: Margaret, Janet, and Helga. Mrs. Sandburg is immensely proud of her achievements as wife and mother; as holder of the degree of doctor of philosophy; and her success as raiser of thoroughbred goats on her Chikaming Goat Farm.

By the time of his marriage Sandburg had already collected a mass of material about his ideal and hero, Abraham Lincoln. He had read every book within reach which promised new information, and he had begun taking notes from which he later wrote his masterful biography of the great Emancipator.

The following years were crowded with purposeful activity. During 1910 to 1912 he was secretary to the Mayor of Milwaukee. In 1913 he became associate editor of the magazine, *System*. The next year he submitted his vigorous poem, "Chicago," to *Poetry: a Magazine of Verse*. Editor Harriet Monroe and her staff were perplexed when they first read Sandburg's contribution. It was unlike any poem then current, bearing little resemblance to traditional verse patterns. Its free, rythmical style had a force and beauty that were irresistible and its appraisal required a new theory of evaluation.

After considerable discussion, the magazine staff agreed to publish the poem, and its appearance caused a stir in poetry circles. Within a year it brought its author the coveted Levinson Prize for the best poem printed in *Poetry: a Magazine of Verse*.

At this time a renaissance in poetry was occurring in America. A poetry that was characteristic of our own country was at last coming into being, a century and a half after we had separated from England. Our poets were finally ready to declare their independence from literary Europe and were being led by such stalwarts as Edwin Arlington Robinson, Edgar Lee Masters, Robert Frost, Vachel Lindsay, John G. Niehardt, Ezra Pound, and John Gould Fletcher, together with Edna St. Vincent Millay, Amy Lowell, Sara Teasdale, and others of note.

The publication of his *Chicago Poems* brought recognition to Sandburg as a leader in the new birth of American letters. It was admitted that he, along with Lindsay and Masters, was carrying the torch which slipped from Whitman's grasp at death. Ever since, he has continued to illuminate our way toward an understanding of the vitality and beauty of poetry bearing the "Made in America" mark.

It was natural that Sandburg should have been influenced by Whitman. Early in his career he became aware of his affinity to the work of the "good grey poet." They saw eye to eye. The older man inspired the younger. They both saw poetry among the masses, an almost unexplored territory, heretofore. Each had the same mystical faith in the integrity of the people but, whereas Whitman saw the people in magnificent scope, and on a theoretical plane, Sandburg knew them from having lived and worked with them. He saw them on earth, as every-day human beings. He excelled the master in understanding individuals and in observing the details of their every-day lives.

What American poetry might have achieved had not the first World War broken out is a matter of speculation, but break out it did, and at a most inopportune time. When the hysteria of war is rampant there are few who will attend the cultivation of a flowering literature, to our country's tremendous loss. And so, instead of writing imperishable verses, Sandburg was sent to Scandinavia as a news-correspondent where his hatred for war and its causes grew apace. This hatred is matched only by that which he holds for exploiters of the common people, and for the evils of industrial America.

Upon the conclusion of the war Sandburg became an editorial-writer on the *Chicago Daily News*, and for the next few years he hit his proper stride. In 1918 he published the book of poems bearing the title, *Cornhuskers*, which was followed by *The Chicago Race Riots* the next year. Then, and in 1921 also, he received half the Poetry Society of Harvard Prize. Meanwhile, he had published his famous *Smoke and Steel* poems in 1920.

About this time Sandburg was writing his charming *Rootabaga Stories* which have endeared him to children the country over. Young readers of these stories become ardent admirers of their author, and to this day, if word is passed around that Carl Sandburg has come to town with his guitar, a capacity audience will include many children.

Often the itinerary of his frequent recital tours has been determined by news that an interesting bit of Lincolniana or a skillful singer of folk-ballads was available in some out-of-the-way place. The prospect would

tempt him to travel many miles in order that he might ride his special hobbies. For Lincoln and our ballads have held Sandburg's interest for years. To him, they are component parts of America, and America has long been the object of his passionate devotion. He has probed our country, and what it stands for, to the very core. He knows it as intimately as did Lincoln, who is known to us as a man of the people. Sandburg, too, has discovered the true Americanism among the people. Among them he learned the ideas and ideals of our country and has given expression to them in the language and folk-wit of the people, rather than through the measured words of the traditional poet or scholar.

Buried in the hills of Kentucky there lies the greatest store of gold ever assembled, but in two books by Sandburg any reader may find an even richer treasure, one that is more genuinely American than gold. These books are *The American Songbag* and *The People, Yes*.

The treasure collected by Sandburg in these volumes is more enduring than gold. It is the very fibre of the country. The first volume contains the words and music of songs which the conquerors of this continent sang while on the job. The sailor, the lumberman, the miner, the railroader, the "bad man," the soldier, and a host of others who have had a hand in the making of America are represented through their songs. The more recent book, *The People, Yes*, has been called by Sandburg, a footnote to the Gettysburg Address. It is a warehouse packed with the wit and wisdom of the common people, the raw material for many a poem or book. American to the core, it exemplifies Sandburg's faith in democratic processes.

Few alert Americans will allow much time to elapse before they familiarize themselves with these volumes. They are "must" books for all who are proud that our country has come of age, and that we are no longer dependent upon Europe for literary sustenance.

With the passage of the years Sandburg continued publishing his books of poems and the Rootabaga stories. He also entered the field in which he was to add so measurably to his fame, that of biography. In 1926 he published his *Abraham Lincoln: the Prairie Years*, which has since run through many editions. Next he wrote a life of his brother-in-law bearing the title, *Steichen the Photographer*. (The photograph of Sandburg in this volume is by Steichen.) Later, in conjunction with Paul Angle, he wrote *Mary Lincoln, Wife and Widow*.

A host of honors came to Sandburg in 1928. He was Phi Beta Kappa poet at Harvard. His book, *Good Morning, America* was well received, and educational institutions began doing honor to themselves by conferring

degrees upon him. His alma mater, Lombard College, gave him the degree of doctor of literature. The following year Knox College followed suit, as did Northwestern in 1931. Three years later the University of Hawaii had him come to the islands to lecture.

Culminating thirty years of painstaking research, together with writing and rewriting, Sandburg brought out his monumental four-volume work, *Abraham Lincoln: the War Years*, in 1939. With the publication of this magnificent achievement Sandburg was recognized as one of our leading men of letters. Even those classicists who at first condemned him as vulgar, because he used the language of the man in the street in his writings, admitted his skill. Now they have "climbed aboard the band wagon" and are singing his praises.

Instead of the carping criticism which was sometimes expressed on the appearance of his early work, we read in the *New York Times* such words as: "It [*The War Years*] is the truest biography of the greatest American. It is written in the racy cadence of American speech by the most Lincolnian of our poets." While the *New York Herald-Tribune* carried this tribute:

Sandburg was born for this particular job, and it has waited for him. A great American democrat has come at last to his most sympathetic, and at the same time, his most searchingly detailed portrait at the hands of another great American democrat. And the portrait seems destined to be one of the tallest sycamores in the forest of American literature, one of the landmarks in the history of our writing.

How could the Pulitzer Prize judges resist such praise? They couldn't. They gave Sandburg the 1939 prize for biography.

The man who has written this most understanding of all Lincoln biographies has acquired some of the characteristics of his subject. Thirty years of exposure to the factors which account for the development of one man's personality can not help but exert its influence upon the one exposed. Such is the case with Sandburg. He, too, is a product of the prairie. For thirty years he lived consciously the life that Lincoln had lived unconsciously, therefore, it is not so surprising that, by a process of spiritual osmosis, he came to resemble the great democrat.

During that thirty years in which he gathered material on Lincoln he lived among people who had known the Rail-splitter intimately. He grew up on Lincoln lore that was common talk in Illinois. He has lived his life of Lincoln so long that he has even come to resemble him.

In personal appearance Sandburg has that same rugged prairie look, that same directness of glance, and that same simplicity of dress which we associate with Lincoln. A black bow tie, heavy shoes, and unpressed suit is his usual costume, too. About him there is that homespun quality

which, together with his rich, deep drawl make one question, "Where have I met this man before?" Were it not for that stubborn lock of white hair which is forever falling down over his forehead we might place him. It is the color of the hair that confuses. If it were black, then we would know this man reminds us of—Lincoln.

The resemblance carries on into literature, also. Both Lincoln and Sandburg are noted for their extensive, vigorous vocabularies; both write in the rhythms found in the Bible; and both utilized Aesop's art of saying much by way of the apt fable.

Sandburg's talents entitle him to stand erect on his own account. His poetry, his stories, and his six volumes on Lincoln are of such fine quality that any man of letters would be proud to acknowledge them. His work is distinctly his own, though its heredity may be traced through Lincoln, Whitman, and Burns. Like Burns, he is the voice of the worker, and, like Whitman and Lincoln, he has implicit faith in the people of America and in the type of government under which they thrive.

The critical reader who must have further proof as to Sandburg's talents can apply a test that should convince him. All he need do is to examine the Lincoln volumes with the idea of discovering if the author has abided by a cardinal rule of biography: the book should be both a picture of the man and of the times in which he lived. Having done this he should appreciate that Sandburg is as tall a sycamore as any yet grown in our literary forest.

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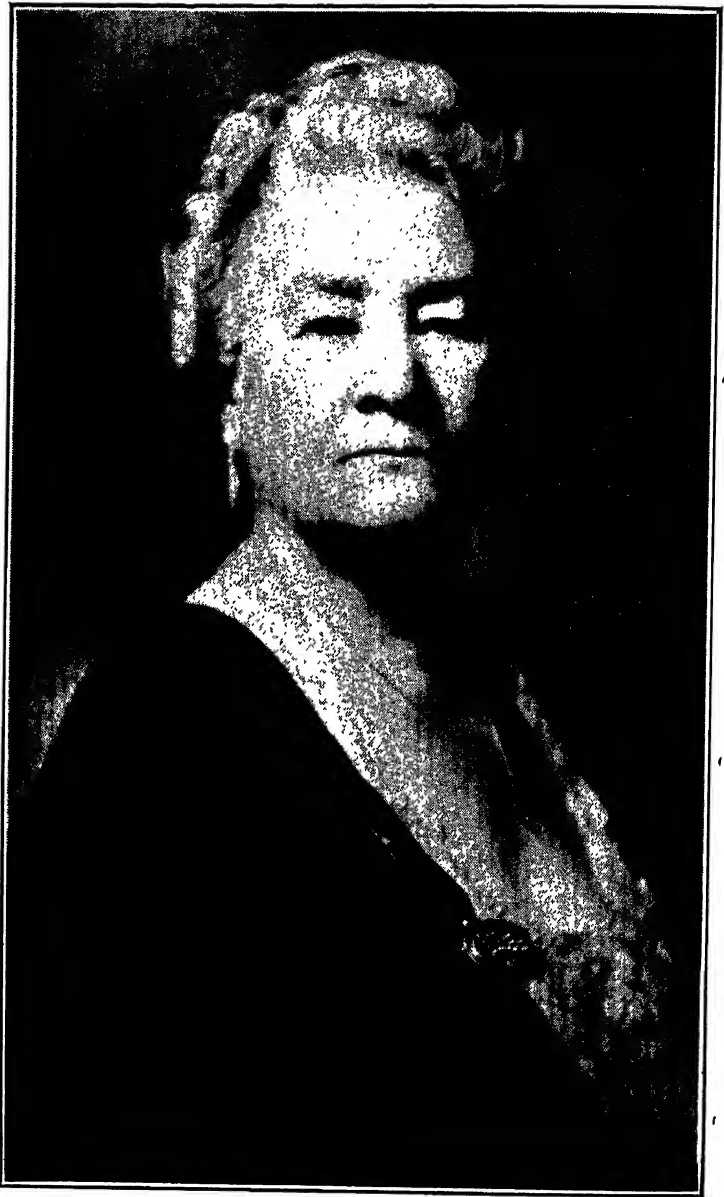
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Courtesy of Ferdinand Schumann-Heink

ERNESTINE SCHUMANN-HEINK

ERNESTINE SCHUMANN-HEINK

by

CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS and WALLACE GOODRICH



HE life and work of Madame Ernestine Schumann-Heink furnish a varied pageant of impressions to the American student. Her career abounds in examples of the power of courage and persistence to overcome apparently insurmountable obstacles. The fighting spirit and fortitude of a true military heroine enabled this great artist to transcend limitations and survive hardships which would have daunted a weaker soul. Only once in all her long career did her determination flag or her self-confidence waver.

She has told the story of this most dramatic and tragic episode in her life with a frankness which challenges admiration. It is characteristic of her whole attitude of honesty toward life. Picture to yourself a mother of scarcely twenty-one years taking three children on a dark night to a railroad track in the city of Hamburg. They stand beside the way waiting for a train to come. The little mother has reached the end of her endurance. She can not bear any longer to see her children starving and be unable to give them food. Fate has seemed always against her. Her every attempt to develop her God-given talent for singing is thwarted. Now she has determined to cast herself and her children before the on-coming train.

The funny little German engine comes puffing into view. The piercing whistle sounds for the crossing. She has gathered her youngest into her arms in a last desperate embrace and is just in the act of throwing herself and her children in the way of certain death, when the oldest daughter screams: "Mama, Mama, I love you, I love you. Take me home."¹ The mother-heart is fired with determination to face the struggle again. She takes the three children back to a home in which the only furniture is a bed and three chairs to fight her way to recognition as the world's most beloved singer.

Such was the turning-point of a great life. In this incident may be found an epitome of the character of Ernestine Schumann-Heink. Fate hounded her, but her indomitable determination and immense capacity for mother-love carried her on to the highest goal of fortune and artistic accomplishment.

It becomes easier to understand the riddle of Schumann-Heink's career when we examine peculiarly adverse circumstances with which her child-

¹Lawton, Mary. *Schumann-Heink; the Last of the Titans*, N.Y., 1928, pp. 79 f.

hood was surrounded, and the means by which she overcame the apparently endless obstacles. She was born June 15, 1861, the daughter of a major in the Austrian Army. She was one of a large family and often knew hunger in her childhood. She took upon her young shoulders much of the burden of caring for the ever increasing family and helped materially in the support of the younger children.

Many interesting stories are told of her ingenious ways of securing food and money. Her father was able to pay his bills only once a month. The corner store where the family bought provisions allowed them to run up a charge account. But when the bill exceeded a certain amount the shopkeeper, a cautious Styrian peasant, refused further credit. Then Ernestine would plead with her as a writer has described:

"My mother must have them. They are things the babies need." The proprietress loved music. Ernestine knew this and played upon her weakness. "Wouldn't you like to have me sing something for you?" The stern exterior of the *Hausfrau* would melt into the interested request, "Won't you sing that Styrian folk-song I like so much?" And when the song was finished, Ernestine would march home in triumph with the articles which she coveted for the family's immediate needs.²

Another source of income devised by the resourceful Ernestine came to a speedy end because of family pride. She had made friends with Marie, the daughter of a neighboring inn-keeper. From her room in the soldiers' barracks where her family was billeted she could hear the pianist playing in the beer-garden adjacent to the inn. He played dance-tunes, and the soldiers of the garrison stepped gallantly upon the dance-floor to the strains of the old rattle-trap instrument. One day Marie came to Ernestine weeping. "We can not have any more dances. The pianist has suddenly died. What can we do?"

"Don't worry," said Ernestine, ever helpful and confident, "I can play the tunes he did."

Without saying a word to the family she went to the restaurant with Marie and tried out the old piano. She could play well by ear, and soon the soldiers were dancing as gayly as ever to the same waltzes and polkas that they had formerly enjoyed. This was the real debut of Ernestine Roessler as a public performer. But her triumph was short-lived. When she went home with the money she had earned her family were shocked. They were scandalized at the thought of their daughter's playing in public for the soldiers who were under the command of her father. There must be no "Daughter of the Regiment" in that proud, poverty-stricken home. So Ernestine, ever resourceful, evolved a plan for retrieving the lost income. She offered to give Marie piano lessons and

²Armstrong, W. "The Girlhood of Ernestine Schumann-Heink," in *Woman's Home Companion*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 16.
Ibid., p. 17.

thus satisfy both parties. She received for each lesson the sum of seven and a half cents, but even that amount was welcome in a home where there were so many hungry mouths to feed.

The most colorful episode in the young musician's career as breadwinner was her experience with an Italian circus which was visiting the little town of Podgorzj, near Krakow. She has told the story in her own inimitable way:

One day I wandered into the market-place, and there I found a wonderful circus (wonderful to me, anyway) with all the people crowding about, and the circus people, clowns, riders, animals and everything—so marvelous! They were just having the midday meal when I came along. Oh, how it smelled, so good! And I was so hungry—I was always hungry, you know, and everything excited me so, the people, the horses, the smell of that good food all mixed with garlic and all the things I loved (and I love to this day garlic, I tell you), and I so starving.

"Ach!" I thought to myself. "What must I do! What *must* I do to get some of that good food?"

I thought, if I could only have something to eat, why, I would do anything for it. So I asked them, *please, please*, could they give me something to eat—and I would work for it—I'd do anything to get it! Of course, they were astonished, and roared at me with laughter and said: "*Sì, sì!* if you want to work, little one, clean the monkey-cage first, then you can eat!"

I suppose they didn't think I'd really do it—they were just joking—but I did it, I tell you, as quick as a wink. And what a meal they gave me! I was stuffed like a Strassbourg goose!⁴

This incident led to a lasting friendship with the Italian circus people. The little schoolgirl deserted her lessons and went day after day to the circus-grounds. She rode horses and took part in the performances, until her father's commanding officer discovered it. Then her father, ever proud, disciplined her: "How come *you* in the circus? What were you doing in the circus? Were you dressed like one of those circus girls? How so? *Explanation, Ernestine!*" Schumann-Heink herself relates the tragic denouement:

Well, there I was—caught! So then I confessed everything. I said: "Father, I had to go, I was so hungry! And they fed me!" Hungry! Poor Father and Mother! You should have seen their faces—how they looked when I said that! And my Father turned to Mother—but poor Mother! She knew nothing about it. It was not her fault . . . So Father (after giving me my good thrashing) went to the school and made a terrible row; he was not a rough-neck for nothing!⁵

So it appears that Ernestine's early life was marked by constant attempts to express her *penchant* for artistic development and to gain some money thereby. She was constantly being checked in her career by the traditional pride of her poverty-stricken father who could not support his family decently, yet who refused to allow his daughter to engage in what he considered common pursuits.

⁴Lawton, pp. 12 f.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 16 f.

If the father was a hindrance the mother was a stimulus to Ernestine. It is not hard to trace the genesis of Schumann-Heink's artistic endowment. Her mother was the source of this inheritance and of her earliest instructions as well. At the age of three she was already dancing and singing to imitate her mother, who was a good natural musician. The mother, Charlotte Goldman, was well educated. She had attended a convent school where she learned to speak French and Latin as fluently as her native German. She took special pains to teach these, as well as embroidery and needlework, to little Ernestine. Somehow the child, who had a natural ear for languages, also picked up Hungarian. But her knowledge of German was sadly deficient. Her father said, "It's a shame! She must learn German!" And so the action was suited to the word. She learned German.⁶

Her musical education was largely self-acquired. She could not read music well for many years because she worked largely by ear. When she sang in church she had to nudge the boy next her to give her the pitch when her solos began. When she was a member of the Dresden Opera Company she was asked to sing in a gala performance at the cathedral when the King and Queen were present. She became confused and made a harrowing discord because of her inability to read the notes clearly. The seventy-seven-year-old choir-director, Herr Krebs, took his baton and whacked her soundly across the shoulders. "You silly little goose!" he shouted.⁷

After that, she realized her shortcoming and studied sight-singing intensively with Dr. Wuellner, who had her sing all parts, soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. Through his rigorous training she acquired the reasoning power and assurance that grows out of thorough technical knowledge. She always stressed this point in giving advice to young singers.

So completely did she overcome this great handicap to her professional advancement that later she was able to sing the very difficult part of Clytemnestra in Strauss's *Elektra* at sight, a feat almost unparalleled in vocal routine in those days. She had the utmost self-confidence from this time forward. She always sang on pitch; nothing could throw her off or make her deviate one hair's breadth, so entirely had she mastered the ability to concentrate. At a rehearsal of *Samson et Dalila*, according to an eye-witness, she furnished a demonstration of supreme musicianship. There was a misunderstanding concerning the tempo at a point known to be a pitfall to conductors and singers alike. The men in the orchestra were in doubt as to how to interpret the conductor's beat. They went

⁶Armstrong, p. 16.

⁷Lawton, p. 57.

ahead for several measures, some at the rate of two beats to a measure, others counting four. The confusion naturally became worse and worse with each succeeding measure. One instrument after another dropped off, until only a lone trombone was left, intoning the last lingering notes with sad uncertainty. All the while Schumann-Heink stood erect on the stage like a statue, singing her part with faultless intonation. She was utterly unconscious of the orchestral confusion, never missing a note until her part was finished, when she sat down beaming with satisfaction, utterly oblivious to the pandemonium which had surrounded her.

Her first regular instructions in voice were given as a recognition of her talent. A professional singer had been attracted by the voice of Ernestine singing in a convent choir at Prague. This musician had offered to give her free lessons, but the sudden removal of her father to Gratz had curtailed the arrangement; this was a sad blow to Ernestine. In Prague, however, her talent was recognized by the daughter of a colonel who had failed in opera, where she sang under the name of Marietta von Leclair. She was a very thorough teacher, and Ernestine was fortunate in securing a reliable instructor at this critical period.

But there was always the old thorn in the flesh—poverty! How could she get a piano? Certainly her parents could not help. She applied herself resolutely to securing a few pupils, whom she instructed for a pittance, and at last succeeded in obtaining a piano by paying a *Gulden* a month for it. It was a rheumatic box—she had to patch up the broken hammers with string and sealing-wax. But her persistence would not allow any handicap to discourage her. When finally she was settled down to practice, the youngest of the constantly increasing brood of brothers and sisters set up a wail that could not be ignored. Ever equal to the occasion, she called her inventive ingenuity into account. She rigged up a device by which she could push the baby-carriage back and forth with her foot while she sat at the piano practicing.

Her professional career began at an early age, in spite of the apparently endless obstacle race which fate had imposed upon her before she could reach her goal. She made her first public appearance as a soloist in the quartet of Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* in 1876. With the proceeds, six dollars and a half, she bought curtains for the house, a cage for her canary, and new shoes. She had been forced to wear the cast-off shoes of the soldiers in her father's regiment up to that time.

Le Batt, a tenor from Vienna, took so great an interest in her that he secured funds to take her to Vienna. Her introduction to the director of the Vienna opera had disheartening results. He took a violent dislike

to her because of her appearance and her poverty—"Well, what you want? Look at her!" . . . "*Gott in Himmel!*"

Nevertheless, in spite of Director Zauner's objection to her face, there was a quiet, steady, intelligent purpose shining in her eyes which made her attractive, and at the age of seventeen she won first place in a contest for a new singer in the Dresden Opera Company. She made her operatic debut there as Azucena in *Il Trovatore* October 13, 1878.

Later, after her marriage, she went to Hamburg, where she sang small roles in the opera. But she was beginning to win recognition as an artist of the first rank. She was asked to sing the solo part in Brahms's new *Rhapsody* under the direction of Von Buelow. She rated this occasion as the high point of her whole career:

Johannes Brahms was an invited guest . . . I remember this so well. Brahms sat in the front seat . . . I came out in a plain white dress—the only one I had—street shoes, of course, as I had no slippers, and sang my part . . . It was a great day for me, for there sat Johannes Brahms in front, and I sang—for him! . . . After it was over they applauded and applauded, and Johannes Brahms came out on the stage to make his bow, but he wouldn't go alone. I didn't want to go, but they said "Yes," so I came out with those two great men—Von Buelow on one side and Johannes Brahms on the other; and they both kissed my hand. Whatever success came later, there was nothing to compare to that—there was no moment like that. I rode the clouds!⁹

Another element soon entered into Ernestine's career to complicate it still further. Not only had fate placed her in a home where she had to struggle with poverty and lack of opportunity for musical advancement, along with the necessity of helping to provide for her brothers and sisters, but it seemed that her destiny was to be governed by an unruly star in her love-affairs. She had had two proposals of marriage by letter in the approved Austrian manner before she was eighteen. One of the suitors was later a world-famous composer, and the other eventually became a well-known professor. If the father had not peremptorily vetoed these, she might have fared more fortunately than she did.

When she was eighteen she eloped with Heink, the secretary of the Dresden Royal Opera. Both lost their positions there, because their contracts required that they should not marry without consent of the opera authorities. Her first child, August, was born in the midst of extreme poverty. The coming of two other children, Lotta and Henry, reduced her to a state of destitution, for she could find little to do, and her husband had little interest in his family. He finally left her altogether, with an income of only ten dollars a month, burdened by a large number of her husband's debts, which she was required by law to meet.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 73.

Yet her charity was great enough to forgive even his faults. "It was a big mistake, my marriage then. Let it go at that,"¹⁰ she said.

Later, in Hamburg, she married an actor, Paul Schumann, to whom she was extremely devoted. She was naturally dramatic by instinct, and her associations with him helped to develop her histrionic talent still further. He used to say to her affectionately, "You are no good, but you are a damn genius, all the same."¹¹ He helped her especially in the interpretation of *Lieder*.

Sembrich and Nordica persuaded Schumann-Heink to leave Hamburg and accept a contract with the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York in 1898. She had already borne three children to her second husband making six in all. Then began the long series of successes in America which made her America's most beloved musical figure.

There was still one more ordeal by which she must prove her mettle, however, before she entered into the success which she so richly deserved. She made her debut in America at Chicago, November 7, 1898, in *Lohengrin*, with Emma Eames, Andreas Dippel, and David Bispham, less than a month before the birth of her seventh child. This was a real test, and pressure was brought to bear by her manager and her husband to cancel her contract before the performance. But once more her iron will and determination saw her through. She said to the manager of the Metropolitan Opera, Maurice Grau, when he told her that she must choose between a career and having a family, "My children always come first."¹² And in spite of the difficulty of the situation, she carried through her part with tremendous success, and her future in America was assured.

This was characteristic of her whole attitude toward life—to face difficulties and overcome them without even a moment's consideration of the possibility of defeat. Most of all she was fired by her intense mother-love and devotion to her home. Her whole life might well be epitomized in her phrase: "Giving is such happiness. My children are my very life."¹³

The first child born in America was named George Washington, because of the gratitude of the mother and father for the splendid reception which America had accorded her. From the very first time when she came to America she conceived a love for the country and its people, without lessening her liking and respect for her native country. She became a citizen of the United States in 1908. Her allegiance was henceforth to the land that she adopted, and that had adopted her. The German consul objected to naming the child George Washington, because he

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 111.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹³————, 16

said it was against the law of Germany. "You old fool," Schumann said, "it is not against the American law. We are in America now. He is not registered, this baby, and he is to be named George Washington. That's what we'll call him. That's settled!"¹⁴

Two more children were born, and Madame Schumann-Heink's home, whether in New Jersey or California, was always the center of her life. Her domesticity was thoroughgoing. She sewed and cooked and did a good share of her own laundry when on tour. She had little sympathy with "modern feminism" because she felt that it was apt to destroy true home life. Women should not smoke or drink, according to this "old-fashioned" mother. Her role of motherhood was the greatest she ever filled. She played this part throughout her long life with the fullest measure of love and devotion, and the inevitable attendant heartaches.

During the World War she distinguished herself by the fine feeling which she displayed in handling a difficult situation. Her affections were torn in two directions. Her oldest son, August, lost his life in a submarine serving Germany, while her four other sons were enlisted in the American Army. Hans died at Fort Slocum in 1916. Yet, with all this weighing upon her, she maintained the greatest generosity and fair-mindedness toward all. She practically adopted the entire American Expeditionary Force and mothered them during the period of the war. She helped to keep up the morale by frequently singing in the camps. After the war she fostered the American Legion and sang at its gatherings as well as in soldiers' hospitals.

She became, if possible, even more widely known and beloved by younger American audiences through her singing over the radio, where she received the official title of "Mother Schumann-Heink." This was an appropriate designation. She bore it with the attitude of a true "soldier of fortune," as she dubbed herself. After her first season at the Metropolitan Opera her art and personality soon made her well known throughout her adopted land. She gradually became one of the most sought-after concert singers, as well as a perennial favorite in opera and operetta.

She also appeared repeatedly in vaudeville. The end of her concert career was announced officially in 1926, when she said that she wished to conclude her half-century of brilliant public performances by a final gala concert held in Carnegie Hall, New York, upon the fiftieth anniversary of her debut as a soloist in Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* in a performance at Graz. But like an old war-horse she was constitutionally unable

¹⁴Lawton, pp. 150 f.

to retire and the smoke of the battle-field in her nostrils lured her forth again. She accepted an invitation to sing at the Roxy Theater in New York on June 15, 1930, and then toured through the West with "Roxy's Gang."

As a singer of classical repertoire, folk-songs and even ditties of camp-life, she was able to seize and retain the interest of cosmopolitan audiences to an unequalled degree. This was particularly noticeable when she turned from serious or pathetic qualities to a vein of lighter appeal. Her own instantaneous change of mood caused the entire audience to register the new emotion projected by her from the platform. Her fortitude on tour has been described:

In the course of her innumerable concert-tours she has scoured the country, visiting towns which not only God but the railroad forgot, and back from these journeyings have floated fantastic legends: of Schumann-Heink saying, on more than one occasion, "Well, if there isn't a lower I will take an upper"; of Schumann-Heink sitting up in a day-coach all night, en route to towns which were not favored with pullman-service.¹⁵

Compare this with the usual temperamental flair of concert artists when traveling, and you will see the secret of Schumann-Heink's success—self-control, determination, and patience.

In a business way Schumann-Heink was a phenomenon. She was proud of the fact that she never had a press-agent because she did not need one. Her husband was her stage-manager at the beginning of her American career, but she always followed her own instincts in regard to business policy, and these instincts proved to be uniformly sound. She was dissatisfied with her original salary at the Metropolitan Opera—seventy-five dollars a week. With daring unparalleled in those days she forsook grand opera for the time being, and toured the country with an operetta, *The Silver Slipper*. Her courage in defying established traditions and her sound business instincts were among her thoroughly American traits. After several successful seasons in light opera she was invited to return to the Metropolitan at her own price, to specialize in Wagnerian roles.

Devotion to Wagner's music amounted with her almost to a religion. Her love for Wagner's works culminated in a deep affection for his family. She was always a welcome guest in the Wagner home when she went back to Bayreuth year after year as one of the most honored and beloved singers in the festival performances. Cosima called her *meine liebe Erda*. The atmosphere of Bayreuth was more congenial to her than that of the commercial opera because of her high idealism. There all was subordinated to the interests of the highest art.

¹⁵Smith, Helena. "Hausfrau Prima Donna," in *New Yorker*, 1926, p. 17.

The versatility of her accomplishments was remarkable. Her vocal range was almost phenomenal—from *D* below middle *C* to high *B*. Not only was she recognized as the foremost contralto in Wagnerian roles but she appeared in Italian and French opera as well. She ran the whole gamut of human emotions through the fine dignity and sympathy which she displayed as Brangaene, her dramatic force as Ortrud, her typically German humor in the part of Magdalena, and her prophetic force as Erda. Her final operatic appearance was in the latter role on March 11, 1932, at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City. She was equally great as an ensemblist in opera. Her display of accurate musicianship in concerted numbers, such as those of the Rhine-maidens, commanded the enthusiastic admiration of conductor and audience alike. Her record in opera is equalled by her career in operetta. This is accounted for by the fact that she possessed a matchless sense of humor which fairly radiated from her when humor was in place, yet when occasion demanded she could be fairly pontifical in her dignity.

When she was seventy-four years old, "Mother" Ernestine embarked upon a career in the motion pictures so closely identified with her beloved California, her adopted home. Her first and only appearance was in *Here's to Romance* with Nino Martini. The results justified the producer's faith in her and she was given a contract by the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios for three years. Her next role was to have been the lead in *Gram*, written by Mary Roberts Rinehart, but the production of the film was postponed twice on account of her ill health.

No portrait of Ernestine Schumann-Heink would be complete without mention of her generosity, especially towards young musicians of talent. Friends estimate that she spent upwards of a hundred thousand dollars in assisting poor students of promise, besides the time which she gave to interviewing and encouraging them. She was kind and more than kind to young artists—giving them every encouragement and the benefit of her own experience, but she was equally intolerant of any lack of seriousness on their part. She was a loyal and affectionate friend, happy to be among her acquaintances or with her family during the brief intervals between her engagements, but she was ever mindful of her professional responsibilities.

It was as an idealist of the most uncompromising stamp that she exerted the strongest influence. All who knew her bear testimony that she respected her art as a divine mission and insisted that the same respect be paid to it by all others with whom she associated. Her whole life was permeated with a strong religious feeling. Her spiritual background and the undoubted sincerity of her convictions intensified and

enhanced her consecration to art. In her musicianship she exemplified the strict training of her early German environment, mellowed by a certain democratic appeal and big-heartedness which she said grew out of her affection for America:

Gratitude!—that's my very last word—gratitude to the American people who have so made my American career! For it is here in America that my happiest years have been spent—it is here in America, please God, that I shall end my days—marching on, "booted and spurred," as my father used to say, like an old soldier of fortune.²⁸

And her wish was fulfilled! She did "end her days marching on, booted and spurred," on November 18, 1936, at Hollywood, California, at the age of seventy-five. The cause of her death was hemorrhages of the throat and lungs. Because of her great popularity as a public figure and her interest in the Army she was buried with military honors. Her body lay in state in the Hollywood Post American Legion auditorium, where a memorial service was held on November 20. Seven hundred and fifty people were present, many of them veterans of the World War in uniform. "Taps," which she often sang on the concert-platform, was sounded by an army bugler. Prayer was offered by a Scandinavian minister, and commemorative thoughts were contributed by a Jewish rabbi. It was fitting that this international "Titan," who was too big in her nature and art to be limited by any national boundaries, who was born in Czechoslovakia, who had sung in all the important centers of Europe, who had settled in America as her home, should have a funeral such as this, in which members of all classes, and American citizens of varied racial extraction united to do her honor.

Her body was taken with military escort to San Diego where she had spent the latter years of her life. Her last rites in that city enlisted a military guard and a marine band. A thousand people attended the services and two thousand stood in adjoining streets. The two songs that were perhaps most closely identified with her in the public mind, "Silent Night" and Brahms's "Wiegenlied," were sung in her memory.

Ernestine Schumann-Heink's character set an example of unswerving devotion to her art, grounded upon the soundest training and command of fundamental principles. This formed an absolutely irresistible combination when united with remarkable will power. Her lifelong consecration to high purposes enabled her to overcome apparently insurmountable obstacles. Her spiritual accomplishments make her a figure of peculiarly commanding significance to our contemporary life where clear-cut issues are in constant danger of being obscured by the flotsam and jetsam

²⁸Lawton, p. 390.

of materialistic thought. When the portrait of her personality is amplified to include the epic quality of motherhood in its largest sense, which she displayed throughout her life toward not only her own family but the world at large, we have a figure of heroic mold. She may well take her place as a living incarnation of one of the mythical Teutonic beings of Wagner's creation which her interpretative genius has perpetuated.

But it is perhaps in cultural and political fields that the stature of this truly great woman looms largest for the present generation, who can no longer hear the voice that made her famous. Although her art represented the essence of all that was best in the German tradition, she was throughout her life an ardent champion of individualism and the democratic principle. She was barred from Germany under the Nazi regime because her grandmother was Jewish. She further aroused the antagonism of Hitler's followers by singing at an anti-Nazi concert in Carnegie Hall in 1934. The spirit of her whole life and the attitude which she maintained in the face of all difficulties was summed up in her characteristic words to the audience on that occasion. She said to them in one of those spontaneous remarks from the stage which she was in the habit of making upon any occasion when the spirit moved her, "They have threatened me with death if I came here to sing. They can't scare me! I'm too old for that! I'll sing where and when I please!"

No woman born in America could more fully exemplify the democratic ideal of our poetic spokesman, Walt Whitman:

Henceforth . . . I ordain myself loos'd of all
limits and imaginary lines,
Going where I list, my own master total
and absolute . . .
Gently but with undeniable will, divesting
myself of the holds that would hold me.

[Reprint from *Leaves of Grass*, by Walt Whitman, copyright, 1924, by Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc.]

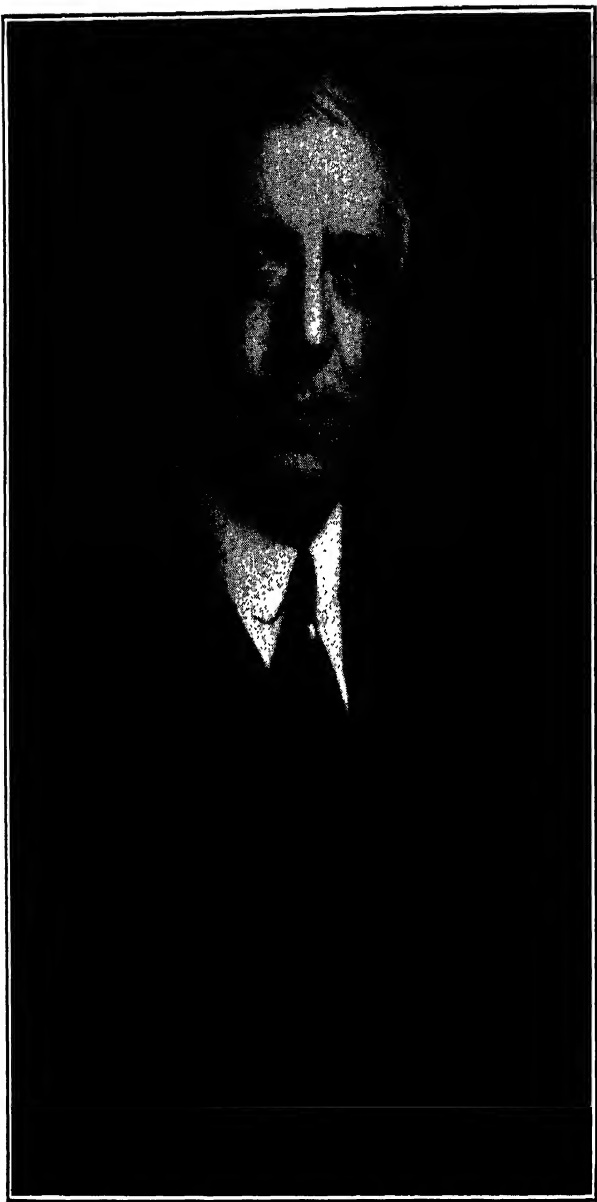
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Courtesy of Blank and Stoller, Inc. and Bethlehem Steel Company

CHARLES M. SCHWAB

CHARLES M. SCHWAB

by

RICHARD J. PURCELL

FEW Americans of recent years have experienced such a meteoric career as did Charles M. Schwab, the steel magnate. From a common laborer in a steel-mill, he rose suddenly to become a figure in the industry, second only to his patron and employer, Andrew Carnegie. At the end of the World War, he was the American industrialist probably best known to European statesmen and financiers. And his fame has stood the test of the post-war political crisis and world-wide economic depression. Schwab's name carries an inspiration to American youth who may wonder if the democracy of economic opportunity continues to be the factor in our national life that it was in the earlier decades of our history. America may have come of age in this painful industrial revolution, but there is still the democracy of opportunity.

Charles Schwab was born February 18, 1862, at Williamsburg, Pennsylvania, to John A. and Pauline (Faraburgh) Schwab, sturdy but poor Germans of American birth. When he was a child of five years of age, his parents removed to Loretto on the crest of the Alleghanies. A small town, Loretto had more than glorious mountain scenery, it had a living tradition with which few frontier settlements were endowed. It was founded by Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, who forsook the German salon of his mother and opportunities for a distinguished court and military career in Russia to labor as a missionary priest on the edge of the wilderness. At Captain McGuire's old post which had attracted some settlers from Maryland, Ireland, and Germany, Gallitzin, or Father Schmet, as he was known, was stationed by Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore. Here he built a chapel and a log cabin and established small industries, and he named the place Loretto. Here he squandered his fortune in colonizing Irish and German and Swiss settlers. And here, this scholar and linguist ministered to an impoverished people and wore away his life on horse and sled as he attended scattered Catholics in a region as large as Prussia. He cared no more for advance in ecclesiastical rank than he had in noble circles. While dead thirty years when the Schwabs arrived in Loretto, Gallitzin still lived among the people of the countryside who had no hesitation about canonizing him or relating apocryphal legends about his early life, his difficulties, his campaign against liquor, and his humble self-abnegation. In his youth Schwab heard the narratives of Gallitzin, and they may have given him his dreams of a

wider world. At all events, in later years he contributed a bronze statue of the priest to surmount the old granite block which loving parishioners had raised over his grave, and he erected a beautiful memorial church.

There was much to do besides dreaming in a well-ordered German family which kept a store, operated a coach to Cresson on the railroad, and occasionally rented a horse and buggy to local worthies, even to Andrew Carnegie. The child performed his daily tasks and obtained sufficient schooling to enter St. Francis College, a preparatory institution under the Fathers of the Third Order of St. Francis, where he displayed a keen interest in mathematics and chemistry and learned to play the organ. At the end of his second year in college, Charles Schwab went to work, driving the coach to Cresson and following the trail of success which was to net him plenty of honorary doctorates, including one in engineering from Lehigh (1914) and one in both laws—J.U.D.—from St. Francis (1923). And the old student did not forget St. Francis College, but as a generous benefactor he erected the "Charles M. Schwab Science Hall."

Schwab never opposed college education for young men, but he maintained that the lack of such an education would sometimes be an advantage if it gives a boy an inflated self-importance and a dislike for hard work. Again, he urged that it may give the "dress-suit" idea too early in life.

Soon the youthful teamster became a clerk at three dollars a week at A. P. Speigelmire's store at Braddock, where his geniality and obliging disposition made friends for him among the customers of the neighborhood. Among them was rough old Bill Jones, a Welshman of marked character and a kind soul under a hard exterior acquired in a laborious life in mine-pits and around smelting-furnaces. Jones was an invaluable man to Carnegie, who knew men better than he did steel and who regarded Jones as the greatest authority on the fabrication of steel in the whole business. Indeed, Jones, who had started as a monkey-wrench mechanic, developed a mechanical genius which revolutionized methods of production. He was attracted to young Schwab. On the latter's request (while selling Jones a cigar) for any kind of a man's job in the mills, he found Schwab work as a laborer and a stake-driver at a dollar per day in Carnegie's old Edgar Thompson Iron Works at Braddock. A powerfully built, robust boy, of strong voice and a winning smile, Schwab set out for Braddock with the parental blessing and a five-dollar bill.

No doubt he was dreaming dreams, but if so, his wildest dreams were to come true. A president of the Pittsburgh Stock Exchange who knew him at both ends of his career observed with a self-made man's satisfaction:

The first time I saw Schwab he was a bare-footed boy at Loretto, a mountain hamlet near Altoona. The next time I saw him he was in his hundred-thousand-dollar private car.

Schwab himself, resenting an explanation of his success on the basis of fate and lucky breaks, always maintained in reviewing his career, that his only luck was in being endowed with a good mind and a sound body which thrived on hard work. The value of his experiences as an under-privileged boy was immeasurable to him in his success.

At Braddock there was no end of hard work and tediously long hours; but Schwab was not left driving piles indefinitely at a dollar per day. He followed the copy-book axiom which in later life he rationalized: "I have always felt that the surest way to qualify for the job just ahead is to work a little harder than anyone else on the job one is holding down." Old Bill Jones recognized merit and saw that Schwab was given a chance. At twenty years of age, he was put in charge of the shops. Jones reported to Carnegie that Schwab knew almost as much about the works as he himself. Schwab's days were given to the plant where he forced labor and speeded production. His evenings were spent in the study of iron and its "damned chemistry" which Jones (who worked by the rule of thumb) feared would ruin the business and side-track its old masters, as he read specifications calling for a certain percentage of carbon and manganese in rails for the Pennsylvania Railroad. As Bill Jones was passing out, his protegee entered with the new era in business and in steel-production.

About this time (1883), Schwab married Emma Dinkey, an orthodox Presbyterian and a sister of A. C. Dinkey who was already an important factor in the iron-trade. Aside from no children to carry on the name and family fortune, the marriage was a happy partnership in which Mrs. Schwab contributed no small share of its ultimate success. Probably she added a touch of Scotch-Irish aggressiveness and a rugged belief in a personal divine right. She studied chemistry; she kept up with the business and with her husband. However, she had a generous heart; for in later years when given a million dollars by her husband she founded a school and recreational grounds on Staten Island for crippled children. Mrs. Schwab died in 1939.

At twenty-five years of age, Schwab was manager of the engineering department of the Carnegie Iron Company at a salary of \$200 per month with a bonus based upon production. He reorganized the Homestead Steel Works so that it was transformed from a liability into one of Carnegie's most profitable plants. There six thousand men found employment; and under the continuous process raw ore entered at one end and came out a finished product at the other end of the mills. To rebuild the antiquated plant had cost a fortune, but Carnegie gave the order to go ahead and Schwab's judgment was correct. In 1889 he was back again at the Thompson Works, where he inaugurated changes which would increase their productivity. Finally, the terrible five-months strike at Homestead occurred while Carnegie was in Europe and Henry C. Frick was in immediate control.

Originally involving only 325 puddlers, the strike was extended until it affected 4,000 men. Men were being replaced by machinery in the new age. The strike became a terror: conflicts between strikers and strike-breakers and Pinkertons, and between Frick and Hugh O'Donnell, who managed the strike. The wage for skilled rollers was as high as eight dollars per day, but for laborers only \$1.40 for eight hours. Work was intermittent with long, dull seasons. In arrogance Carnegie would have shut the plant down for six months and thus won, but Frick was as obstinate as he was untactful. The strike and the bloody strife had something to do with turning organized labor toward the Democratic fold and with the second election of Grover Cleveland.

Finally Schwab on cable-orders from Carnegie took control, only to win by cleverness and diplomacy. By pleas with tears in eyes, by adding the human touch with its heart-appeal, by calling men by their Christian names instead of by number and by arousing enthusiasm on the part of disgruntled men, with a high-pressure "hurrah" campaign, Schwab saved the day. Whatever cynical critics may think of the methods, Charles Schwab, impulsive, jovial, smilingly tenacious, friendly, and enthusiastic, soon had the six-million-dollar plant running smoothly and turning out more and of course cheaper steel. Of this episode in his life Schwab said later that Carnegie told him there would have been no strike if he (Schwab) had been there. He himself believed this to be true, explaining his success as the ability to understand the point of view of others.

Schwab's life was so entwined with the mill, that he refused the vice-presidency of the Carnegie Steel Company. He was not merely a money-maker, or he would have amassed an even greater fortune. Finally, in 1897, when only thirty-five years of age, he succeeded John Leichman to the presidency of the Carnegie Steel Company. According to a story later related by Arthur Keen at a dinner of the British Iron and Steel Institute, he offered Schwab a fabulous sum to join the British interests. But Schwab was too loyal to Carnegie and to American industry to think of making the change or to use the opportunity as a leverage for a larger salary at home. Carnegie, however, must have feared just this sort of thing, for he gave the greatest steel-man in the country a contract defining his salary at a million dollars per year. It was about this time (1899) that Schwab wrote to Frick that he had so reduced the cost of production that the Carnegie Company could turn out rails at twelve dollars per ton and other steel products at relatively low figures and thus could undersell the English producers at their very English doors.

Greater difficulties than foreign competition faced the American steel business: hostility between manufacturers and bankers, rivalry between

the various iron companies leading to a cut-throat competition, and a growing popular clamor against the wickedness of "Big Business" in general. Schwab knew something about the suicidal price-cutting from 1870 to 1890 which had nearly wrecked the iron and steel industry just as railroads had been destroying themselves on rate wars. He had seen the failure of pools and of "gentlemen's agreements" to prevent unfair competition and prices when veracity fell before voracity. He had seen how the combination of companies in the same line of manufacturing had failed in preventing competition between individual industries. He visioned a huge merger of competitive steel and iron companies, which would dominate the business in America and offer sharp rivalry for German and British companies.

It was at a famous and historic dinner on December 12, 1900, attended by the chief industrial magnates and financiers in America that Charles Schwab spoke eloquently and earnestly about the dangers which confronted the steel-trade and explained how a merger, a community of interests, would increase efficiency, cut the overhead, lessen production costs, and make money in a world-market. He both argued and prayed for peace between the groups headed by Carnegie, Pierpont Morgan, and John W. Gates. After the dinner, Morgan took Schwab aside. As a result of that conversation, Schwab, the super-salesman, sold the Carnegie Company to Morgan and his associates, for \$492,000,000, approximately twice the sum for which it had been offered to Frick and Moore and later to John D. Rockefeller, by Andrew Carnegie.

Soon there was chartered the United States Steel Corporation (February 1, 1901) with a capital of \$1,404,000,000 in plants, in mines, in good-will, and in water. Here was a merger of the twelve largest iron and steel companies with about one hundred sixty-one separate plants comprising blast-furnaces, steel-works, and rolling-mills, with huge holdings of iron, coal, and timber, with over a thousand miles of equipped railroads, and more than a hundred steamships and whale-back ore-boats. Here was a concern with an estimated annual production of 7,400,000 tons of pig iron, of 9,400,000 tons of steel ingots, and of 7,900,000 tons of finished steel. Under a board of directors including some of the wealthiest men in America, such as Morgan, George W. Perkins, H. H. Rogers, Daniel O'Day, Marshall Field, Elbert Gary, Norman Ream, John W. Gates, Samuel Mather, D. O. Mills, Daniel Reid, and Schwab, the United States Steel Corporation on April 1, 1901, commenced its active business career.

At thirty-nine years of age, Schwab was made president of the monstrous combination and given ex-officio positions on its executive and finance committee. A stockholder to the extent of \$38,000,000, he accepted a salary of \$100,000, and is said to have torn up his million-dollar contract. Carnegie

in perfect humor testified that his own success was largely due to Bill Jones and Charlie Schwab. Yet Schwab was not especially happy as second fiddle to Chairman Gary of the Executive Committee, who preached religion and urged beguiling friendliness to keep workers in good humor. Nor did he enjoy life as the servant of many bosses. Schwab was anxious to prove his own mettle, run his own company, and demonstrate to the steel-world that he was not merely a creature or pet of Carnegie. There was probably no truth in the rumor that he was forced out of the United States Steel Corporation by Morgan who did not approve of reports that Schwab was playing at Monte Carlo. At all events after making a success of the venture which, contrary to critics, did not prove unwieldy as some anticipated, and which did extend foreign trade, Schwab resigned the presidency of the Corporation, it was said, on the orders of his physician.

A year later, he became head of the reorganized Bethlehem Steel Corporation (1904) with personal control of a majority of the stock of this infant combination which represented \$30,000,000 in stock, \$3,000,000 in bonds, and the assets of several small subsidiary concerns. This was the old Bethlehem plant of Joseph Wharton and Johnny Fritz which Schwab had bought some years before for \$7,500,000 and later had resold to Morgan at the same figure. Again, he bought it to form a part of Lewis Nixon's United States Ship-Building Company which failed, with the receiver blaming Schwab as the power behind both companies. Aided by Morgan, Schwab reorganized Bethlehem, although men like Thomas F. Ryan, Edward H. Harriman, and Jacob H. Schiff thought it a doubtful venture. He was now untrammelled; he had his own concern; and he was determined to make a success of his new steel business.

Schwab closed his place on Fifth Avenue in New York with its period rooms, its collection of Titians, Rembrandts, and Turners, its chapel, and its famed music-room where he had entertained Kreisler, Sembrich, Schumann-Heink, Caruso, and Melba, and where he had reminisced of his early years when he gave music lessons for fifty cents to the children of steel-blowers. He moved to Bethlehem, even as Karl Krupp confined himself to Essen or as great German brewers lived near their colossal plants. And for relaxation, he had a little farm near Loretto whose lanes and simple people he preferred to honors and "big people" of whose loyalty he could not be so assured.

Aside from James H. Ward who went to Bethlehem as his secretary, Schwab selected fifteen men already with the Company, poor men with reputations to make. He promised to make them millionaires if they dedicated themselves to the plant. And he was as good as his word. Of this group the best known is Eugene Grace, a graduate of Lehigh University

who was running a crane at seventy-five dollars a month and who came to be, in Schwab's estimation, a greater steel-man than himself. This gave satisfaction to Schwab, who held to the theory that there are few men of extraordinary ability and that practically any man if given an equal opportunity would reach as great success as the next man.

Unlike many industrialists, Schwab was not in politics, despite a legend as to his desire to purchase a seat in the United States Senate from Nevada. He is reputed to have made a single political speech urging a local Republican candidate in a Pennsylvania town which thereupon voted Democratic for the first time since the Civil War. He did business with all governments and with all parties. He gave all his energies to the Bethlehem Steel Company, and its business grew tremendously.

Bethlehem employed nearly ten thousand men in 1904, and as many as seventy-five thousand during the World War, when it outstripped the German Krupp concerns in the production of munitions, had a greater ship-building capacity than all the combined German yards, and became the greatest producer of steel in the world, with the exception of the United States Steel Corporation. Years of work without profits above those which went back into the plant to erase inflation and to modernize equipment told the tale. In 1904 the pig iron capacity was only 120,000 tons; in 1916 it was 2,300,000 tons. As the original plant had been suitable only for armor-plate and the demand for this product was too small to run the plant on a full-time basis, Schwab entered other fields despite the huge cost of changes in layout and equipment. In 1907 he built a mill for steel rails in spite of the hard times and the Company's loss of the Union Iron Works of San Francisco which was ruined in the earthquake. He erected structural steel-mills at an expenditure of \$15,000,000 to prove Gray's invention for making structural steel. In some respects he was more modern than most of the industrial magnates.

Schwab controlled the Bethlehem Steel Company, yet he opposed the trust idea in 1908, maintaining:

I don't believe in trusts. I do believe in industrial and commercial consolidations. Such organizations should exist not to raise prices or restrict production but to help trade. In the consolidation of industrial lines, for instance, it is apparent that the big concern can use one plant for special production.

In 1910 he sold ten million dollars worth of armor-plate to Argentina. In 1912 he bought the Tofo Iron Mines in Chili. In the meantime, while his chief interest continued to be commercial steel, he had gone into ship-building, absorbed the Fore River Ship-building Company of Quincy, the Crescent Shipyards, the Union Iron Works, the Titusville Forge Company, the Pennsylvania Steel Company, the Maryland Steel Company, Samuel L.

Moore and Sons, and the Harlan and Holingsworth Company of Wilmington. In 1914, without a trace of boasting in his salesmanship, he told the Czar that he could equip Russia with a navy in four years. At that time he was making big guns for Germany which were never shipped because of the English blockade. He had the best-equipped concern in America for munitions on the eve of the World War.

Schwab had not only built a huge plant but he had made money for himself and his associates. He had instituted the bonus-system, which has since been much criticized, not only for officials but for the majority of mechanics. It savored of the condemned piece-work system, so much did it key up men on the assembly-line and force production. President Grace, with a bonus of two hundred thousand dollars in 1914, experienced bonuses up to two million dollars per year in the heyday of unregulated business, with an annual average bonus of over eight hundred thousand dollars for a twelve-year period. Laborers who averaged nine hundred dollars in 1915 jumped to twelve hundred - fifteen hundred during war days of 1916, and to still higher wages when America entered the war, when wages in general soared to unheard-of figures. These were the days of "Buicks and silk shirts" for common laborers. The stockholders who could "sit tight" during the long non-dividend period witnessed their stock rise on the market from \$7 a share in 1907 to \$30 in 1914, and to \$600 in 1915 with 30 per cent dividends. Inflation, too, had disappeared with capital improvements and improved equipment.

The World War gave Bethlehem Steel an impetus. Out of Bethlehem there came destruction. In 1916 the old main plant, once a graveyard of sunken fortunes, covered six hundred acres and had twenty-four thousand workers when it was turning out sixteen-inch guns, twenty-five thousand shells per day in addition to fifteen thousand shipped in parts to auxiliary plants, and armor-plate of every kind. General Kitchener as British Minister of War invited Schwab to Europe and received his pledge of the full capacity of the Bethlehem Company and his agreement not to sell elsewhere while he had British contracts. He refused offers of a hundred million dollars from Germany in 1915 and in 1917 to silence the plant. This was the period when he was shipping about three hundred million dollars' worth of equipment per year to the Allied Powers and sending twenty submarines in parts to Canada, so as not to violate the letter of American neutrality. No bad salesman, Schwab himself got an order for \$50,000,000 worth of guns, but this probably did not give him the satisfaction which he derived from a later sale of \$52,000,000 in liberty bonds in one hour. On one occasion when he was offered sixty million dollars for the Bethlehem Company, Schwab appealed to his wife and copartner for

advice, remarking: "This is a big sum. Half of what I have is yours. What shall we do? If we sell, your share invested at 5 per cent will buy you an income of over a hundred thousand dollars a month for the rest of your life." Thereupon the junior partner is said to have answered: "We wouldn't sell for five times that. What would I do with the money? And what would you do without your work?" It was wise counsel, for Schwab was Bethlehem Steel.

Even while he traveled he was learning about steel. In Belgium, in Germany, in England, and even in Austria, he visited steel-plants. Emperor Franz Joseph of Austro-Hungary once asked him: "What can you find in our small and comparatively unproductive establishments to interest you, when you have such large, splendid steel-plants in America?" To which Schwab is said to have replied in no courtier-accent "At least, Your Majesty, I can see what to avoid."

Business to him became something more than money-making in an age when a man's merit was too often measured by the size of his earnings. Well did he say:

I am a dreamer. I am a sentimental man in business or anything else. No business will be happy and successful unless it has sentiment in it. Men do their best work under the stimulus of appreciation.

He was never afraid of men in overalls, and his office walls bore pictures of old-time steel-men as well as autographed photographs of kings, presidents, and business magnates. A believer and a shareholder in the capitalistic system, he gloried in the improvement in the conditions of labor, which he had witnessed in two generations quite as much as he rejoiced in his own successful handling of employees:

I am one of the men who admire and stand for American labor. American labor as a rule, is of a higher type than the great majority of people generally think. I say without hesitancy that in my long experience with labor and the average American laboring man, I have found standards of honesty and morality just as high as those of myself or any other employer in this country . . . I believe that the time has arrived when American labor must have a voice in its own efforts; that American labor must be represented in the highest councils of commerce; that the day of autocratic government of labor has passed and that we should meet the workman as our equal, and discuss our problems and his problems with him, and in that way bring about a relationship that will undoubtedly redound to the benefit and credit and advancement of America.

A heavy contributor in the campaign of 1916 to the Republican party (which did not promise to keep us out of war), he was in trouble with the Wilson administration a few months later when Josephus Daniels, secretary of the Navy, denounced him because of his war profits. He had put twenty million dollars into improvements and special machinery to handle the American armament business and he was turning out six hundred million dollars' worth of munitions as well as building ships for the Emer-

gency Fleet Corporation at the time. The criticism hurt but he accepted it patriotically. Hence, it came as a surprise when Woodrow Wilson drafted him as a dollar-a-year director-general of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. But President Wilson and Edward N. Hurley of the Shipping Board wanted ships to win the war, and they knew of no better ship-builder. Always the czar of his own business, Schwab worked satisfactorily under orders. Fourteen hours a day he labored. His wife, noting the absorbed interest in his work, remarked: "The old war-horse must smell gunpowder now, I never saw him so fussed up over anything before."

Schwab moved the offices of the Emergency Fleet to Philadelphia in order to be in the ship-building zone. Well aware that the expenditures at Hog Island were beyond all reason, he held that speed regardless of cost (and presumably corruption) was necessary to win the war. At all events, ships were built, men were kept contented, and politics was laid low under his regime. To prevent any criticism, he severed his connection with at least the active management of the Bethlehem Company and its 18 per cent contracts, although as director of the Emergency Fleet he had nothing to do with giving contracts. He lived in the yards and visited all of them from coast to coast. He spirited up the men, shouted his optimism, made riveters believe that they were winning the war, and let the workers feel that they, and not he or Hurley, were responsible for success. There was little boasting, but ships were built: three times as much tonnage as in 1917 and six times the total output of the yards in 1916. His "hurrah" campaign, which made every last man of the three hundred thousand in the plants believe that they were crusaders for democracy, brought practical results. Uncle Charlie was again forcing production, and he didn't care much whether the ships were constructed of steel, concrete, or wood.

Naturally, Schwab received his share of criticism, even being called a laborite and a radical because of certain speeches which he made, such as that at a dinner in New York (January 25, 1918) when he suggested:

The time is near at hand when the men of the working class—the men without property—will control the destinies of the world. The Bolshevik sentiment must be taken into consideration and in the very near future, we must look to the worker for a solution of the great economic questions now being considered. I am not one to carelessly turn over my belongings for the uplift of the nation, but I am one who has come to a belief that the worker will rule, and the sooner we realize this the better it will be for our country and the world at large.

Again Schwab was under fire but came out unscathed when Attorney-General Dougherty—of all men—was attempting to prove corruption in the Wilson days and when the government sued the Bethlehem Steel Company for excess charges during the war. Schwab, it was said, did nothing to prevent this profiteering.

With the signing of the armistice, Schwab went back to Bethlehem Steel and his innumerable directorates in banking, insurance, and railroad companies. But he could no longer escape publicity in private industrial life. He had become good news-copy. And obviously he had grown to like it. His expressions on the problems of the day were sought and broadcast. No longer could his opinions be confined to board meetings and to banquets. Not even his philanthropies could be kept quiet or his joy in attending Christmas Mass with his aged widowed mother or his satisfaction at receiving from her a quilt of her own patch-work. His father, John Schwab, broker in later years, died in 1924, and his mother in 1936.

At times he astounded the country, as at a dinner given in 1921 by the Iron and Steel Institute for Marshal Foch, when he declared :

What red-blooded American would not, indeed, make any sacrifice if the burden of armament could be lifted from the shoulders of humanity? May God speed the day when this noble conception can be realized! . . . I say to you from the bottom of my heart that if the statesmen . . . should find it possible to bring about disarmament and permanent peace, gladly would I see the war-making machinery of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation sunk to the bottom of the sea.

Probably even more surprising was an address before the British Empire Chamber of Commerce in New York City when he urged closer coöperation between the English-speaking peoples to bring about cheaper and more effective distribution of their goods and even a quota share of the steel business as the best way to meet German efficiency and the lower costs of steel-production in the German mills.

His confidence in America was not lessened with passing birthdays, each one of which became a matter of national interest. He was still selling America. He had confidence in American labor and business. His optimism was incurable. He continued to labor as chairman of the board of Bethlehem Steel and as director of the Chase National Bank, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the Federated Metals Company, the Empire Trust Company, the Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company, and the United Zinc Smelting Company. From other connections, he divorced himself on his seventieth birthday.

On April 13, 1938, he listened for several hours at a board meeting to Lewis Gilbert, a representative of minority stockholders, demand that he give up 10 per cent of his \$200,000 salary if Bethlehem Steel failed to declare a dividend on common stock for the quarter. Then he spoke as a benevolent dictator with his old-fashioned personal philosophy and self-satisfaction :

I have devoted my life to the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. I intend to continue to devote what few years are left me to the Company if the directors are willing . . . This Company owes me a debt which it can never repay.

About the same time, he assumed payment of sponsor's contribution at a Works Progress Administration project of \$88,000 for the improvement of a Cambria County fair-grounds near his old home, as he insisted, "During the few years left me, I want to do whatever I can for my home people." With this thought, he had built a convent at Loretto for the community of Saint Theresa of Lisieu of which his sister was a member.

Schwab had no particular philosophy of government or economics but he had humanitarian instincts. He believed in work and thrift for bosses and men. He accepted moderate trade-unionism. He was tolerant in religion, in his dealings with men, and in politics. He had no fear of radicalism in America. He was not especially worried by the New Deal's policies, beyond an impatience with the dole in one form or another, its attacks upon business men, excessive governmental expenditures, unbalanced budgets, and super-taxation. A pioneer, a fighter, a rugged individualist of the old school, he saw the depression as something out of which America would fight her way as in past panics. He had hopes of the rise of new industries that would aid in the recovery as did steel, electric equipment, and the automobile in the past. A "bull" on America he lived and died.

Active enough, he was stricken with coronary thrombosis at the Savoy Hotel, London, August 9, 1939. Returning three weeks later to New York, he died September 18 at his home on Park Avenue, leaving the bulk of his fortune to a brother, Edward, and a sister, Mrs. David Barry. With Father Walter Kellenberg as celebrant of the funeral Mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Charles M. Schwab was buried in the Gate of Heaven Cemetery in Westchester County.

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Hurrell Photograph. Courtesy of Dalsell Hatfield Galleries

MILLARD SHEETS

MILLARD SHEETS

by

ARTHUR MILLIER

IN the spring of 1929 newspapers and art magazines noted that a twenty-two-year-old California artist had just won second place and \$1750 in a national competition for paintings of Texas life. The youth of the painter was quite naturally remarked. Within five years the name of Millard Sheets was better known throughout the nation than that of any living California artist, and his paintings and prints had passed into the permanent possession of many museums and private collectors.

This early success was only the most spectacular among a series of sixteen prizes and honors which Sheets won between 1927 and 1932. They were conferred upon his works because they were fresh, colorful, and buoyant in a time when art tended to reflect superficial prettiness or pessimistic gloom.

At thirty-three, both as creative artist and as a teacher, Millard Sheets occupies a unique and influential position in American art and art education. His character, training, and sustained enthusiasm helped him to achieve a life rich in both material and spiritual rewards. Nor was this, despite the prizes, a mere success-getting life lived in some narrow and selfish track. He shared and shares his knowledge and enthusiasm with others. In southern California particularly, a generation of artists, teachers, and laymen have benefited in opportunities for fuller expression and appreciation because Millard Sheets worked and still works among them.

Sheets always works purposefully and has mastered the art of working anywhere. Once I went sketching with him. He finished his water-color before I finished mine. When I returned to the car I found he had filled in the time designing lighting fixtures for a building which he had also designed in his spare moments between paintings.

Another factor of importance in his career has been his whole-hearted acceptance of the age in which he lives. He laughs at the idea of disappointed artists that the Renaissance or the eighteenth century or some other age would have been a better time for them to have lived, because then they would have found opportunities for work and appreciative audiences. While others cloud their brains with self-pitying dreams of this sort, his mind is usually occupied with pondering some specific problem of design. Like any really successful person in any field of work, he keeps everlastingly at it.

During the past eight years Sheets has developed the Art Department of Scripps College, Claremont, California, into one of the West's most important art-training centers; raised the Fine Arts Department of the Los Angeles County Fair, which he directs each year, to national standing; painted numerous murals, eight of them for the World's Fair at San Francisco; held exhibitions of his work throughout the country, designed sets for motion pictures, designed several buildings, found time for his hobby of raising show-horses and for his pleasant duty of providing for his wife and three children.

All this, and much more, was done from a standing start. He has earned his way since graduating from Pomona High School in 1925. His talent and determination attracted to him people who wanted to help him succeed. Before them there was his grandmother, the first decisive influence in his life. His mother died soon after his birth in Pomona, California, in 1907. Millard never knew his mother. His grandmother nursed the boy through early years of precarious health, noticed his absorption in drawing and in playing with color and form, saw how his large, capable hands busied themselves making things.

This wise woman encouraged him in his creative play. Out of her slender means she bought him paints, brushes, and paper, and even arranged occasional lessons from such artists as the small Western town might offer.

When he was six his grandfather gave him his first pony. His grandfather, Lewis H. Owen of Pomona, raised thoroughbred horses. The boy often rode his pony over the roundly sculptured Puente Hills, near Pomona, hills which turned with the seasons from peach-bloom tints of the first fall rains to yellow-green, blue-green, yellow, gold, and finally, in September, ash-gray. Later he was to paint California's rolling hills in all stages of this color cycle. And the horses which ran, tossing their manes, over those hills as he gave chase, were to appear in the paintings like a signature of his spirit, proud, clean-lined, rhythmical, and free. Horses and hills are his favorite themes.

By the time he entered Pomona High School the boy was tall, with wavy, blond hair, high forehead, an almost Grecian profile and a serious, intent expression which would change to a flashing smile. A local man formed a Boy Scout troop and Millard joined it. He speaks feelingly of the fine influence of this self-sacrificing man upon the boys and himself. At his own expense this scout-leader took the boys' baseball team about the state. He talked in friendly spirit to the boys about the importance of forming good habits and checking or avoiding bad ones.

"That man," says Millard, "made clean living seem natural and manly.

He understood boys." Baseball, tennis, and basketball built the once sickly child into a strong boy. He would need that strength for the years of intense effort ahead.

When he was fourteen the boy was dabbling with oil-paints. The Los Angeles County Fair, organized by a group of Pomona citizens, had been persuaded by the painter Theodore B. Modra that it should include an art exhibit. This was to include sections for amateur artists as well as professionals, and prizes were offered in both classes. Sheets sent an oil-painting which he had copied from a tinted photograph of Lake Killarney.

Imagine his delight when he was informed that he had won the first prize for amateurs.

When he went to the Fair to receive his prize of twelve dollars and a blue ribbon, Modra took him into a corner and lectured him for an hour on the evil effects of copying bad pictures. Divining the boy's talent and intelligence, Modra arranged to give him lessons.

This sensitive painter of flowers passionately believed in educating the generality of people to appreciate better art and gave much of his time to organizing art exhibits, especially in the various county fairs of southern California. So absorbed in this work for the future did he become that he neglected his own talent. He would look at the humble exhibitions of poor quality work hung in tents, which were the best he could at first assemble from artists and amateurs, and see, in the future, spacious, well-lighted galleries in which tens of thousands of people who seldom if ever saw an art exhibit would make their first acquaintance with the ideal world of art. He encouraged Millard to work from nature and communicated to him his belief that people would like good art if they were given sufficient opportunity to see it. Two years later he made Millard his assistant at the county fair art exhibit. By working and arguing incessantly Modra secured a temporary wooden building for his annual exhibit. Better artists began to send their work for display. Juries were instituted and more prize-money awarded. The boy was receiving a priceless education in the results of faith and work. He learned to respect the artist's viewpoint, but he also learned to respect the people who, in their thousands, wandered through the art exhibit each fall.

Theodore B. Modra died before he had secured for the exhibit the permanent building of which he dreamed. At the early age of twenty-four years his young assistant was made director of fine arts. In 1937 the building, containing the finest exhibit galleries in southern California, opened with an invitational exhibition of contemporary American painting. Sheets had invited the finest painters in the United States to send examples of their

best work to that "hick" institution. So great had his own reputation grown in a few brief years that the exhibit proved the finest one of its kind which had been shown in southern California in a decade.

To the late Theodore B. Modra must be given the credit for discovering Millard Sheets' talent and for giving him a start which led him to use it in such a broad way that it would benefit others as well as himself.

When Millard graduated from Pomona High School in 1925, his grandmother gave him the choice of going to college or to an art school. He chose art school and entered the Chouinard School of Art (now Chouinard Art Institute) in Los Angeles. To add to his slender finances he joined forces with his cousin, Clarence Perrin, in raising rabbits for market. The pair rose at dawn to clean and feed their silky-furred capital, streaked the thirty miles to Los Angeles in an old "jalopy," hurried back to tend the five hundred rabbits before supper.

The talent and determination of the young art student were not unrecognized in his home town. William Veale, physical instructor at the Pomona Young Men's Christian Association, saw there was exceptional ability in the boy who played basketball and swam under his tutelage, and was moved to help him develop his talent. Veale's financing made it possible for Millard to concentrate entirely upon his studies during the first two years of art school. In return, the athletic teacher insisted that the young artist forego distracting amusements and work hard.

"He lectured me," says Sheets, "like a 'Dutch uncle.' Bill Veale didn't just pay my bills. He saw to it that I worked instead of going to the movies. He made me play hard too, to offset the nervous strain of an artist's job."

Veale did something else for Sheets that has stood him in good stead. The boy had more than his share of toothaches and headaches. Veale taught him that he could go right on working despite pain. Perhaps even more important he gave him a philosophy of life which permitted no crying over spilt milk. He was to think a problem through, decide upon a course of action and act resolutely upon it. If failure resulted, try again or do something else. But no wailing, no brooding over wrongs done, or fancied done, by others. This last training has proved an important factor in the career of Millard Sheets.

No doubt it suited his nature. Sheets is one of those generous but sudden-tempered people. His quick reaction to something he resents is to "sock him in the jaw," but the mood passes quickly. He is too busy and he remembers Bill Veale's training. In all this he resembles his maternal grandfather,

L. H. Owen, who loved fighting and fine horses but demanded a just cause for his fists.

When Millard's grandmother was brought to bed of his mother, the Owens were young homesteaders stranded on cropland acres in South Dakota. Grandfather Owen, desperate for cash, saw a placard advertising that an Indian free-for-all fighter in Cheyenne would pay \$100 to any man who could stay three hours in the ring with him. Owen "rode the rods" all the way to Cheyenne, stayed the three hours, then spent a week in hospital—with the Indian! He got home with the money.

When Millard was five he lived in his grandfather's house in Pomona and his bed was on a porch. One night he awoke with the terrifying knowledge that a strange man was bending over him.

"I let out a wild scream," says Millard, "and the man fled, scrambling over the high back fence. In two jumps my grandfather, then fifty-seven, bounded past me, laid one hand on the high fence and leaped over. In five minutes he was back, leading the intruder by the ear."

Grandfather held the ear with one hand and phoned the police to come get a burglar. But while waiting for the officers, Grandfather Owen got acquainted with his captive who convinced him that he was no thief but just a jobless, hungry man foraging for food. When the police arrived Grandfather Owen explained that it was all a mistake. Just a neighbor who couldn't rouse anybody and walked in the dark.

"That man," says Millard, "lived with us for two years and we were desolate when he moved on."

Sheets was fortunate in his teachers at Chouinard School of Art. F. Tolles Chamberlin, Fellow of the American Academy at Rome, a classical painter and sculptor and a master of artistic anatomy, gave him solid groundwork. Chamberlin is the finest sort of conservative artist, a lover of reticence and sensitive taste. Foil to Chamberlin's conservatism was the teaching of Clarence K. Hinkle, questing and experimental, who taught his students to strike out in their own directions.

In his third year Millard was made a student-teacher and his classes were soon popular. He found that teaching was another way of learning. When, a little later, he had a studio of his own in Hollywood, he held open house once a week, inviting young artists, craftsmen, and architectural draftsmen to bring their work and ideas for sharing, discussion, and criticism. After his graduation he was invited to take the landscape-painting class at Chouinard School. It began with fifteen students aged from fifteen to thirty years. At term's end it had seventy-five students aged from sixteen

to sixty and, once a week, a children's class of forty. The young man was rapidly gaining the authority that comes with leadership.

By 1929 Sheets' talent had attracted the attention of an able art-dealer, Dalzell Hatfield of Los Angeles, who arranged his first one-man exhibition of May 1929. The exhibit brought enthusiastic response from critics and buyers, and the Texas prize-money having also come at this time, Millard decided that now was his chance to put in two years of study in Europe.

Just before this exhibit, however, he had fallen deeply in love with Mary Baskerville of Los Angeles, who returned his feeling. Millard sailed after the exhibit but came home in the fall. They were married in 1930.

In a brief four-months trip to Europe, Millard had made thirty-five colored designs, sixty clean-cut pencil-drawings, sixteen water-colors and thirty-five oil-paintings. He painted in every port at which his ships touched. He drew and painted through Italy, Germany, and France, found time in Paris to master the technique of lithography, and left behind there an oil, "Guatemala," which was accepted for the Salon. In London he studied the sixteenth-century Mogul paintings at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which had a lasting effect upon his own conceptions of decoration and drawing.

The next three years were a period of gaining recognition. Sheets took and still takes a realistic view of the so-called "art world." A name is part of an artist's stock in trade, why not try to make one? He wanted prizes and won an astonishing string of them. For a time they paid rent and groceries for two, and then for three. Owen Sheets was Mary's first-born.

Then in 1932 Scripps College, Claremont, hired Millard as assistant professor of art. The young painter looked over the charming old college town for a house, found none to suit him, somehow raised money in the deep depression to build one that perfectly expressed the taste and optimism of the young family. It was characteristic of Sheets that his house gave a modern treatment to the so-called "Monterey" style in which are blended the oldest American traditions, Colonial and Early Californian. As his forefathers had done he made the crib for his first child, and during winter evenings Millard and Mary polished the pine panelling of their home by hand.

With this move to Claremont, young Sheets had begun a steady upward climb. The success of his exhibitions and the infectious buoyancy of his painting, particularly in water-colors, which he handled with untraditional strength, were having a marked effect upon the work and attitudes of other young artists in southern California, inspiring in them a movement which

in ten years put the region's water-colorists at the forefront of the nation's workers in this medium.

During the next eight years Sheets was, from his Claremont base, to achieve an output of work and an influence upon the appreciation of art that could scarcely be paralleled in his time.

Within a few years he was made head of the Art Department at Scripps. He laid plans for a beautiful building in which it would be possible to offer instruction to all aspiring artists instead of just to the girls who attend that college. Today, thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Florence Rand Lang, this building is a reality. Besides the regular school-year courses, Sheets conducts there a summer institute of art for the combined Claremont Colleges and brings such great artists as James Chapin and Henry Lee McFee to teach painting. C. J. Bulliet, noted Chicago art critic, who has lectured there during two summers, regards the "Claremont movement" as one of the most significant art movements in the United States. Mrs. Lang was moved to make this building possible by a talk which Sheets gave to friends of the college.

His vision and enthusiasm had a similar effect upon the directors of the Los Angeles County Fair. In 1938 they opened a handsome permanent building containing southern California's finest art galleries through which wander, during two weeks of each year, thousands of people who ordinarily would never see an art exhibit.

Sheets has "taken flyers" into architecture, for he designed the Beverly Hills Tennis Club's modern home, and into the higher reaches of store-window display. At one time, so busy was he with window-design orders that he turned a Claremont garage into a factory where craftsmen produced figures and decorations which toured the leading department-stores of the United States and Canada. Even to summarize his activities in many branches of art would require more space than this essay affords, but in most of them he found work for other artists and craftsmen of his own generation as well as for himself.

In the fall of 1937 the Los Angeles Junior Chamber of Commerce instituted a new honor, the "Young Man of the Month." For their first "Young Man" they chose, not a business man, not a doctor, nor a lawyer, as one might have expected, but an artist. That artist was Millard Sheets.

Said the editorial page of the *Los Angeles Times*, summing up its article on this choice: "Sheets has made his influence widely felt in a cultural upsurge all over the Southland. He deserves the tribute paid him."

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ALFRED E. SMITH

by

DEXTER PERKINS

IN the session of 1911 in the New York State Assembly, a bill was being debated. A question of phraseology arose. The Democratic leader of the Assembly expressed his opinion on the matter. "But why does the gentleman say this?" demanded an up-state member. "Can he cite any rule to justify his assertion?" There was a moment's silence. And then the Democratic leader replied, "I will refer the gentleman from Buffalo to the grammatical rule that says 'When a pluperfect adjective precedes a noun, insert a plus.' " And the Assembly dissolved in laughter.

The man of whom this anecdote is truly told was Alfred Emanuel Smith. The humor and sang-froid which characterized his reply to his colleague from the great metropolis of New York City since the life of that city in his chosen career of politics. They were to remain with him in the years of political activity ahead. But no one would have foreseen in 1911 that the cool and witty assemblyman of that day was within seven years to be governor of New York State, was four times to be elected to that office, and was to become the presidential candidate of a great party. No one could have suspected that one of the most interesting and dramatic careers in American politics was to belong to the then Democratic leader of the Assembly.

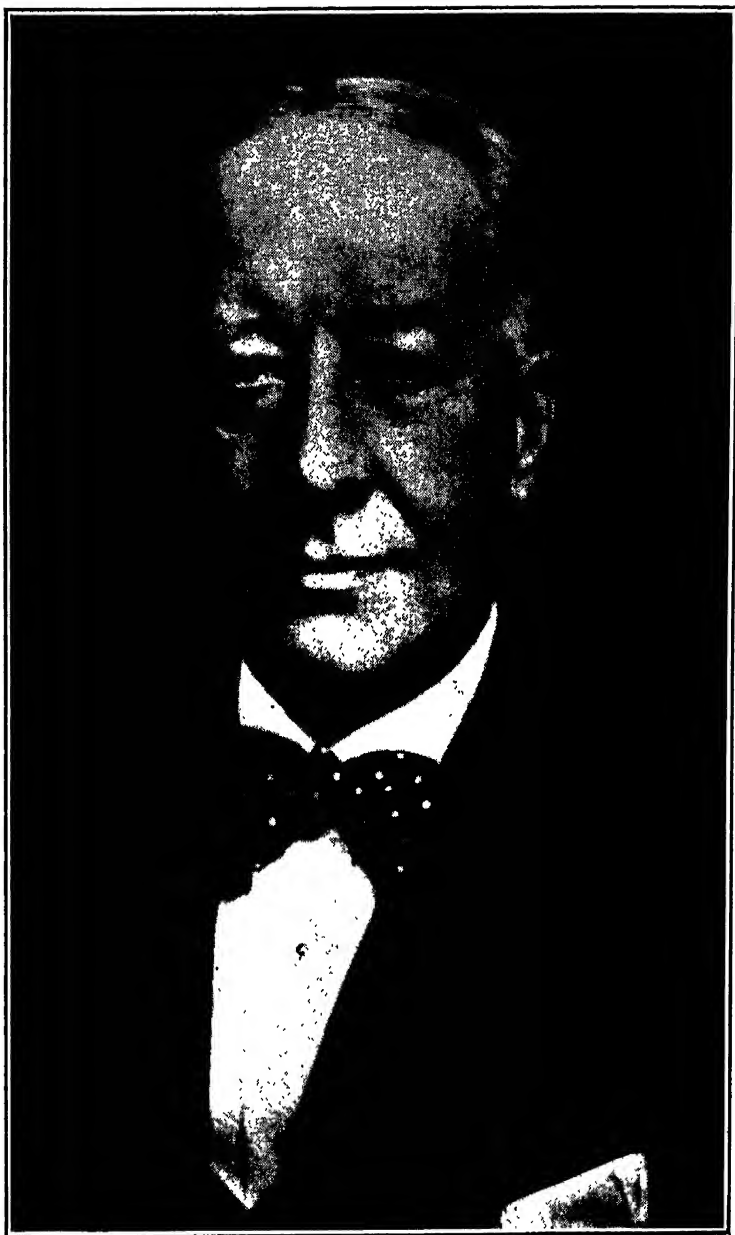
Up to the ascendancy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Alfred E. Smith was beyond all question the most salty political personality that had sprung from the great metropolis of New York City since the life of that city truly became metropolitan. He was born December 30, 1873, of Irish parents, on the East Side, where he was to live for more than forty years. The conditions of his early life were those natural to simple working people, but they were not those of dire poverty. The young Alfred went to school till he was fifteen years old; it was only two years after his father's death that he was compelled to abandon his education and take a full day's job to aid his mother in the support of the family. He found employment of various kinds in the course of the next few years, until in 1895 he became a clerk in the office of the commissioner of jurors. This post, which paid the modest salary of eight hundred dollars, he was to hold until 1903, when his real political career began—to be continued virtually without interruption until his presidential candidacy in 1928.

As a mere youth Smith does not appear to have been much interested

in politics. In his own account of his career, his reminiscences, he has no recollections whatsoever of the campaigns of 1888 or of 1892. It was not until 1894 that he took any part in a political campaign, and then curiously enough on the side in opposition to the great political organization, Tammany Hall, with which he was long to be so prominently identified. Even this activity was brief, and was followed by a long period of inertia which lasted till 1901. But despite the fact that in this early period Smith took no very prominent role in politics, it is clear that he was gifted with qualities that make for political success. His good nature, his friendliness, his humor, would of themselves have done much for him; add to this a talent for amateur theatricals that made him known to a very large proportion of the persons in his district, and it is easy to see that the elements of a political career were there from the beginning. In the great American game, however, one gets one's start by tying up with persons already influential, and in 1901 Smith played a vigorous role in the fight that was going on in his district between two rival political leaders, Patrick Divver, and Thomas F. Foley. Allying himself with the latter, he aided in securing his victory, and though no immediate political reward came his way, he was selected by Foley as the Democratic candidate for the Assembly in 1903.

In January 1904, then, the young East Sider went up to Albany for his first legislative session. He was, of course, by now, a full-fledged member of Tammany Hall. He was gifted with much natural ability, and it is perhaps the mark of this ability that in his early years at Albany he played the game according to the regular rules, speaking little, and demonstrating his party loyalty. He can hardly be said, at this period, to have enjoyed himself enthusiastically; but by 1906, owing in part to the good will of the Republican Speaker, James W. Wadsworth, he had been given an important appointment on the Insurance Committee (it was the time of the famous Equitable investigation), and was beginning to get the hang of things and feel that he counted. Always industrious, with a memory that retained everything and anything connected with politics, he was making himself increasingly useful to his party, and acquiring more and more friends.

A considerable step forward in Smith's career came with the Democratic landslide in the elections of 1910. Smith became the leader of the Assembly, and chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, a post which gave him an opportunity to acquire that unrivalled knowledge of state finance and financial procedure which has been so strikingly displayed in many of his political campaigns. It also brought him a new interest in social legislation. The great Triangle fire in New York City led to the appointment by the Legislature of a Factory Commission. As vice-president of



ALFRED E. SMITH

this Commission, the Democratic leader travelled all over the state hearing evidence and accumulating information. The result was not only an important body of practical recommendations, but a sense of the importance of social problems which he has never lost. The result was new personal contacts, contacts not with professional politicians but with men and women who approached politics from a totally different angle. Smith's ability to understand and sympathize with this new point of view enlarged the whole range of his activities. In the succeeding sessions of the Legislature he became a champion of much valuable social legislation, which may be thought to have culminated in the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1914.

The session of 1911 was memorable for a political episode of interest today. Charles F. Murphy, the leader of Tammany Hall, had designated William F. Sheehan as his candidate for United States senator. In the Assembly, however, a small group of Democrats refused to bow to the fiat of the Hall. A long deadlock ensued. The leaders in this contest were on the one side Alfred E. Smith, and on the other, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who were to be rival candidates in the Democratic nominating convention of 1932. In the struggle over the senatorship Tammany was finally compelled to yield, and a compromise candidate was fixed upon.

Two years later, however, Smith took part in another internecine struggle in the Democratic party, in which his political organization came off victorious. The session of 1913 was largely taken up with a bitter brawl between the Democratic Governor, William Sulzer, and the leaders in Tammany Hall. Sulzer had the curious idea that he could be independent of those who had placed him in office. He defied Charles F. Murphy, the head of the Hall, in important questions of patronage. Searching the means to ruin him, Tammany found irregularities in his handling of his campaign funds. Impeachment was determined upon. The necessary articles of impeachment were passed in the Democratic Assembly, and a Democratic Senate retired the recalcitrant Governor to private life. In these events Smith, as the Democratic Speaker, sided with his partisan associates.

The elections of 1913 brought a new Republican victory. Smith became minority-leader again, therefore, in the sessions of 1914 and 1915. He was beginning to tire of the Assembly, as well he might; but in the latter year a new opportunity of service presented itself to him. He was elected to the Constitutional Convention called to revise the basic law of New York State. In this Convention he was to play a prominent role, and from it he was to learn much that he later put into practice as governor. In the meetings of this body, from April to September of 1915, Smith stood out

amongst all the members. The leader of the Republican forces, Elihu Root, declared him to be of all those present the best informed. He had an unrivalled knowledge of the actual working of the government at Albany; he understood every one of the tricks of the political trade. Yet at the same time he was willing to consider government, not from the angle of partisan politics, but from the angle of sound political engineering. He could see the sense of a shorter ballot, of simplified administrative procedure, of municipal home rule. He could learn from the "high-brows" practical lessons as to the way in which the government of the state ought to be conducted. And here, as in the Legislature, he could make himself the champion of those liberal conceptions of government which, in governments under written constitutions must be embodied in the fundamental law no less than in legislative status.

The constitution which Smith helped draw up in 1915 was not accepted by the people. Smith himself did not accept it. For, despite its many improvements, it perpetuated an unfair system of representation in both Assembly and Senate which discriminated against the City of New York. This great weakness, in his judgment, made it impossible of approval. He therefore voted against it in November.

But in that same election he advanced a step further on his political career. After thirteen years of faithful service at Albany, he was given one of the biggest plums that Tammany Hall could bestow. He was rewarded with the nomination for sheriff of New York County, an office which was supported by fees and paid from fifty thousand to sixty thousand dollars a year. For the first time he appeared as a candidate before a larger electorate than that of his Assembly District. The result was entirely gratifying. Smith had the endorsement not only of the Democratic organization, but of such an important reform body as the Citizens' Union, and he won an easy victory. In 1917 he was selected for a city-wide office, that of president of the Board of Aldermen. Again he won handily.

The honesty, ability, and wide popularity of this rising Democrat marked him out as the best possible candidate for governor in 1918. The state had been in the hands of the Republicans for the last four years; the election, at the very best, was bound to be close. It can hardly be said that Smith's victory was an easy one. His immense popularity in New York City, combined with a relatively light vote up-state, elected him, but by a state-wide majority of only about fifty thousand. He went to Albany, still very far from an important figure, still with his political fortunes largely to be made.

From January 1919 to January 1929, with the exception of the period 1921 to 1923, Alfred E. Smith occupied the executive chair at Albany.

He was, it is true, defeated in the Harding landslide of 1920, but even in that disastrous Democratic year, he ran a million votes ahead of his ticket. The people of New York, having seen him in the governor's chair, had evidently found him a good deal to their taste. In 1922 they reinstated him by a majority of more than three hundred fifty thousand. In 1924, in a Coolidge year, they gave him a majority of over one hundred thousand. In 1926 they chose him by over two hundred fifty thousand. Since the days of George Clinton, no governor had been elected four times, and none, it is safe to say, since Clinton, has left so deep a mark on the history of the state.

From the beginning of his first term Smith showed the highest qualities of leadership. But his confidence and his authority naturally grew with time. His ascendancy over his own party was consolidated by the events of 1922. In that year, when Smith had been two years out of office, Murphy, the Tammany leader, played with the idea of nominating William R. Hearst for governor. But the popular sentiment for "Al," as he was now known throughout the state, was too strong. Not only was it impossible to resist the popular demand, but Smith, who had a personal feud with Hearst, was able to prevent the compromise nomination of the latter for the United States senatorship. From that time on he was the undisputed leader of the party in the state of New York. In 1924 he had a dominant role in determining that G. W. Olvany should succeed C. F. Murphy as the head of Tammany Hall, and in 1925 he was even able to bring about the displacement of John F. Hylan, the popular mayor of New York, and the nomination of James J. Walker for that office.

But the amazing thing about Smith, as a political leader, during these years, is not his ascendancy over his own party. It is his ability to get action from his partisan opponents. During none of his eight years in office did the Democrats control both houses of the Legislature. During most of them they controlled neither. Yet somehow or other, by degrees oftentimes, but none the less effectually, the Governor was able to extort from a hostile legislature the measures which he had most at heart. How did he do it? In part, no doubt, by his remarkable powers of personal persuasion and by his unrivalled knowledge of the facts; but still more by his capacity first for interesting and instructing, and then for arousing, public opinion. In his public speeches he was almost never eloquent; but his gifts of exposition and simplification were superb; his humor and power of illustration extraordinarily keen; and his honesty and sincerity of purpose transparent. It was these qualities which made it possible for him to write onto the statute-books and into the Constitution an immense amount of useful legislation.

What are some of the most important measures which the Governor secured from the Legislature during his eight years in the Executive Mansion? One important group has to do with the reorganization of the state government. Ever since the Constitutional Convention of 1915 Smith had been interested in this subject. In his first term as governor he appointed a State Reconstruction Commission composed of men of high ability without regard to party. When the Republican Legislature refused to appropriate the modest sum of seventy-five thousand dollars for the work of this Commission, he succeeded in persuading its members to serve without pay. The result was a report on state government which called for four important reforms, the short ballot, that is, the reduction of the number of state executive officers for whom the people of the state should be obliged to vote directly, the consolidation of executive departments, the executive budget, and the lengthening of the term of the governor from two to four years.

For each of these measures Smith was obliged to fight tenaciously against strong opposition. He made very little headway indeed in his first term. But when, after two years in private life, he came back to Albany in 1923, the struggle was resumed. By sheer dint of persuasive ability, both with members of the Legislature and with the public, he succeeded in securing the submission of the necessary constitutional amendments to be voted on in the elections of 1925. These amendments did not go so far as he himself wished to go. With regard to the short ballot, while the offices of secretary of state, state comptroller, and state engineer were made appointive, the attorney-generalship and the office of treasurer remained elective. The executive budget was not included. The four-year term for governor was submitted, but the election was placed in the presidential years, not, as Smith had desired, in the non-presidential, even-numbered years, when the people might devote all their attention to the gubernatorial contest. So strongly did the Governor feel on this point that he urged and secured the rejection of this amendment at the polls. But the short-ballot amendment and an amendment for the consolidation of departments were carried. At the beginning of the next year, therefore, the victorious party leader appointed a new state commission to carry out the purpose of the consolidation amendment, and as chairman he selected Charles Evans Hughes. The result was a report beyond the reach of partisan criticism, and the carrying into effect of an ambitious scheme of reorganization by which useless bureaus were eliminated and order and efficiency were introduced into the scheme of things. Moreover, the Hughes Commission recommended strongly the adoption of the executive budget, and before Smith left office at the end of the fourth term he had the satisfaction of seeing

this reform realized also. He had won substantial victories as the reward of his ability and tenacity.

The reorganization of the state government, however, was by no means his only legislative achievement. From the Legislature of 1926 he secured important housing legislation; even earlier, in 1923, he gave impetus to the development of a state park system, and against partisan opposition and over the protests of wealthy landowners, extorted from the Legislature plans for the development of a park system on Long Island which should serve the needs of the vast population of the metropolis. His interest in welfare legislation continued, and he secured from the Legislature a law for a forty-eight-hour week for women, imperfect, but an advance on existing practice. Perhaps more important than any of these was the bond issue of 1925, which he championed and sponsored at the polls, and which made possible much-needed construction in connection with the state's prison problem and in connection with the care of the insane.

On occasion the Governor knew how to wield his veto vigorously. In his first term a wave of fear of radicalism swept over New York State. Five Socialist members of the Legislature were expelled, and three laws were passed, providing a loyalty test for teachers, requiring private schools to submit their courses of study to state officials, and authorizing the Attorney-General to initiate proceedings against radical candidates for office before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. Smith vetoed all three of these measures as unwarrantably interfering with the freedom of the individual, and as opening the door to arbitrary abuse of power by public officials. Measures somewhat similar having become law in the term of Governor Miller, Smith, on his return to Albany, demanded and secured their repeal.

On the side of administration the Democratic chieftain showed remarkable powers. In his first term he appointed Colonel Frederick Stuart Greene as superintendent of highways, disregarding all political pressure, and avoiding all possibility of political road-building. The magnificent road system of New York State was largely the result. When the consolidation amendment made it possible, Smith drew around him a veritable governor's cabinet, a considerable number of whom were Republicans, and all of whom were chosen with primary regard to their capacity for the offices they were to fill. No governor of New York State, indeed, has ever set a higher standard with regard to appointments for office.

The extraordinary popularity which the Democratic leader enjoyed in his own state, his repeated success at elections, and his obvious qualities as legislative leader and administrator made it inevitable that Smith should be considered for the presidency. He had been put forward for that office

as early as 1920 at the San Francisco convention. At that time, however, his support was not great. But he came to the convention of 1924, held in New York City, with a devoted band of followers and with over three hundred delegates who were his ardent partisans. He was not, indeed, able to secure the nomination. But he exercised a decisive influence in preventing the choice of William Gibbs McAdoo, and, though the disorderly crowds which cheered his name, and indeed his own appearance before the convention, did little to enhance his reputation, he had now become a formidable contender for the convention of 1928. As he steadily grew in stature during the succeeding years in the governorship his chances grew also.

A significant episode increased the respect and admiration in which he was held. In March 1927, there appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* an article by an Episcopal lawyer, C. C. Marshall, making inquiries as to Mr. Smith's religious views, and raising the question as to whether a devout Catholic, such as the Governor, could discharge with fidelity and impartiality the duties of a president of the United States. The Governor replied in the May number. With the finest candor, he explained his views and repudiated the insinuation that his patriotism, public spirit, and fair-minded judgment of affairs would ever be distorted by his private faith.

When the nominating convention of 1928 convened at Houston, he was easily the leading candidate. He was nominated almost without opposition. His acceptance of this nomination was accompanied by another dramatic incident, which, whatever else one may think of it, accentuated the candor and straight-forwardness of his public conduct. He declared for a drastic modification of the Eighteenth Amendment, in the guise of a new amendment which should permit the states which wished to do so to establish the governmental sale of alcoholic liquors.

From the very beginning Mr. Smith had looked with no favor on the Eighteenth Amendment. In submitting it to the Legislature in 1919, in his first term as governor, he had expressed his doubts as to whether the people of New York State were "ready to surrender their inherent right to legislate upon the question." In his message of 1920 he expressed doubts as to the legality of the ratification of the Amendment itself. He signed a bill the same year for 2.75 per cent beer. When he came back into office in 1923, the prohibition question again confronted him. The Legislature sent to the Governor the repeal of the Mullan-Gage Act, or state enforcement act, enacted in the term of Governor Miller. Smith signed this repealer. It is true that he accompanied this act with a long memorandum addressed chiefly to the disgruntled drys, even going so far as to speak of the "sacred responsibility" of the state, even without an enforcement act,

to sustain the Volstead Act and to prevent its violation. But this argument could not conceal the fact that his real sympathies lay with the increasing number of those who were hostile to the whole principle of prohibition. In 1926 he signed a measure for a state referendum calling on Congress for modification, and the platform on which he ran for reelection for the governorship in that year contained a plank urging an affirmative vote on this proposition. The general tenor of his views was, then, perfectly clear when he was nominated at Houston.

The campaign of 1928 first saw Governor Smith essay a truly national role. He traveled widely during the campaign, discussing many different national problems, though, on the whole, neglecting those relating to foreign policy. In many quarters he was heard with great approval. In others, not conventionally Republican, he was subjected to criticism, not only on the score of his wet views, but also for his attitude on the tariff, and for his willingness to accept, at least in principle, the idea of the equalization fee on agricultural crops, an idea popular in the West, but anathema to many Easterners. When the votes were counted in November, he was found to have sustained a decisive defeat in the electoral college, having received only 87 electoral votes to Mr. Hoover's 444. Yet he polled the largest popular vote that a Democratic candidate had ever received up to 1932; while he stood in a popular minority of more than five millions, he carried New England states until that year never carried by a Democratic candidate; and he aroused tremendous personal enthusiasm and devotion in his followers.

With the year 1929 Mr. Smith returned to private life. He had now won golden opinions among business men, and he became the head of the great corporation which erected the Empire State Building in New York City. His political ambitions, however, were by no means extinguished. He constantly maintained that he was the leader of the Democratic party. He expressed himself on national issues and urged that the party itself do so with full candor. Holding back for a time in 1931 and the early part of 1932, he announced in April his willingness to be a candidate for the presidency once more if his party should so desire. When the Democratic nominating convention met in Chicago in June, some two hundred delegates were pledged to him and enthusiastically devoted to his cause. But the fates decreed his defeat. The principal contender for the nomination was Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom Smith had urged to run in 1928 to strengthen the national ticket, and who had been reelected in 1930. On the third ballot Mr. Roosevelt had attained 682 votes. When the fourth ballot was taken, William G. McAdoo, Smith's old rival, switched the votes of California from Speaker John N. Garner of the

House, to the leading candidate, who was accordingly nominated. Mr. Smith was deeply disappointed, but within a fortnight of the convention announced that he would support the national ticket.

It was hard for the veteran leader to conceal his disappointment when he did not receive the Democratic nomination. He had foreseen an opportunity to turn the tables on Herbert Hoover, who had so decisively bested him in 1928. His bitterness was particularly directed against Franklin Roosevelt who was, he believed, guilty of ingratitude for his past political benefactions. He felt that the man who had eloquently spoken in his behalf on his three previous unsuccessful attempts should continue to support him until he achieved the great ambition of his life. Many people expected that Roosevelt would offer the old party leader a Cabinet position, but he was offered nothing and the bitterness remained.

Early in 1933 Smith lost a wise counsellor by the death of Belle Moskowitz who had guided him toward liberalism while he was governor of New York. Her political sagacity and enthusiasm for reform had helped to shape his course during the years of his greatest success and she was sorely missed. Smith became more immersed in "Big Business" in his capacity as a bank director and manager of the Empire State Building, and he acquired more of the political views of men of the class into which he had been adopted. Probably another reason for his swing to the right was his antagonism to the Rooseveltian New Deal. He became an advocate of a sales-tax to compensate for the reduction which he believed should be made on income-and estate-taxes. He changed his mind about the proposed child labor amendment and opposed it on the ground that it was an attempt to legislate public morality similar to the late lamented Eighteenth Amendment. At the same time, as the chairman of the Legion of Decency, he proposed legislation to curb nudism, which seems to indicate that he believed that law had some place in the preservation of public morals.

When Jouett Shouse, ex-chairman of the Democratic national committee, organized the Liberty League, the people's champion from "the sidewalks of New York" was found in the select company of Irene Du Pont of the "powder Du Ponts," John W. Davis, the great Morgan attorney who had headed the Democratic ticket in 1924, James Wadsworth, and others. The purpose of the organization was to stand for individual business initiative against a mounting wave of statism. Although claiming to be nonpartisan the organization opposed practically everything the New Deal had accomplished. In 1936 the "wearer of the brown derby" declared that he was first of all an American and secondly a Democrat and that in case he must make his choice between the two he would choose to be

an American. Then he took his famous "walk" and supported Alf Landon. In 1940 Smith again "took a walk" for Wendell Willkie.

In recent years Smith has been alarmed about the growth of communistic ideals in America. His views on the subject have been far to the right of the administration. About the first point of agreement between Smith and Roosevelt has been sympathy for Great Britain in the European War and enmity toward the dictators.

Varied have been the reasons that have caused people to reject his leadership, yet men of all parties admire his abilities and the candor with which he has discussed national issues.

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IDA B. WISE SMITH

by

ETTA MAE WALLACE

THE Woman's Christian Temperance Union, with which Ida B. Wise Smith has been associated for fifty years, was one of the major forces in writing into the Constitution of the United States the Prohibition Amendment, which was passed by the largest vote of the people on any social question. Members and friends of the W.C.T.U. who recognized it only as an agent to fight liquor (certainly its chief purpose, though it has many more), feeling that the fight was over, quite naturally rested on laurels won.

Then came repeal, *The Amazing Story* of which is set forth by Fletcher Dobyns. Of the book Sterling North, eminent book critic on the *Chicago Daily News*, says:

Quiet, factual, well documented, an absolutely devastating expose of the manner in which a handful of millionaires and a gang of propagandists and lobbyists "influenced" legislatures, flooded the country with propaganda and after years of work brought the "popular" movement which ended in the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment . . .

Why did these gentlemen wish to end prohibition? Pages upon pages of carefully prepared evidence would seem to prove that the Du Ponts, Raskob, and William H. Stayton (formerly executive secretary of the Navy League), were convinced that income-taxes would be slashed or even obliterated if the working man could be taxed three cents a glass on legal beer.

Why was Pierre Du Pont on the side of the drys prior to 1926—then overnight the biggest contributor to the cause of repeal, giving thirty thousand dollars or more a year—much more than even the biggest brewers?

North ends by crediting Dobyns' book with having the answer.

This inside story, first told in government records of the United States on the "lobby investigation" before a sub-committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate in 1930, was known to few persons. Reports carried by newspapers and magazines failed to state that bootleggers were given a free hand, young people were encouraged to become lawbreakers, and the fashionable stamp was put on drinking by the very people who had previously urged temperance as an economic asset, because they had decided that taxes collected from individual booze-drinkers would lessen taxes on corporations. The second telling of this inside story by Dobyns is an event of the year 1940, and in the intervening years public opinion, even that part of it which the W.C.T.U. used to be able to count on, has been so influenced by press and prejudiced by owners and advertisers, that the popular attitude toward the W.C.T.U. and kindred dry groups has been one of belittling disdain.

But the picture is changing, and to that valiant vanguard of temperance forces, the W.C.T.U., must go the major portion of the credit for the fact that it is. Lacking the prestige of the press or money of liquor magnates to make the change of public opinion an even fight, it is the more remarkable. So remarkable, in fact, that one comes to look for the reason in the life of the leader of this movement, Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith, national president of the W.C.T.U. since 1933.

Meeting for the sixty-sixth annual conclave in Chicago, August 1940, delegates from the five hundred thousand members of the W.C.T.U. heard Mrs. Smith give her annual address. Excerpts give insight into the character of this educator, preacher, home-maker, temperance leader, and social worker.

Speaking on the "general welfare" clause in the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, Mrs. Smith said:

More than ever before in the history of the United States, we are called upon to champion three foundation facts of our existence as a nation: (a) the Christian basis of our civilization; (b) the Divine significance of the institution of the home; (c) the inviolable right of every American citizen, not only to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but, not less, to mental and physical well-being, healthful and happy environment, freedom of conscience, and adequate opportunity for growth and achievement. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has always recognized the primacy of the Christian origin of our land, the sacredness of the American home, and the supreme preciousness of human character wherever found. The temperance movement, before all else and prior even to its tremendous social, economic, and scientific implication, is a Christian movement . . .

We remember that nothing important exists only in the immediate present . . . the Christian must take the long view.

And on the topic of peace: "Force of arms can never triumph. A spiritual regeneration alone will bring deliverance."

Then to quote from an earlier address:

One task in our program of education is to permeate the public mind with the spiritual nature of the temperance movement. Never forget that prayer is the one weapon we can wield of which our opponents can have no knowledge.

And from a pen picture of Mrs. Smith written by a friend:

She never, I believe, speaks from a platform without quoting from the Bible in the intimate way most of us quote the most beloved person in our lives.

These quotations point to a spiritual person. A person who believes in spiritual power. Asked to discuss her spiritual background and her attitude toward prayer, the W.C.T.U. leader answered graciously and at length, saying that to her mind all things worth while have a spiritual basis. That she can work only from that standpoint. Mrs. Smith mentioned that her home life as a child was rather restricted as to amusements and diversions. That she had no "story-books" but read church and Sunday-school papers. She spoke of the privilege of living in a home where family worship was held both morning and evening. From the time she was ten years old



Courtesy of Eugene L. Ray, Evanston, Illinois

IDA B. WISE SMITH

she read or heard read a chapter in the Bible and a Psalm at each worship session. It was the custom to begin with *Genesis* and read through to *Revelation*, thus in the course of years she has read the Bible through many times.

Mrs. Smith in her annual message quoted an editorial comment from *Printers' Ink*:

By backing up its prayers with its cash the W.C.T.U. is working a pretty strong combination. The liquor people have plenty of cash, of course. But what are they going to do about the praying part?

There is no question that this woman, an ordained minister in the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) since 1923, counts on prayer as her strong arm of power. It happened that the father of the little girl, Ida, died before she could remember, and with her lonely mother she was a lonely little girl. She ardently longed for a father. In those early years God seemed like a stern Judge, looking for her faults. Then when Ida was ten years old her mother married again. But though her stepfather had a great influence in her life, and she felt he loved her dearly, he did not meet the child's ideal of a father. He was a stern person and greatly restricted her social life.

It was at this time that the little girl came into the consciousness that God was her Heavenly Father. She felt that He loved her. That He was pleased if she was good; that He was grieved if she was naughty. It was a beautiful experience which she confesses has stayed with her and has grown throughout her life. From this growing consciousness of God her way of prayer did not become limited to the asking variety. Rather, it is conversational. She speaks of God and with God, as one of that limited number who have a definite sense of His reality.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 3, 1871, she moved to Iowa in 1876. A childhood memory centers around the campaign for state prohibition waged in Iowa in 1882. Her stepfather was an ardent prohibitionist and the ten-year-old child was greatly impressed by the agitation.

At twelve years of age she taught her first Sunday-school class and she began her career as a school-teacher at sixteen, serving most of her seventeen-year term in that field in Des Moines. Missionaries and evangelists often had been entertained by Ida's mother, and an early decision was that she would become a missionary. But before long the young girl realized it was her destiny to be a "home" missionary. It was her lot to take care of her parents and a sister's orphan children. She married James W. Wise in 1889, became the mother of two sons, one of whom died. Her husband died in 1902, and ten years later she married the Honorable Malcolm Smith, who passed away in 1915. Truly the life of Ida B. Wise Smith has not been without sorrow and hardships. The temptation to self-pity,

to bitterness even, came her human way. That she has remained sweet—and to this fact all testimony agrees—she quite simply attributes to her dependence on her Heavenly Father.

Reading in a newspaper that Chicago saloon-keepers were inviting children into adjoining rooms and treating them with a mixture of whiskey and lemonade, Mrs. Smith cast her lot with the W.C.T.U. in 1891. Her first job was with the children's group, the Loyal Temperance Legion. Later she conducted medal contests. She served as a district president in Iowa from 1896 to 1902; served as state corresponding secretary ten years, and state vice-president one year. Mrs. Smith was state president of Iowa from 1913 to 1933; was elected director of Christian Citizenship for the National W.C.T.U. in 1923. Two years later she was elected national vice-president. She was elected superintendent of Christian Citizenship for the World W.C.T.U. in 1925, and first vice-president of the World Union in 1934. In the interest of this work Mrs. Smith has visited all the states of the United States and twenty-three foreign countries. She has made an extensive study of the Holy Land.

A great love for home and children, and observation of what liquor meant to them, Mrs. Smith gives as one of the factors which turned her toward temperance work. What she learned in the Bible as to God's teaching for the person, the nation, and the rulers of the nation, she names as another factor. Concerning this she recalls that the night when repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment came, her brain whirled with two verses from the Word:

Better is a little with righteousness than great revenue without right. In the house of the righteous is much treasure but in the revenues of the wicked is trouble.

She asks, "Were they not the age-long judgment of the Lord on the question of revenue from evil? Does not the modern saloon demonstrate 'They have given a boy for a harlot and sold a girl for wine'?"

A third factor turning Mrs. Smith toward her life-work was the influence of those visitors in her girlhood home who gave their lives to good work.

In spite of the fact that Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith has given fifty years of her life to the prohibition movement, she can be credited with other activities sufficient to put her fellow man deeply in her debt. In 1923 the Governor of Iowa appointed a commission to name the state's ten most distinguished women, and Mrs. Smith was named as one because of "great contribution to child welfare and social uplift, notably through legislation secured through her efforts." For many years she was chairman of the Committee on Children of the Conference of Social Agencies, in which capacity she planned for a children's code. She was a member of the commission which prepared this code for the Legislature of Iowa.

She was a member of the Legislative Committee of the Federation of Women's Clubs; treasurer of the Illiteracy Commission of Iowa; vice-president of the Iowa Christian Endeavor for many years. She was for twenty-nine years president of the Board of Trustees for Benedict Home, a voluntary reformatory for girls, one that stands as a model of its kind. New buildings were erected and a large endowment was raised under her management; fifteen hundred girls were served for a year each. In 1927 she was named by Governor Hamill as the "most distinguished woman in Iowa." The same year John Fletcher College, University Park, Iowa, awarded her a LL.D. degree "for distinguished service to the state and meritorious service to humanity." She was designated as one of Iowa's "Fifty Rulers" in 1930 and the same year was named by President Hoover on the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. In 1940 she became a member of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy.

The public manner and attitude of this woman surely springs from her fundamental character. Unfeigned sincerity must mark her way. This surmise comes from the fact that the opinion of those who know her best, whether expressed in writing or in conversation, is always the same. The sum of opinion is that she uses intelligence coupled with feminine charm to get things accomplished. The loud-spoken, strong-armed methods are not in her line. She is much more of a diplomat than a militarist. Even that plain-spoken magazine, *Time*, characterizes her (March 1937) as an astute politician and says that the remarkable educational campaign which the W.C.T.U. is now conducting is as new, up-to-date, and efficient as the liquor business. This campaign, carried on under Mrs. Smith's administration, is noteworthy for its cleverness. Scientific books concerning the effects of alcohol—"what alcohol is and what it does"—are put in school libraries; contests are conducted; lectures given; teachers trained. Radio broadcasts, films, road-signs, and posters are used. Posters, for instance, are excitingly simple, clever. One shows a girl, the worse for the wear, coming out of a modern saloon. Over the door is the sign:

NOT A BEAUTY PARLOR

In speaking of Mrs. Smith, much is said of her platform appearance and her speech. Few fail to note that she does not spurn the feminine touch in clothes. She has blue eyes which all who speak of her mention, and so consistent is her choice of blue, not navy—more of an Alice blue—that it is another point reporters and magazine writers invariably note. She is also credited with a sense of humor, and what is more, is able to tell a joke on herself. She is a person who regards methods as well as ends. She

works for her convictions whole-heartedly and without ceasing, but her ways are gentle, unostentatious.

To follow a day of this sixty-nine-year-old leader, one would rise at six thirty or seven. She spends time at devotions after toilet is made. Has breakfast of orange juice, sometimes with toast. Sets that part of the house in order not taken care of the night before. Is in the National W.C.T.U. Headquarters office, Evanston, Illinois, next door to her home, by half-past eight, ready for conferences, dictation, and checking material for the W.C.T.U. magazine, *The Union Signal*, of which she is editor-in-chief. She tries to do her writing in the morning, and all material printed for the Union passes under her inspection. An hour out for lunch and fresh air precedes an afternoon much like the morning. A light dinner in the evening leaves a session for writing and reading.

A most hospitable person, Mrs. Smith can cook, and often gathers friends about her table for dinner. She also gathers in young people around her open fire for more than one kind of food.

Mrs. Smith is away from home about half the time, going frequently to her Washington office, and addressing state or national assemblies.

Asked what keeps her at her task, her reply was the motto of the W.C.T.U.—“For God and Home and Every Land.” She added:

It is my conviction that I must do my utmost to help bring the Kingdom of God to earth, else how dare I pray, “Thy Kingdom come”? I must do all I can to protect and exalt the home, hence I must do my utmost to abolish the greatest enemy of the home. I must remember that our God is a God of nations, not just mine, therefore I must do my utmost for all lands.

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WILLIS A. SUTTON

by

JOY ELMER MORGAN

THE life-story of Willis Anderson Sutton is the history of an epoch. The old South was just beginning its struggle out of the prostration of the war between the states, when there was born on a Georgia farm a baby boy whose life-span was to bridge the gap between the old South and the glorious new South of our own day, which looks forward to the time when the airplane shall make the Western Hemisphere a single community as the automobile has begun to make the North American continent a neighborhood. No other age in all history could have given to a single lifetime such a wide range of personal experience and observation, with such swift rise from modest surroundings to so noble an opportunity for service and achievement.

Most of the world's great teachers have come from poor surroundings. They learned in childhood to accept the world as it is, to do their part, to use their own eyes and ears and hands, to smile, to dare, and to do. All these were the boyhood lot of young Willis Sutton, the seventh child of a devoted mother. Willis was born November 6, 1879, on a farm near Danburg, Georgia—an old Southern farm with its ideals of good manners and happy life, with its colored folk and its friendly neighbors.

There were early struggles aplenty. There was abundant opportunity to develop the manly virtues that stern necessity breeds in her children. The trait of pioneering is probably the most distinctive characteristic of our American civilization. Says Dr. Sutton:

One of the greatest needs in education is that older people and especially the teachers shall realize that what youth needs in a dissipated, flabby, anemic age is the challenge of hard work. Instead of boasting about what we have accomplished in education, let us give to the high-school boy and girl, to the college man and woman some vision of the unexplored, unconquered, and unknown territory. It was the unknown Ohio Valley, the unknown Kentucky lands, the mythical Mississippi, and the mighty stretch of plains and mountains of the West that gave the challenge to America between 1775 and 1850. Youth must be stirred by our dearth of knowledge rather than by bombastic claims of achievement . . . America has now reached the point where her mind, for a period at least, should be taken from the material. A man who is at the head of one of the greatest international organizations in the country said to me one day, "Sutton, the thing that is wrong with Georgia is that Georgia thinks in terms of things and not in terms of people." People versus things must be the new creed in education.

The frontier has now shifted from the new lands of the Western wildernesses to the frontier of reform and social advance. The atmosphere of his early boyhood prepared Willis Sutton to take his place among the new

pioneers. There were hard choices to be made. Should a boy go to school even though it meant parting with the much-needed family cow? Sutton's father and mother did not hesitate in the face of such choice. Untold millions of other parents have made similar choices and time has proved the wisdom of their judgment. That is why we have a generation of men and women in America who believe in schools even to the point of serious individual and community sacrifice. This American ideal is rooted deeply in the sound conviction that character and intelligence are more permanent and abiding than material possessions.

In a letter to the author, Dr. Sutton gives his own estimate of the influences which shaped his life:

Possibly one of the greatest experiences of my life was the fact that when I got ready for high school my people were in a difficult condition financially, and it looked as if I would not be able to go. My father told me that if I would take care of the cows and milk and look after the butter, he would furnish me a horse to ride to school. The high school was seven miles away, which really meant two hours. I shall never forget that I was rather disgusted with him for making such a proposition, for I had expected to board at the school, and I said in disgust:

"When do you expect me to go to school?"

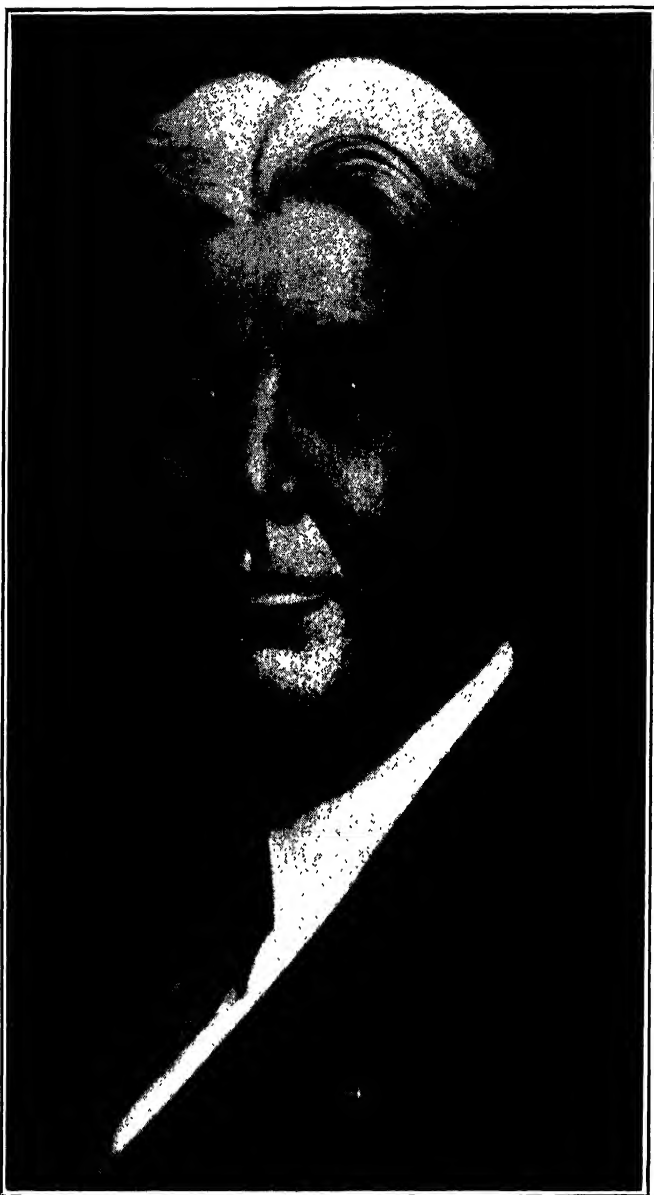
He said in a very kindly way, "Every day."

My mother told me that I could do it by getting up at three o'clock in the morning and preparing the food for the cows and milking and carrying the cows and calves off and looking after the butter. I did do it for three years. I never missed a single day, except three days and these three days I stopped out of school as an eighteen-year-old boy to make some fifteen or twenty speeches in three days for local prohibition.

I think one of the other fundamental things in my whole life was the care of the animals and the care of plants, the working with a garden and working with sheep, goats, and cows. I came to have a feeling that I was akin to all things that grew out of the soil and that lived on that which grew out of the land. The care of these animals and plants brought out an unselfish interest in me. One of my earliest hobbies was the growing of pansies and the growing of all sorts of flowers. I have pulled more than a hundred buckets of water out of an old sixty-foot well at night in order to water my flowers. I have always been foolishly devoted to anything in nature. Trees, plants, and streams are a real part of my life. Camping has been a hobby ever since I was a boy and as a man.

The hardships and difficulties of youth sometimes leave a trail of bitterness and despair, but not so with Dr. Sutton. He loves to tell of the early struggles, of the time when he went to town to sell farm produce from door to door to get a little much-needed money, in spite of the objections of certain members of the family who thought that an undignified thing to do. He took the eggs and vegetables to town and called forth his wares upon the street from door to door. As he passed the home of his aunt who objected to this selling, he called out with especial vigor in the singsong of the street-vendor: "Fresh eggs laid this mawnin'. Right from the nest! String-beans! Peas! Carrots! Fresh eggs!"

I have often heard Dr. Sutton tell eloquently from the public platform of his struggle to master mathematics and how he surprised his teacher



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WILLIS A. SUTTON

and his associates, as well as himself, on one occasion by finding a solution to a particularly catchy problem which called for his last ounce of determination and grit.

He solved that problem as he has solved many a difficult problem since in a career which has included a small high-school principalship, the pastorate of a Southern Methodist church, the principalship of a county high school, the presidency of an agricultural college, a professorship of English in a great city high school, then the headship of the English Department, the principalship of the school itself, and finally, in 1921, the superintendency of the schools of Atlanta, Georgia, where he has since served, carrying out in the larger field the ideals that have marked his lifetime of growing usefulness.

The early struggles and the family life which furnished the background for Dr. Sutton's boyhood were made beautiful by mutual love and affection. Love of childhood and of one's fellows is the first mark of a great teacher. Without it teaching is a dry and thankless business; with it the divine nature of the child is revealed and the tasks of teaching become delightful adventures in the development of life. A lovely human character is the supreme expression of earthly beauty—not the beauty of the senses, important as that is, but a deeper and more abiding beauty of intellect and spirit—the beauty of high purpose, good will, sympathy, insight, personal grace, and sustained devotion. Anyone who helps in the formation of such character, whether as mother, priest, or schoolmaster, is an artist in the best sense. Such is Willis A. Sutton, superintendent of schools of a great city which he has helped to build by teaching to its young people the values of life.

Willis Sutton's mother had at one time hoped to be a missionary. Having failed in this ambition she did what many another mother has done—she endeavored to rear up a son to go forth to do the Lord's work. Dr. Sutton says, "Somehow with my earliest breath I seemed to imbibe a missionary spirit from my Mother—that it should be my ideal to try to make the world better for having lived in it." Willis was brought up to be a missionary and was known for miles around the little town of Danburg by the nickname "Preacher." At school they built a tabernacle of logs and pine boughs. Every day at recess he held services there.

He gave out old, familiar hymns, called up burdened young sinners awaiting only the invitation to repent of their wickedness. And as they came, sometimes moved to tears by the thought of their sins, he would pray earnestly for them—and for himself as well. "For I knew I needed it," he remarked. And, at this early age, he acquired an intimate knowledge of the bewilderments and griefs that cloud the bright days of childhood.

On Sundays, the old minister, in his long black coat, looking over his spectacles to the high pew where the boy Willis sat, straight and still, beside his mother, would say, "Will our young brother lead us in prayer?" And, responding, Willis would rise and stand barefoot in the aisle, and pray.

Thus was laid the foundation for a religious faith and a spiritual insight which has distinguished Dr. Sutton's entire life. Had his career fallen within the church he might well have been a bishop, and how well he would have looked the part, with his shock of silver hair and his gracious, courtly bearing.

Talking is a great exercise. It expands the lungs, vibrates the diaphragm, and exercises the vital organs which give life tone and stimulate the higher centers. Dr. Sutton loves to talk. Perhaps this trait was strengthened in his early days of Methodist preaching when long sermons were the rule. Dr. Sutton not only likes to talk, he has something to say, with an art and a charm that go with real oratory. He is a masterly story-teller, particularly of Negro dialect stories, and it is a common experience as he goes about the country lecturing to teachers' associations for members of the audience to request that he retell some of their favorite stories.

The pioneer farmers of Sutton's boyhood had not yet learned much of scientific efficiency, but they were efficient in their own peculiar way. They had to be in order to accomplish the varied tasks which people then did for themselves—for in reality each farm was a combination of home, farm, and factory. In the division of labor Willis was the younger brother who helped about the household while his elder brothers helped with the work of the farm. He writes of this association with his mother:

Anxious to spare her in every way I could, I learned to run the sewing-machine. As she basted, I stitched up the older children's clothes and we turned out the finished garments at a grand rate. While we worked, mother would talk of the future she foresaw for me. It was a future extraordinarily barren of wealth or fame, and rich only in unrelenting toil for others. Yet, as she painted it, she made all other careers seem poor and unworthy beside it, and I would listen, stirred to the soul.

Young Willis' intimate association with his noble mother and his participation in the affairs of a large family, gave him an insight into the significance of family life. On every possible occasion he emphasizes the importance of putting the family at the center of our planning. He says:

When I contemplate how little home life there is in the nation, how few hours children stay with their own mothers and fathers and sisters and brothers, how the sacred relationship in the home has been neglected, how divorce has rent asunder the homes of our nation, I tremble for our future. But I see a possibility of relief when every teacher shall commence with the kindergarten and teach the sacredness of home ties and home relationships, when that shall be a part of every curriculum and the course of study shall be written around home and home activities, when the reading lesson shall bring in the precious association of home life,

when even little children are taught the sacred relationship of the family and entrusted with carrying on and developing home life. Then we shall reestablish the American home.

The turning-point in Dr. Sutton's career came with his choice of teaching as a life-work. Let him tell the story himself. The following is taken from the *Proceedings* of the National Education Association, the greatest of all shelves of educational literature:

I shall never forget the night I decided to be a teacher. I wobbled about until I was twenty-three years of age deciding what I was going to do and what I should be. My father was a letter-writer. I wish more fathers were letter-writers! I have a letter from my father 103 pages long. I treasure it as I do few things in life. It was written in April, 1903. He wrote me this letter and in it he said:

"Son, you have decided once to be a lawyer; another time to be a preacher; another time to be a farmer. You must decide on what you are going to do. You can not hesitate longer."

I read it over and he had an argument for every single profession I had thought of. I remembered how we had walked about in the cotton-fields and I had seen him reach down and pull cotton that was high as his head up to him and cut the bolls and I was thrilled and said, "Oh, I want to be a farmer." Then I thought of what I could do to help clothe the people of the world. Then I went to a country town and went across the bridges of what I thought were enormous creeks, and I determined to be an engineer and an architect. Then as he carried me to hear Bob Toombs and Alexander Stevens and those men who are great in Georgia's history, I said, "I must be an orator." We had a little library of some five hundred books; I read them all; and I said, "I am going to be an author; I am going to write a book." All through my life I recounted the things I had desired to be and how I had hesitated.

Well, there I was with my father's letter and I must decide what I was going to do. I laid that letter down in a chair and knelt as I had been taught to kneel to pray. Like a flash right out of Heaven, whether in answer to prayer I know not, there came this thought: "You can do every single one of those things; you can be the lawyer, you can be the preacher, you can be the artist, you can build the bridge, you can span the great beams of the architect, you can do these very things, every one of them." "How shall I do it?" "Just be a teacher. Just be a teacher."

A generous understanding of boy life is an admirable foundation for any superintendent of schools and Dr. Sutton's understanding is generous. It was his ability to inspire and lead boys that led to his being made head of the English Department and later principal of the Atlanta Technical High School, one of the finest schools of its kind to be found anywhere. His sympathy goes out especially to boys who are in difficulty or trouble. He feels that these boys are mostly the victims of circumstances beyond their own control. While principal of the Technical High School, Sutton offered and made good his promise to take all the bad boys that had been expelled from the other schools of the city. A dental and physical examination was his first order for the thirty-seven "incurables." He found that this group of troublesome boys became good students and good citizens when they had the services of dentists. All of the boys finished high school, some of them went through college, and a few of them are making a name for themselves in the world.

That experience laid the foundation for school dentistry in Atlanta. It also deepened Dr. Sutton's conviction that the school has an inescapable responsibility for the health of students. Atlanta has become noted for its work in school health, and Dr. Sutton's lectures on this subject throughout the nation are one of his major contributions to educational progress. When President Hoover organized the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, he made Superintendent Sutton a member of the Committee on the Health of the School Child. It was this Conference that wrote the *Children's Charter*, which may easily mean as much to the childhood of the future as the *Magna Charta* has meant to the development of government among English-speaking peoples.

Dr. Sutton's appreciation of the difficulties of maintaining bodily vigor in our complex age is suggested by this statement of his:

My forefathers lived just above Augusta, Georgia, when the Declaration of Independence was signed on the Fourth of July, 1776, and on the twenty-sixth day of August they received that wonderful news. If it had been signed yesterday we would have heard of it before it happened. So here we are in the midst of a world like that. We were brought into it so quickly that youth needs adjustment.

How are we going to give him that adjustment? We are going to bring back those things that are primitive in his life. The Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Camp-fire Girls, the Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.C.A. are going to do it. So are the boys and girls who camp, hike, and go by the stars. If I had my way every boy and girl in the whole of America would attend a camp and learn something of the primitive things of life. In the school we have to see that this thing is done. The schools must counteract the influences that are disturbing the youth of our land.

Like the great line of educational reformers and pioneers—Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel—Dr. Sutton's experience led him to attach importance to the early years of childhood. He believes that the kindergarten is fully as important, if not more so, than college in any child's life. He declares that the kindergarten puts a child of six a year ahead of the child who hasn't had that training. He realizes, as every real student of child life must realize, that the child's early experiences are the raw materials out of which his mind develops, that there should be abundant opportunity to see and hear, to touch and handle, to work and play, with enough freedom to give practice in deciding, and enough guidance to give direction. Kindergarten and preschool education have had few friends more persuasive than Dr. Sutton, who wrote in an article in the *Journal* of the National Education Association:

The study of kindergarten theory has done much to produce a change in the whole educational system. The kindergarten itself is a source of inspiration. The kindergartner's attitude toward her children is one of coöperation and inspiration. The children's attitude toward their work is marked by a spontaneity of interest. There is freedom without confusion. When the kindergarten is looked upon understandingly, a new sense of human brotherhood arises and also an appreciation of the significance of the kindergarten as an important agency in the education of man.

The National Education Association was twenty-two years old when Willis Sutton was born. It had been organized in that year of panic, depression, and threatening disunion, 1857—a significant year in American life in more ways than one. In 1857 the *Atlantic Monthly* began its unusual career and *McGuffey's Fifth Reader* made its appearance upon the American scene.

It was the National Education Association which helped to spread an appreciation of education throughout the nation of Sutton's childhood. Its very organization was an effort to create national unity in the hope of avoiding disunion. When Sutton came onto the scene, the battle against disunion had been won, so far as war could win it, but the ultimate work of unity had to come through the slower processes of education and through the wider outlook among teachers which the National Education Association has helped to foster.

The presidency of the National Education Association is regarded as the highest honor that can be paid to an educational worker. The members usually elect to the presidency a man or woman who has done something to help build up the Association. Dr. Sutton began many years ago to work in the Association and became one of its life-members. He was quick to see the advantage of professional organization for the improvement of teaching and the elevation of education. He emphasized teachers' meetings that dealt with the real every-day problems of school, home, and community life. He believed that the teachers should make their influence felt as individuals working for the improvement of civic life. What he urged others to do he practiced himself, and as a member of committees and a speaker on programs, took an active part in the work of the Association. He was elected president of the Association for 1930-1931.

His presidential year was one of the most strenuous in a long life of strenuous years. The depression which began in 1929 was making itself felt in the schools. Adding to responsibilities and burdens already heavy, Dr. Sutton found time and energy to visit most of the states of the Union, carrying his message of inspiration, courage, and good cheer, laying the foundations for his great meeting in Los Angeles, one of the largest in the Association's history. A feature of this meeting was the automobile caravans that came from far and near bringing their loads of eager teachers and their families. Dr. Sutton himself drove from Atlanta to Los Angeles making many stops en route.

During the meeting Dr. Sutton was at his best. Southern California has much of the charm of the old South blended with the energy and novelty of the newer West. This atmosphere of generosity and friendliness made every one feel at home. President Sutton took the city to his

very heart and on the scores of occasions when a president is called upon to talk, at breakfasts, luncheons, dinners, and civic clubs, he told the people about the work of the schools and the importance of childhood. He emphasized the fact that all wealth starts with human wealth and that industry and business can move on only as the foundations are laid in human excellence and aspiration.

While Dr. Sutton's year as president of the National Education Association, with its membership of more than two hundred thousand and its leadership of more than a million teachers, may have been the high point in his great career, his major service has been to the people of Atlanta where he has given many years of vigorous, intelligent, devoted leadership. The schools are the best part of the modern city. Without them the city would be incompletely housed, there would be little place for the children to play and to live the normal life of childhood. There would be no protection in the poorer sections against the distractions and temptations of a crowded age that has not yet learned to provide for childhood by surrounding the homes themselves with privacy, beauty, fresh air, and sunshine.

The schools of a great city are its biggest and most efficiently managed business. They have been remarkably free from graft, corruption, inefficiency, and stagnation. They have carried the increasing load that the public faith in education has put upon them. Every depression has thrown a heavier burden upon the schools, at the same time that it has cut taxes and reduced school income. But the schools have gone steadily forward doing their work as well as possible, laying foundations for a better day.

Few people, except the president of the United States, carry a heavier load of responsibility than the superintendent of a large system of schools. There is a huge school plant, millions of dollars to be spent in buildings and sites and their upkeep. There are thousands of teachers to be selected, trained, assigned, inspired. There are still more thousands of children who must be given worthwhile things to do, who must receive the individual attention which will prepare them for their difficult parts in the changing life of the modern world. There are the parents and the taxpayers. It is no easy task to hold all these threads of administration in normal times. In difficult periods the responsibility is so great and so diverse as to create wonder that any single individual could carry the load. To Dr. Sutton and to men of his energy and courage, the nation owes a large debt of appreciation for their service, not only in building schools, but for their additional service in standing between those schools and short-sighted policies of excessive tax reduction in periods of stress and confusion. The men and women who have held this battle-line of progress are heroes of

service in the best American sense. They have not had the public recognition or the salaries and prerogatives that would come to a general in the Army or an admiral in the Navy, but they have performed a service far more significant than any ordinary general could hope to achieve. In a true sense they are the saviors of the people and the prophets of a new and higher order of American civilization.

That the citizens of Georgia appreciate Dr. Sutton's service is evident from a double distinction which came to him in 1940. On June 10 the honorary degree of doctor of laws was conferred on Dr. Sutton by Emory University for "your leadership in promoting the welfare of youth throughout our land; for your noted accomplishment in arousing a health consciousness on the part of parents and children of our American public schools; for your national and international recognition in the educational world."

At the April meeting of the Atlanta Board of Education, Dr. Sutton was unanimously reelected to the position of superintendent of schools and the term was extended from three to four years. In nominating Dr. Sutton, Mrs. Z. V. Peterson, member of the Board of Education, stated:

To me has been delegated the privilege to speak not only for myself but for the other members of the Board in nominating a superintendent of schools for the succeeding term of four years. I might take a great deal of your time in telling you of the high regard in which our present superintendent is held by the educators of the nation, . . . in recounting the achievements of the school system under his able leadership, and yet you know that of your own knowledge. Therefore, I content myself with a personal tribute in which I am quite sure all the members of the Board join, using the words of the poet who wrote:

"Bring me men to match my mountains,
Bring me men to match my plains;
Men with empire in their purpose,
A new era in their brains."

I am quite sure that the superintendent of Atlanta's schools matches Georgia's purple-rimmed mountains in the loftiness of his ideals and purposes; that he matches the broad plains in the breadth of his vision for the education of all the children of the state of Georgia; that he desires no grander empire than that he has built in the hearts of the little children of Atlanta, and certainly, out of that will come to us a new and finer era in education.

Dr. Sutton has helped to lay in the new South the foundations for a finer and better life, for a new epoch of social advance. The civilization of tomorrow is destined to be a city civilization with the activities of our people revolving around the great centers like enormous wheels. The beginnings are apparent today in such centers as Atlanta, Richmond, Dallas, Los Angeles, Seattle, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit. But the city of tomorrow will be a different place. It will be made beautiful, peaceful, livable, far beyond anything of which the present generation can dream. The foundations are now being laid in the aspiration and skill which is developed in the schools of America. More than 50 per cent of our young

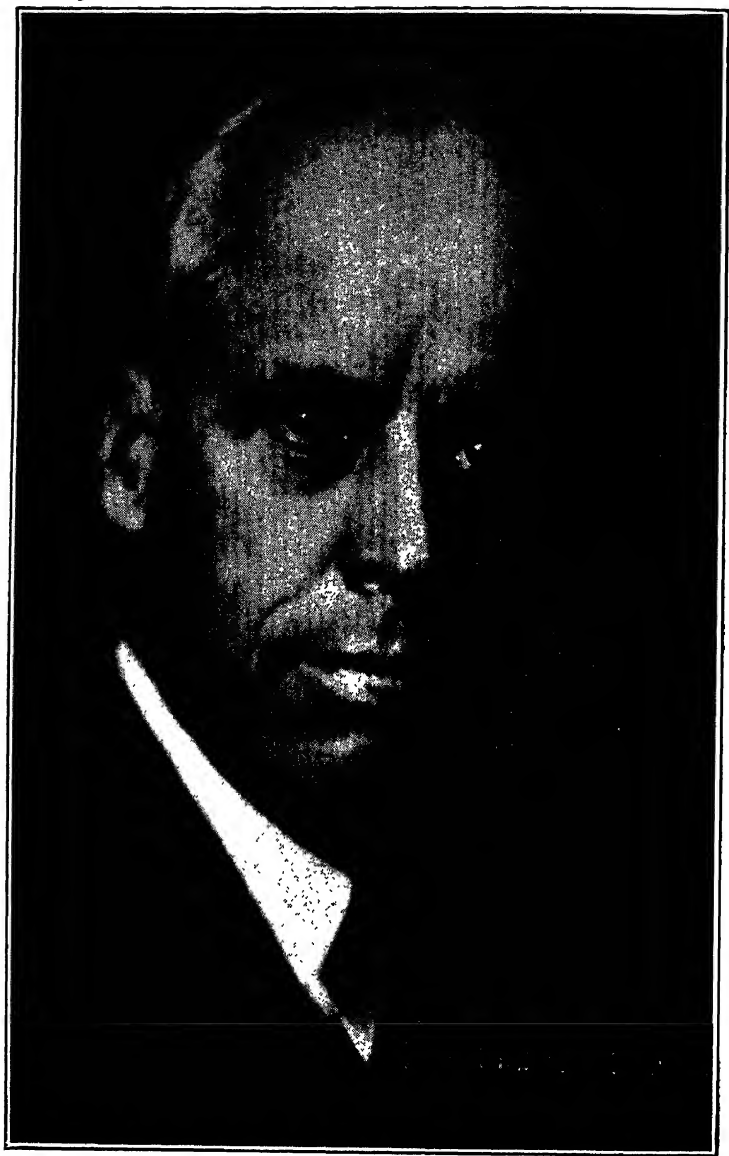
people of high-school age are now in high school. No other nation ever dared send more than 10 per cent of its young people to these institutions. Each year the percentage is increasing. Tomorrow these high schools will be colleges, and in every considerable city there will be a university serving the entire community in its civic, intellectual, social, and industrial needs.

When that day comes the life of America will take on a new significance. Many of the problems which now seem difficult will pass away. There will have been laid in the schools the foundations for a social order founded on intelligence. Industry will no longer be the main business of life. Leisure will have increased, even for the masses, until the arts will be the main concern of all. In that new day, poverty will have been abolished. It will be possible to take for granted a minimum of food, clothing, and shelter. Safeguards will have been set up against depression and disaster. A planned order of life will take the place of accident and greed as controlling forces in our civilization. These are not things that can be accomplished in a day. They are not possible until the forces of order and intelligence make themselves felt in the home, the neighborhood, the state, the nation, and in the larger community of nations which lies just ahead. These are the things to which Dr. Sutton has given his life. He has worked at them in his own home, in his beloved native state, in the city over whose schools he presides, in the National Education Association, and in the World Federation of Education Associations. He has helped to rear a generation of youth who will take up the torch anew so that the schools of tomorrow will be better still.

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NORMAN THOMAS

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by

CECIL CLARE NORTH

N 1884 Marion, Ohio, had passed through its pioneer period and had settled down to the comfortable routine of the small Middle-western town. The Presbyterian Church had as its leader a scholarly, earnest minister in the person of Welling Evan Thomas. He was of Welsh stock and was himself the son of a clergyman. It is said that the spirit of the crusader characterized his ministry.

His wife also was the daughter of a clergyman and, even in those days, believed that a woman owed something to her community beyond her services in the home. In Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, to which the family later moved, she was a member of the school board. We are told that she stimulated in all her six children a deep intellectual interest and a love of good reading.

The eldest of this good-sized family was Norman, who was born in Marion on November 20, 1884. He went through the usual course of elementary and high-school training in Marion, but with a record of brilliant scholarship. He delivered at the houses of the neighborhood, copies of the *Marion Star*, the newspaper of Warren G. Harding, who was later to go to the White House at Washington. It does not appear, however, from Norman's later interests that he absorbed much of the rock-ribbed philosophy of Republican doctrine that made up the content of the paper.

The mantle of religious leadership fell naturally upon the eldest son of the family. He accepted readily the notion that he was to maintain the tradition of his two grandfathers and his father, and follow the vocation of the ministry. In addition to maintaining an excellent record of work in the high school, he found time for much reading in his father's library. But he was apparently no mere bookworm. He became known among his group as a good boxer. Then, as in his later life, he apparently believed in what used to be called in the English boys' schools, muscular Christianity. Norman Thomas, the brilliant high-school student, paper-carrier, amateur boxer, devourer of solid books, was evidently a normal American boy, but probably not just an average boy.

From high school he went directly to Bucknell University for his first year of college. The next year a relative helped him to realize his ambition to reach Princeton. But it was no munificent gift that released him from

all economic problems. He had to earn a part of the amount necessary for his living expenses. He thus knew at first-hand something of the problems of the man who approaches life from the angle of toil and self-help. The necessities of partial self-support did not, however, stand in the way of maintaining the high level of scholarship which he had achieved in high school. He graduated in the top level of his class and was recognized by faculty and his fellows as a consistently strong student.

Woodrow Wilson was then at the height of his powers as a teacher of political science at Princeton. Young Thomas found in Wilson's classes an alluring challenge to careful thinking in the fields of politics and economics. Probably he also caught something of Wilson's enthusiasm for popular government and democratic institutions. In addition to his class-work he found time for debating and from it developed an eloquence and a keen use of words that has since marked him as one of the most effective platform men of his time.

Although his mind was definitely set on the ministry as his life-work, Thomas did not immediately begin his theological training. Instead he took up residence in a social settlement in the heart of the congested tenement-district of New York, the Spring Street Neighborhood House. At that time the social settlement was the outstanding expression of the idealism of large numbers of the finest spirits in the United States and England. Toynbee Hall, the first settlement, had been established in London in 1884, the year Norman Thomas was born. In 1886 the first American settlement was established in New York and the movement spread rapidly into most of the larger cities of the United States.

The fundamental idea of the founders of the social settlement was that the wide gap existing between the educated class and the poor wage-earning sections of the cities could best be bridged by members of the more fortunately situated group taking up their residence among the less fortunate and carrying on a friendly service of popular education and neighborhood leadership. For twenty-five years following the initiation of the idea, the settlement became the headquarters in all the larger cities of groups of idealistic young people, mostly college and university graduates, who were eager to find some concrete way in which to express their sympathy for the poor and to participate in a genuinely democratic partnership with them in combating poverty and ignorance and suffering. It is indicative of the spirit of Norman Thomas that he joined such a group and threw himself vigorously into the work of lifting some of the loads from the shoulders of his neighbors in the settlement neighborhood.

After two years of service at the Spring Street Neighborhood House, he spent a year on a trip around the world. Here was an opportunity to see

social problems from a wider angle than could be gained at home. It is probable that the experiences of this trip laid, or at least strengthened in his mind, the foundations of the international point of view that has characterized all of his later life.

When he returned home Thomas entered directly on his preparation for the ministry by registering in the Union Theological Seminary. At the same time he went to the Christ Church Settlement, a Presbyterian social welfare agency, as assistant pastor. Frances Violet Stewart came to this settlement to organize one of the first tuberculosis clinics in New York. She and Thomas were married in 1910.

Before the marriage Thomas became assistant to Henry van Dyke at the Brick Church on Fifth Avenue. Here was a much different life from that at the settlements. He found himself in an atmosphere of wealth and of scholarly consideration of religious problems. From the standpoint of his work as a student of theology, the assistant pastorate at the Brick Church was probably less distracting than the absorbing problems of the settlement. But we are told that the young divinity student was not finding the conservative theology of his denomination entirely to his liking. He had abundant encouragement in the liberal atmosphere of Union Seminary to radical thinking, both in theological and social fields. But the church life outside the seminary offered more constraint to a young radical.

In 1911 he graduated from the Seminary. Now that he was ready to enter, full time, on the kind of work that he wanted to do, it is significant that he did not choose a comfortable parish where he might live a quiet life of scholarly consideration of religious problems. Instead, he chose one of the most difficult to be found, the American Parish, of which he became the head and pastor of one of its agencies, the East Harlem Presbyterian Church, located in a section of the upper East Side known for its poverty and disorganized community life.

Before being accepted officially, however, as a minister of the church, he must pass the barrage of ordination, that Scylla and Charybdis of radical young theologues. The New York Presbytery, the official council of his denomination for that area, accustomed as it was to the heresies of graduates of Union Seminary, found in young Thomas a brilliant candidate, but one about whom it had serious doubt concerning his fitness for religious leadership. After a whole afternoon's questioning, it was finally decided that he might be accepted, although there were many misgivings concerning his beliefs. The newspapers of the country carried the story of the ordination of this young heretic as an interesting piece of news.

Once established in his church, Thomas was confronted with more im-

mediately pressing problems than those involved in medieval philosophy. He became responsible for the direction of all the Presbyterian agencies on the upper East Side in a district populated by wage-earners who were battling for a living for themselves and their families. Here were unemployment, dependent old age, broken family life, sickness, and all the time a pitifully low standard of living made necessary by the low wage scale. A large part of his people were immigrants who had come to America with high hopes for a life in a land of freedom and opportunity. They had found exploitation, the repression of a rigid economic system, disillusionment, and suffering.

Here for six years Norman Thomas and his wife entered intimately into the lives of these workers and struggled persistently to lift some of the burden from their shoulders. In 1914 a serious wave of unemployment came to increase their already heavy burdens. Scores flocked to the parish house for assistance. In other centers the unemployed were put at work that was calculated merely to keep them busy. But the Thomases abhorred such makeshifts. In connection with Union Social Settlement they established working centers and put the workers at making baskets and molding pottery. They had too strong a sense of the dignity of labor to make these unemployed workers earn their dole by performing tasks that had no meaning.

But all the time that Thomas was struggling to relieve the suffering of the people of his parish, there was growing in his mind a sense of futility and frustration. Back of these conditions of poverty and unemployment and repressed personalities, he saw what he thought were the forces that were responsible for the conditions. And it appeared to him increasingly futile to deal with the end results, when all the while these forces were persistently operating and adding to the burdens of the people faster than such workers as he and Mrs. Thomas could relieve them.

His intimate relations with the every-day life of the people, his contacts with a city government that existed largely to enrich a few who controlled it or who could profit from the favors of those who did control it, the ever present evidences that the economic machinery of society also poured abundance into the laps of a few while it starved thousands, all made him wonder whether he was working at the right end of the problem.

And then, for Norman Thomas as for many others, came an event that abruptly turned the course of events at a sharp angle. The World War was upon us. Thomas was a Christian minister. He believed that war is not consistent with the teachings of Jesus. And he took those teachings seriously enough to be unwilling to participate in war. He also believed that the reaction of war upon the nation that wages it is destructive of many of the hard

won achievements of democracy. He did not believe that anything that we could accomplish by our entrance into the war could equal these destructive consequences.

And in his intimate work in his parish with people of various nationalities he had come to understand that the people of other nations looked upon life much as he and other Americans looked upon it. War appeared to him to be a denial of the principle of human brotherhood, and the thrusting between people of like minds of a barrier of hate. From his study of history he thought he saw that all wars, even so-called wars of righteousness, never accomplished enough of good results to compensate for the suffering and destruction and years of hate that they left in their train.

For these reasons he refused to be drawn into the support of America's participation in the war. And he also believed that the church, as the organization whose function it is to proclaim brotherhood as the way of life, could not consistently help to promote war of any kind. Such a position was not accepted by many of the responsible members of his church. His pacifism was a thorn in their patriotic flesh, and they were not entirely backward in expressing their disapproval.

But for Thomas a moral conviction must be translated into action. He could not be content merely to hold ideals. He must express them and do what he could to make them living realities. Hence, he vigorously opposed America's entrance into the World War. And he took a prominent part in organizing the American Union against Militarism.

In the 1917 mayoralty campaign in New York City, it appeared to him that his support should go to the Socialist candidate, Morris Hillquit. He wrote Hillquit a letter offering him his support. This was not any radical move on Thomas' part. He had previously taken sides with the laboring group in controversial matters. And in his work with his wage-earning parishioners he had become convinced that their needs called for something more fundamental than temporary relief measures. This, combined with the Socialist opposition to war made his support of the Socialist party a natural and logical outcome of his moral and economic beliefs and convictions.

But for the conservative members of his church, his espousal of Socialism was the last straw. They had become accustomed to his radical theology as best they could, and with somewhat less grace had endured his pacifism. But Socialism stood, in their minds, for a dangerous attack on all the foundations of the social order that appeared to them most sacred. An open break came and Thomas left the work of the church to step out into a world of conflict for the principles to which he had committed his life.

He probably did not realize at the time how significant a choice he had made in severing his connection with the ministry. The course into which he had launched was destined to carry him into paths of which he, in all probability, had not dreamed. But for him what lay immediately ahead was but a pursuit in a somewhat different form of the same goals that he had been working for since his graduation from the university.

Together with some friends he established a monthly journal, the *New World*, which after a few months became the *World Tomorrow*. He was its first editor. In its columns he continued to fight for justice, for mutual understanding between nations and classes, for a government and an economic system that would serve the interests of the common man. In addition to his work on the paper he became the Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organization created to promote the attitude of love and mutual understanding as instruments for settling differences between nations and classes.

Like Ramsay McDonald in England and others of like convictions in the United States, Thomas had his price to pay for opposition to the war. The Post Office Department tried unsuccessfully to suppress his paper. Department of Justice detectives trailed him, tapped his telephone-wires, and searched patiently for evidence that would convict him of sedition. But when they went to his office to question him, they were met by a frank, good-natured, and persuasive man, who evidently had nothing to conceal but who was tremendously in earnest, though not without a sense of humor, in pursuing his course. After the war he learned of a mass of reports six inches high that were made during this time concerning his activities. But there was nothing in them on which to base a conviction of anything illegal.

He was not daunted by the opposition of the government agents. He was shocked at the brutal treatment in prison of those who had accepted imprisonment rather than go to war against their moral convictions, and he nearly got into serious trouble with the government for his activities in their behalf. With Roger Baldwin he organized the National Civil Liberties Bureau (later named the American Civil Liberties Union) to provide legal assistance to fight for the rights in the courts of those who were persecuted because of their moral convictions. As a defender of the Bill of Rights it has become the leading organization in the country to champion the cause of civil rights.

Since the war this organization has continued its activities to secure legal rights for those who become the victims of public officials and organizations who would suppress individual rights in the interest of selfish groups or of a narrow bigotry.

The war tested Norman Thomas' moral courage and endurance as thoroughly as it tested the physical courage of any soldier on the front. He saw his friend and associate, Roger Baldwin, taken to jail for his refusal to register for the draft. He saw old friends turn against him for what they regarded as his lack of patriotism. He heard himself denounced as an enemy of his country and spied upon as a traitor. And shortly after the war, when some of the clouds seemed to be breaking, he lost the oldest of his six children.

The end of the war did not, however, in any way mark a cessation of his activities. In 1918 he joined the Socialist party and continued fighting, both in the party and out, for human rights and a more just social order. His voice and pen were vigorously used in behalf of better international relations, civil liberties, the rights of minority groups, municipal reform, relief for striking wage-earners, trade-unionism. In 1921 he resigned from the editorship of the *World Tomorrow* and became for a year associate editor of the *Nation*. For a short time he edited a labor paper, the *New Leader*.

In 1920 he participated in the struggle for Irish freedom, that had so many repercussions in the United States. He served with Senator George W. Norris and Senator David I. Walsh on the American Commission on conditions in Ireland. They presented a report which bore important results in the agitation that led up to the Lloyd-George agreement establishing the Irish Free State.

In the same year that he was engaged in the struggle for Irish freedom, he participated in Mount Vernon, New York, in a test of free speech. With the Rev. John Haynes Holmes he was arrested, when they deliberately defied what they regarded as an illegal effort on the part of public officials to suppress free speech. Immediately after their arrest the court dismissed the case, establishing the right for which Thomas and Holmes had contended. A few months before this, while speaking one night to a group of strikers in the Paterson strike, the police turned off the lights in the hall where the meeting was held. Thomas lighted a candle and read the Declaration of Independence to the audience.

In 1926 Thomas again was brought prominently into publicity for his participation in a labor struggle. The strike of textile-workers at Passaic, New Jersey, was one of the hardest-fought strikes in the history of American labor. It was accompanied by unusual brutality and violence against strikers and newspaper reporters on the part of the local police. It was characteristic of Thomas that he should be found fighting here as elsewhere for the rights of an oppressed group.

The public officials had illegally forbidden any more public meetings in

the adjoining town of Gardner. Thomas decided to test the order. Through the Civil Liberties Union he rented a vacant lot and word was sent out that he would address the strikers there. When the crowd assembled he mounted a tree stump and began his address. Within a few minutes the sheriff and his deputies arrived and arrested him and lodged him in the county jail where he spent the night. The next morning he was released on bail. The story of his arrest was broadcast by most of the larger daily papers of the country. When the case came before the court, it was dismissed and an order filed lifting the ban which the sheriff had put on public meetings.

Since 1922 Thomas has been actively associated with the League for Industrial Democracy which was organized in 1905 as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and had worked through the changing years under the able leadership of Harry W. Laidler. This is an agency which declares as its object "education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit." It carries on its work through the publication of pamphlets and books dealing with problems of industrial democracy and through public lectures and group discussion and conferences. While frankly socialistic in its philosophy it seeks to promote a wide discussion of all questions related to the improvement of the condition of the laboring group and the reconstruction of the economic system into a more democratic order. As one of the executives of the League, Thomas gives much of his time to directing its activities and lecturing and writing. His book titles include: *America's Way Out*; *As I See It, the Choice Before Us*; *Human Exploitation*; *War—No Profit, No Glory, No Need*; and *Socialism on the Defensive*.

He finds time, however, for participation in many activities where courageous fighting and warm sympathies for oppressed groups are needed. He has been for some time chairman of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief (a subsidiary of the L.I.D.). Through this agency thousands of dollars have been raised and many supplies contributed for miners, textile-workers and other striking groups whose families bear the heavy load of hunger and cold.

But significant as are these activities in indicating the type of man Norman Thomas is, it is not through them that he has gained his widest publicity. He is known chiefly to most people who have heard of him as a leader of the Socialist party, and a candidate for office on the Socialist ticket, in various campaigns.

Being a candidate on the Socialist ticket in most cases is a far different matter than being a candidate on one of the major party tickets. The Socialist party in most parts of the United States has a following so small that its nominee for office is, from the beginning of the campaign, not sup-

posed to have any chance of winning. His campaign is therefore essentially an educational effort in behalf of the cause of Socialism, rather than a race in which the candidate or his supporters have any hopes of his election. In Milwaukee and a few smaller cities this has not been the case. And an occasional Socialist is elected to a state legislature, a city council, or to Congress. But the situations in which a Socialist, at present, in the United States, ever has any chance of election are very few. To be a frequent candidate, therefore, on the Socialist ticket, as Mr. Thomas has been, is not an indication of a repeatedly frustrated ambition for office. It is, rather, an indication that he is regarded by the party as the most effective public educator which it can put in the field.

The first three important campaigns in which he participated were the campaign for the governorship of New York in 1924, the presidential campaign in 1928, and that for the mayoralty of New York City in 1929. In 1928 the life of the Socialist party in the United States was at a low ebb. It had but recently lost its magnetic leader, Eugene Debs, and this meant that thousands lost interest in the movement. In 1924 the party had joined with other progressives in an effort to elect Robert La Follette as president. On the failure of this campaign the party had largely fallen to pieces. The central organization had lost contact with local groups of Socialists, and in most states the party did not even appear on the official ballot at election time. There was undoubtedly need for a leader who could reawaken enthusiasm and put new life into the organization. A standard-bearer should be nominated who could again bring Socialism back to a significant place in American politics.

Thomas did not desire the nomination. He was busy with the educational work of the League for Industrial Democracy. And he wanted some time to write a book on Socialism. He believed that his old friend, James Maurer, a progressive labor leader of long standing, should be the nominee for president on the Socialist ticket. But Maurer and the other responsible men in the organization thought otherwise, and Thomas was named as their candidate while Maurer was chosen as his running-mate.

Through the hot summer months they traveled throughout the country speaking whenever a group could be assembled who were willing to listen to sound economic argument. Thomas stuck to straightforward discussion of the problems that concerned the life of the man who labors. When the campaign was over he had gathered in only a little over two hundred fifty thousand votes, the smallest Socialist vote since 1900. But the newspapers spoke in high terms of the quality of campaigning he had conducted. Thomas said that he appreciated the flowers, but regretted that the funeral had been so complete.

In 1929 the mayoralty campaign in New York City was a different matter. Although the newspapers gave scant attention to his nomination, as they always do to Socialist nominations, before the campaign was over it was evident that New York City had discovered a leader. Many conservatives who were disgusted with the sordidness of the appeal made by the two major parties turned to a support of Thomas as the only intelligent possibility in the whole campaign. He was rewarded with approximately one hundred seventy-six thousand votes and a recognition by thousands who did not vote for him, that here was a new man to reckon with in American politics.

Since 1929 he has continued his vigorous support of unpopular causes, but always in the interest of democratic rights and of the under-dog. He fought for the release of Mooney and Billings and for the Scottsboro boys. He protested vehemently the denial by our government of the right of the Loyalist democratic government of Spain to purchase arms in this country in accordance with international law, to defend herself against Fascist invasion. And he gave all possible assistance to the raising of funds in this country for medical supplies for Spain and food for the children and persecuted refugees of that unhappy country.

He fought valiantly for the rights of the share-croppers of the South and assisted in the organization of the Tenant-Farmers Union. His speaking and writing were an important factor in making known to the American people the plight of these millions of neglected Americans. He spoke against the Ku Klux Klan in Southern communities dominated by the Klan, and was forcibly ejected from Arkansas by an armed mob.

When martial law was declared in Indiana and limitations put on free speech because of labor troubles, he defied the law and spoke publicly to hundreds of strikers. In 1938 Mayor "I-Am-the-Law" Hague, of Jersey City, denied to labor groups the right of free assemblage and free speech. Thomas challenged this infringement of fundamental civil rights and was "kidnaped" and forcibly carried out of the state. The case was finally carried to the United States Supreme Court where the rights of free assemblage and free speech were affirmed, and Jersey City again became a part of the United States.

In 1939, with the onset of the European war, Thomas turned his chief attention to the movement to keep the United States out of war. In 1940, much against his wishes, the Socialist party again insisted upon his acceptance of the nomination for president, making it the fourth time that he had been called upon to carry the national banner for Socialism. In a vigorous campaign he voiced his challenge in all parts of the country, emphasizing above

all the importance of our keeping clear of war if we would preserve our democratic institutions.

We may now ask, what is it that Norman Thomas stands for? Why is it that he is probably today the most popular exponent of political idealism in American colleges and universities, and a recognized leader of the progressive social thought of the country? Undoubtedly one factor is his magnetic personality. His geniality, humor, and persuasive eloquence carry many audiences with him when he speaks. And his writing also shows the same qualities. But there is something deeper than that. His courage and his willingness to stand by his convictions, at almost any cost, give him a stability that is more substantial than eloquence.

In his thinking he is distinctly a modern, but he is no iconoclast. He recognizes the values in the old. For example, in speaking of the type of religion in which he was brought up he says that while it exists for him today mostly as a memory, he recognizes that for the generation of his father and mother and grandparents, it provided "a guide in the maze of life and a deliverer from doubt which greatly conserved their energies and preserved their peace of mind." It gave men a sense of partnership with a divine order, a feeling of spiritual security which we have lost.

But it is to the problems of human relations that Thomas gives his greatest energy and thought. He pictures an enlightened social democracy for mankind in the future. But he has no illusions about attaining it through easy waiting for the millennial dawn. He believes that we can attain a genuine social democracy only through hard fighting. Socialism is for him merely a device for achieving this goal, a tool with which to fight. He has no particular interest in a political party or organization as such. What he wants is a social order permeated by justice and the spirit of brotherhood.

He has stated his philosophy as follows:

I am a Socialist . . . because I believe that modern machinery and technical processes make possible the full and free acceptance of the economy of abundance. There can be no true abundance that is not shared. There can be no true abundance which does not require a plan in the operation of our mechanical equipment and the development of our resources . . . Socialism insists that desire for private gain has broken down as an adequate motive for production and therefore we must substitute direct social purpose for increased production, at cost, to meet human needs. This will require social control of money, banking, credit, and social ownership of our great natural resources and of monopolies and semi-monopolies. Such control is consistent with the maintenance of democracy and the increase of civil liberty; on any other terms Socialism will degenerate into totalitarianism, communist or fascist.

The Socialism which Norman Thomas represents is not the wild-eyed anarchism that some associate with the term. He distinctly repudiates the revolutionary Communism which would attain its ends by dictatorship and

a denial of democracy. And the bitter attack of the Communists on Thomas and his position show the sharp divergence that exists between the two points of view. His type of Socialism is in no way opposed to religion and the church or to the family.

There is room in the Socialism advocated by Thomas for much private initiative and for coöperative associations such as labor-unions, farmers' organizations, consumers' coöperatives. It would provide for security through old-age pensions, health and unemployment-insurance. It would secure funds for the increased expenses of government through taxation of higher incomes, inheritances, and the values of land which come from the growth of the community. It would develop an international policy of coöperation—looking toward a genuine world-community, though not destroying national integrity.

Concerning the name of the movement, Thomas says that he is not wedded to the Socialist label, but he does not yet know of any word that so thoroughly expresses the ideal Socialists are seeking. Above all, Thomas is not seeking a party organization for the purpose of putting certain people into office. The party is but a means of organizing and making effective the efforts of those who are seeking these ends.

Probably Norman Thomas would himself be the most surprised if anyone should look upon him as a martyr, a hero, or a saint. In the first place his sense of humor would be immeasurably shocked. And he is the kind of man who takes his work much more seriously than he takes himself. Those who have had opportunity to know him think of him as a very human kind of individual, with all the limitations as well as the strength, that that term implies. But he undoubtedly stands today in the very front rank of those who are battling for a better social order, and he is willing to give all that he has in that fight.

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by

JOHN LEONARD CONGER

HENRY AGARD WALLACE was born on a farm near Adair, Iowa, October 7, 1888, graduated from Ames as a bachelor of science in 1910, and immediately identified himself with the family paper, *Wallace's Farmer*. During the next quarter of a century he was busy as editor, farm manager, developer of hybrid corn, and, in spite of all these duties, he became an authority in economics and statistical science. In this crowded period he produced several studies of permanent worth. Among these may be mentioned *Correlation and Machine Calculation*, published in 1924. As early as 1920, he had produced his *Agricultural Prices*, an exhaustive treatise based on the study of agricultural prices during the period of deflation following the Napoleonic wars. Here he pointed out many similar conditions and forces then present in the Corn Belt and prophesied many of the ills of the late twenties.

Henry A. Wallace has always drawn heavily upon his inherited traits. His heritage was a rich one. Henry Wallace, his grandfather, at sixty years of age, after long service as a Presbyterian preacher, left the pulpit to establish a farmer's paper, through which he might reach a wider audience. The masthead of his paper, "Good Farming—Clear Thinking—Right Living," was a clear statement of his purpose. This early *Wallace's Farmer*, a biweekly of very modest proportions, was cynically received by the newspaper world. But within a year, the paper had become a weekly, and quadrupled its circulation; and before his death eighteen years later, it had become a great financial success.

At the founder's death, H. C. Wallace, the son, took charge, after a fine career as a teacher at Iowa State College. In turn, Henry A. Wallace succeeded to the control of the paper after his father's death in 1923, and continued until entering the office of secretary of agriculture.

The Wallace family has served three presidents: Henry, the grandfather, on Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission; Henry C., as secretary of agriculture in President Harding's Cabinet; while Henry A. has filled a very large place in the Roosevelt regime.

At forty-four years of age, Henry A. Wallace entered a more-than-average strong Cabinet, where, in spite of a first impression of shyness, reticence, and "man-of-the-farm" limitation, he became second, if not first figure,

in an administration marked by a plethora of strenuous, dynamic thinkers. Among this army of New Dealers he stamped himself as perhaps the most fundamental reformer of the group. In contrast to his predecessors, interested in the routine but valuable research of a brilliant staff of scientists, and the dissemination of their discoveries to the farmers of America through Agricultural Department *Bulletins*, Wallace shocked the country by preaching a revolution in American agriculture.

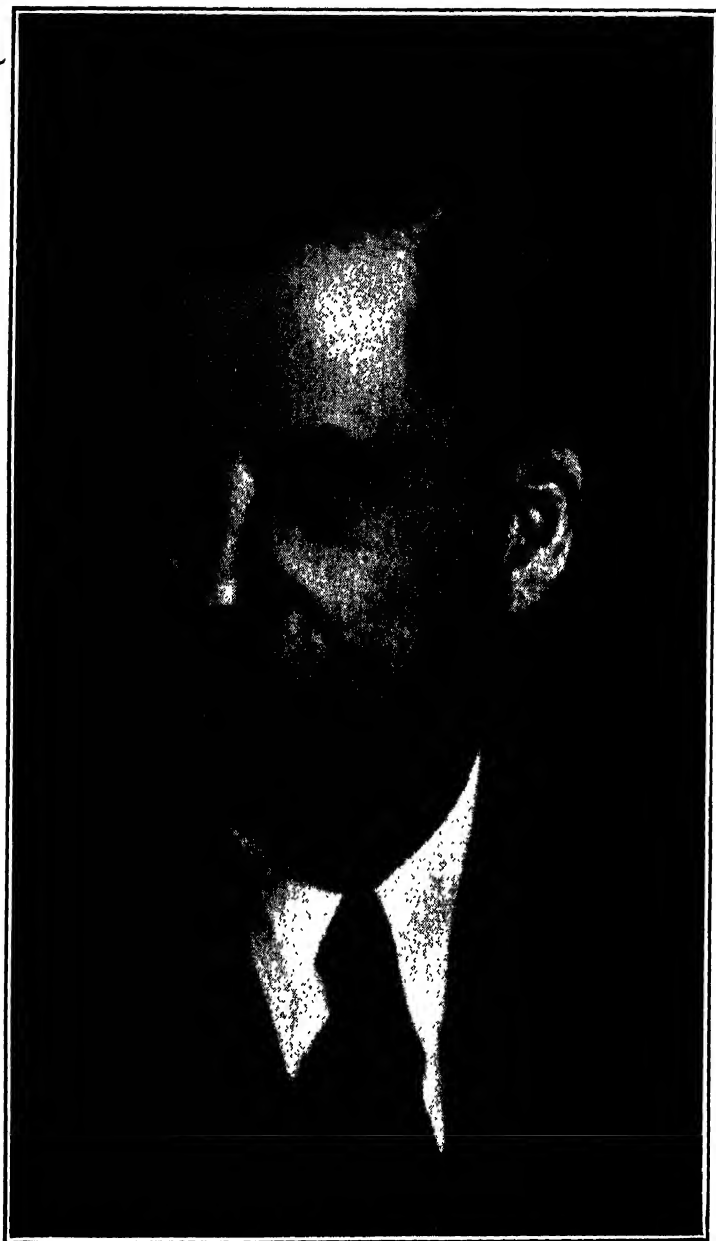
Candor and fearlessness to a high degree characterized Secretary Wallace's utterances on the farm problem. Early in his term of office he felt that the time had come to plan for the years ahead. Fat land lay idle because with the surplus production there was no justification for reclaiming it, while bad land was being worked by poverty-stricken families wearing out their lives to no good purpose.

With all his candor, Wallace is a patient and moderate man. Early in his service he expressed his dislike both for a system of economic nationalism, with its complete regimentation; at the same time he saw the fallacy of a Utopian national free-trade system, while he abhorred the anarchy of a system of uncontrolled capitalism. He seemed to believe that America must take a "middle road."

His predecessors had attempted to aid the American farmer by boosting the price of farm products through foreign dumping, or by means of a debenture scheme. It is true, President Hoover's Farm Act of 1929 looked towards "orderly production," but this machinery was never set up. Equally futile was the prevailing farmer's policy as embodied in the slogan, "We intend to raise all we can and get a fair price for it." Until the New-Deal days, most farmers still had faith in the effectiveness of the protective tariff. Today, largely due to the teaching by the Wallace family, farmers are more and more beginning to see prosperity as a national program, believing that a greater industrial activity would result in more wages, more foreign trade, and consequently a greater demand for American agricultural products.

Henry A. Wallace, as an editor, in 1919 saw the farmer's impending ruin, and urged his readers to utilize the then prevailing high agricultural prices to reduce the debt load. He warned that as the foremost creditor nation of the world our foreign markets were in danger. At the same time he was pleading for a reduction of the American tariff, and advocating cancellation of America's foreign debts. The wisdom of these prophecies has been demonstrated by subsequent events.

In the new administration, the Agricultural Department was one of the first to formulate a program. Early in May, 1933, the Agricultural



HENRY A. WALLACE

Adjustment Administration was set up, with its control of production and a processing-tax to pay the cost thereof. The Supreme Court's adverse decision on the National Recovery Administration foreshadowed a similar fate for the agricultural program. Changes were then made which Wallace thought might circumvent the Court, but all to no end, for the highest Court declared the A.A.A. program unconstitutional on the ground that it invaded the sole right of the states to control agriculture, which was declared to be a local, not a national interest. Nothing could have been more diametrically opposed to the vision and philosophy of Secretary Wallace, with his conviction that agriculture can only prosper as it is dove-tailed into a healthy nation-wide industrial prosperity. As early as 1934, Secretary Wallace would have given up the processing-tax and production control for wider foreign markets acquired through tariff reductions and extension of foreign loans.

After the voiding of the A.A.A. program, Secretary Wallace, with his characteristic stubborn patience, attempted to save as much of his plan as possible. Thus there was set up the present Soil Conservation Act, which provides for federal grants to the states to be used for soil conservation and reduction of crops. Until the several states have enacted the necessary laws, the federal government handles the conservation program directly.

Many auxiliary agencies had to be set up in order to work the changes thought necessary for American agriculture. One of the most important of these was the Farm Security Administration; another, the Farm Credit Administration; also, the Surplus Commodity Corporation, and the Resettlement Administration. The first of these agencies helped land-less families to acquire farm-land. By this agency, more than two hundred thousand families have been so aided. Happily, such financed owners, where they enjoyed favorable weather, have repaid more than 80 per cent of their original loan and interest. The Farm Credit Agency did a splendid work in refinancing farm mortgages, thereby instilling a much-needed note of optimism in the farming world. The Resettlement Act of 1936 has given a new start in life to more than three hundred thousand families, who, in spite of drought, have repaid more than half of the loans made to them by the federal government. The Surplus Commodity Corporation, set up in 1933, has bought more than three billion pounds of food products to be distributed to the poor, thus helping to sustain agricultural prices.

The attempt to restore a degree of security and prosperity to the American farming world developed, in addition to the major lines of procedure, many interesting secondary problems. The drought of '34 upset the Department's first plans of stabilization by reducing production. The Corn Belt rang with the denunciations of Mr. Wallace's critics, many of whom vocifer-

ously proclaimed the drought as the Lord's retribution for the millions of innocent little pigs slain by the government. Likewise, this program of reduction was denounced by the *laissez faire* school of economists, and also by the extreme idealists, both honest and otherwise, who demanded full production of food "as long as there is one hungry Chinaman." Secretary Wallace retorted that "the cost of such a program would be the ruin of millions of American farmer families." He further refuted the idea by declaring that all productive businesses, from automobiles to celanese, limit their output as buying threatens to fall. Should Ford be compelled to speed up his River Rouge plants so long as one American family has to walk? In frank defense of his position, the Secretary declared that it is impossible for agriculture to survive as a philanthropic enterprise under a capitalistic regime.

Any well-rounded agricultural reform must deal with the problem of farm-tenancy. In 1935, 42 per cent of all American farmers were landless renters, and moreover, the percentage was rising. Especially the sharecroppers of the South constituted a menace to a healthy national life. The administration's program for these people has been hampered on one hand, by the fear of the Northern farmer that he will be unduly taxed to solve the Southern problem; while at the same time Southern conservatives have resented the inherent criticism of their section.

Secretary Wallace's project for an Ever Normal Granary, with its crop loans, is perhaps the most significant contribution of our agricultural history.

Frankly Mr. Wallace states his belief in the efficacy of law to accomplish certain desirable ends, and can point to the success of the Bankhead Cotton-Control, and the Kerr Tobacco Act in raising prices of those products. However, the Supreme Court's decision in the *Hoosac Mills Case* seemed to foreshadow their annulment by the same tribunal, and both acts were repealed by Congress. However, Mr. Wallace has declared his intention to try to find means countenanced by the Court whereby the same instrumentalities may be applied to an even wider range of agricultural crops.

Wallace's unbounded faith in the efficacy of law to effect desired ends has not prevented his using very effectively other commonplace methods. The Department has attempted through persuasion to raise low agricultural prices by cheapening the distribution process. Large cities have been induced to set up milk-depots where "cash and carry" customers can buy milk minus the high distribution cost. Other attempts have been made to reduce the cost of food in big city markets. In crops showing a temporary surplus, such as grapefruit, the Agricultural Department, by conference of producers, jobbers, and retailers, cut costs to the end that the product was lower than

ever before, and the crop was moved. Several other agricultural products have been similarly handled with general satisfaction.

Realizing that the final success of any New Deal for farmers must rest ultimately upon that class, Secretary Wallace has attempted three prime objectives. First, a national unity of thinking among farmers; second, a national farm program expressing that unity and furnishing a rallying point for farmers; third, a national farmer's organization to make the program effective.

No other Cabinet office has had more vigorous opposition and criticism. On one hand, the *laissez faire* economists have attacked the curtailment of farm-production, professing to see the farmer's real relief in wider export markets—a vain hope as European matters now stand, except in so far as Secretary Hull's reciprocal trade agreements succeed. Another brand of opposition and criticism has come from "hell-raising" agitators advocating a general farmer's strike, such as that organized by Iowa's Reno—now in eclipse. In all this welter of criticism and opposition, some ignorant but honest—Secretary Wallace never lost faith in the democratic process, exasperatingly slow though it may be. His program of aid for the growers of wheat, corn, and hogs was nearly swamped by log-rolling congressmen, adding nearly a dozen of their local agricultural products, even to the lowly peanut. Yet Wallace has had an abiding faith that the industrial interests of the East would be wise enough to support his attempts to restore agricultural prosperity to the point where the American farmer could absorb the increased industrial production.

Most of the new legislation of the Roosevelt regime has been harassed by the courts, but none has been more hampered than that of the Agricultural Department. Few men in the administration have offered more candid and illuminating criticism of the anti-New-Deal decisions of the courts. Mr. Wallace has said that the Supreme Court departed further and further from the meaning of the Constitution as originally intended by the Constitutional Convention, in that the justices have again and again tried to become a policy-making body; that it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution that the president and the Congress should form the government's policies, while the justices should restrict themselves to matters of law, in which, alone, they were qualified. Mr. Wallace further mentioned that twice a member of the Convention, James Wilson, tried to make the proposed highest court of the land a policy-making body, while another member who later became chief justice of the Supreme Court said that justices were the least qualified to pass on matters of policy; twice the Convention considered and twice ruled against Wilson's proposal. The recent reversal of the intent of the young men who framed the Constitution

is, according to Mr. Wallace, one of the most dramatic stories in American history.

Secretary Wallace quoted from a dissenting opinion of Justice Harlan:

No evil arising from such legislation could be more far-reaching than those that might come to our system of government if the judiciary, abandoning the sphere assigned to it by the fundamental law should enter the domain of legislation and upon grounds merely of justice, or reason, or wisdom, annul statutes that had received the sanction of the people's representatives.

He quoted to a similar end opinions of Holmes, Hughes, Brandeis, and Stone. Mr. Wallace endorsed the words of an early justice, that the Court in decent respect to Congress should regard any law passed by Congress as valid "until its violation of the Constitution is proved beyond all reasonable doubt." A more caustic and equally candid note was struck by Wallace as he declared that the previous experience of appointees to the Supreme Court, as attorneys for corporate interests, would not matter if that court would only stick to its strictly legal role; but added, "When they deal with policy-making, then their vocational bias becomes dangerous to the low property classes."

Since the personnel of the Court has been radically changed by recent Roosevelt appointments, a more favorable reception to the Department's activities seems probable. Especially hopeful was the decision in the Kansas City Rate Case, in which the Supreme Court reversed a lower federal court to sustain the action taken by Secretary Wallace.

A solid training in economics has given breadth and saneness to the whole agricultural program. Mr. Wallace has had no patience with selfish aims and short-cuts to a farmer prosperity. In season, and out, he has preached the necessity of a restored parity between a general increased production of manufactured goods with its incidental increase of gainful employment, and the prosperity of the American farmer.

No other member of the Roosevelt administration has worked more effectively to expand our export markets. Candidly, he has tried to teach the American farmer the cost of such a desirable end. He said that American foreign trade is a matter of whether American agriculture and business are really willing or not willing to allow increased imports; that it is distinctly not sensible for the people of a creditor country to beg for exports one minute and the next minute make imports impossible!

Long before this second World War, he declared that the continuation of extreme nationalistic trade policies would spell conflict. Long before the Roosevelt days, Henry A. Wallace, his father, and the *Wallace's Farmer* waged a good fight to make the farmer see the futility of a high tariff as a solution for his distress. Yet many still hope to find the "end of the rainbow" in protection.

In the campaign of 1936 Mr. Wallace made a major contribution, and he contributed largely to the embarrassment of the Republican party. With what eternal fitness was this robust, highly intellectual, mystical son of the Iowa farm, with his candor, optimism, and effective speech, to carry the brunt of the Roosevelt administration's fight for an endorsement at the polls in November 1940. The Roosevelt-Wallace ticket carried the country, winning thirty-eight states and 449 electoral votes. The popular majority vote, however, was closer—between four and five million votes. Mr. Wallace's farm program will remain in friendly hands, while he becomes presiding-officer of the Senate and next in line for the presidency if Mr. Roosevelt should die in office. Mr. Wallace's future is in the hands of fate, but his work up to now has been of great importance for those who work with the soil.

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WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

by

E. P. CLARKE and WALLACE E. RANKIN

N August 15, 1896, there appeared in the Emporia, Kansas, *Gazette* an editorial entitled "What's the Matter with Kansas?" The youthful editor of that small city daily, William Allen White, woke up the next morning to find himself famous, a national figure, recognized by political leaders in the exciting campaign of that year as one of the best editorial-writers of the country. This sudden fame was well deserved; and the reputation that was founded on a single timely and vigorous editorial has been broadened. Today Mr. White is one of the country's foremost men, not only as a newspaperman but as a magazine writer, a political essayist, a novelist, and a biographer.

William Allen White was born in Emporia, Kansas, February 10, 1868. His parents were Allen White and Mary Ann Hatton White. His father's people came from Massachusetts by way of Ohio. Of them White says, "My father's father was a down-east New England Yankee who could trade anybody out of anything. My father was a doctor by profession who loved to swap real estate and horses and anything, who made his money outside of his profession, went to postgraduate school once or twice out of the profits of his dickers and swaps." White's mother was the first child of Irish immigrants who came to America a few months before she was born in 1830. White says of her, "My Mother was the type of woman known as 'a Captain,' a masterful person who had her own ideas and being pure-bred Irish, always wanted to make her own views prevail."

William Allen graduated from the Eldorado, Kansas, High School in 1884. He entered the College of Emporia and then returned to Eldorado where he learned the printing trade. He attended Kansas University from 1886 to 1890 but left college before he graduated to take a position with the *Eldorado Republican* at eighteen dollars a month.

In view of Mr. White's success in newspaper work and literary endeavor it is interesting to note that even while he was in college he had not decided upon his life's career. He says of his various ambitions at this time:

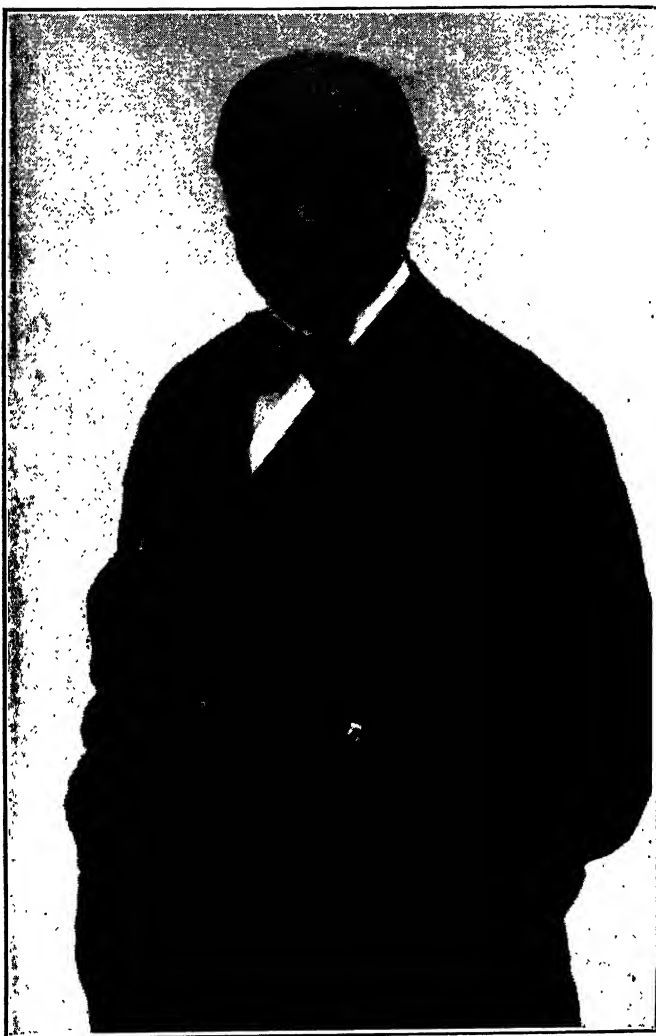
I tried to do several things before I went into the business of stringing words together for a living. I remember once sitting at a table with two dozen husky Kansas boys at Emporia back in the mid-eighties taking the examination for West Point. One of the boys became the man known as Major-General James G. Harbord. He tied the winner. I tied the tail-end of the procession, so that robbed America of the man who would have probably won the war. Then a few months

after that, being a student in the College of Emporia, I wrote three letters to my home town, Eldorado, each letter asking for a job. One letter went to a grocer, another to a dry-goods merchant, and a third to the proprietor of a country printing office. The printer took me in.

In 1891 Mr. White left the *Eldorado Republican* and secured a position as an editorial-writer on the *Kansas City Journal* and as the Topeka correspondent for that paper. In the autumn of 1892 he transferred to the *Kansas City Star* as a member of the editorial staff. While on the *Star* he became acquainted with Miss Sallie Lindsay, a Kansas City school-teacher and they were married in 1893. Two children were born of this happy marriage—William Lindsay White, who is associated with his father in the newspaper business, and Mary Katherine White, who died during her Senior year in high school as the result of an accident and who is immortalized in a remarkable editorial written by her father.

In 1895 White went to Emporia and bought the *Emporia Gazette*. The paper then had a circulation of only 485, and White bought it for three thousand dollars. He had only \$125 and borrowed the rest. The *Gazette* is now valued at two hundred fifty thousand dollars and has a circulation of six thousand five hundred, which is highly creditable for a city with a population of about fifteen thousand. The reason White bought the paper was that he wanted to be his own boss. In the years since then, he has refused many offers in order to enjoy the freedom that comes from editing his own paper. He does not object to being called provincial; on the contrary, he rather glories in it. At the same time he is more than provincial. He is a national and world-figure. He has represented metropolitan dailies at national political conventions, at the Peace Conference at Paris, and on many other occasions. In the latter part of the World War he represented the American Red Cross in France. After the war he acted as a representative of President Wilson at Prinkipo in an attempt to secure from Soviet Russia a promise to negotiate a settlement of its international obligations so that it might be admitted to the League of Nations. His life-work, however—the work which he most enjoys—is the editorship of a small-town daily.

Despite an outstanding literary career, White has found time for many community activities in Emporia which a local editor usually assumes in his home town. He has served as president of the local Young Men's Christian Association, has been active in the Chamber of Commerce, has been a trustee of the College of Emporia and in other ways has met his full responsibility as a leading citizen. For a time he was a regent of Kansas University and his interest in and understanding of educational problems was broadened during that period. He has also served on boards and commissions that represent altruistic endeavor. Among them are the Rockefeller Foundation, the Committee on Pacific Relations, the American Association for Economic



Courtesy of Albert Cornwell, Emporia, Kansas

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Freedom, and the Provisional Council Against Anti-Semitism. Wherever a race, religion, or class of people are not receiving a square deal, whether it is the Negroes, the Jews, the laborers, or the Orientals, White is to be found giving of his time in their behalf. He is a great organizer, and his wide acquaintance enables him to marshal a surprising array of prominent people to back any movement he espouses.

White's intense dislike of anyone or any group who oppresses others and curbs mankind's freedom has made him detest the European dictators and has caused him to feel that we should as a nation make common cause with Great Britain whom he believes is fighting the battle of democracy. In May 1940, he organized the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. "A totalitarian victory" he said, "would wipe out hope for a just and lasting peace." Therefore he believes that airplanes, supplies, and wealth should be made available to the enemies of dictatorship. He has expressed the object of the organization thus:

We are trying to crystallize the overwhelming sentiment that exists in America favorable to the cause of the Allies and make the sentiment real and vital in congressional and administrative action.

In that connection it is interesting to note that White, after some qualms at the beginning, was a thorough believer in the justice of our cause in the Spanish-American War and the World War. Looking backward at those wars and their results he shows signs of disillusionment.

In common with most country editors White has always been keenly interested in politics. In fact one reason he acquired the *Gazette* was to have a medium through which he could express himself freely on political issues. Politics and the publishing of a newspaper seem to be more closely connected in Kansas than elsewhere. Senator Arthur Capper, Victor Murdock, and Henry Allen, who have been among the outstanding political leaders of Kansas in recent years, have all been publishers. Even former Vice-President Curtis was for a time a reporter. White has on most occasions avoided office-holding, although the opportunity to hold office has been open to him. Mark Hanna was so enthusiastic over the value of the editorial, "What's the Matter With Kansas?" in the campaign of 1896, that he would have secured a good position in the McKinley administration for White if he had been willing to accept.

Charles Curtis introduced White to Theodore Roosevelt in 1897 and then began a friendship that continued as long as Roosevelt lived. That friendship was a turning-point in White's life. As a young man he was narrow and conservative. The liberalism upon which he prides himself in his later years received its inception and nourishment from the intense admiration he held for the great Progressive. In 1912 White was a member

of the Republican national committee but he promptly resigned and joined Roosevelt when he bolted the Republicans and formed the Progressive party. To him, as to so many others who were identified with the campaign, this "Battle of Armageddon" was a thrilling political adventure. After the election he said: "The Progressives felt victorious; they know their cause was vindicated, their program indelibly written in public opinion." In 1920 White was a delegate to the Republican convention that nominated Warren G. Harding, and he showed his independence by being one of the few who supported Herbert Hoover to the very end.

In 1922 White gave another striking illustration of his courage and independence. He broke with his closest friend, Henry Allen, and defended the railroad-strikers. He was arrested for some alleged "incendiary" utterances but had prompt vindication.

In 1924 the Ku Klux Klan was the leading issue in Kansas politics and finding that no candidate for governor had the courage to denounce this organization that he regarded as most reprehensible, White became an independent candidate on an anti-Klan platform. He canvassed the state in a picturesque campaign that was to him a crusade for righteousness and justice. He was not elected governor; he did not expect to be; but he destroyed the Klan's influence in Kansas politics.

White had high admiration for the ability of Herbert Hoover and looked forward to his administration as probably one of the greatest in our history. He hoped and believed that the Great Engineer would assume a spiritual leadership over the people. Hoover's administration failed through no fault of his own, White believed. Although White was disappointed that the President did not dramatize his cause by a direct and forceful appeal to the people during the depression, he still believes that Hoover was an able and well-meaning man who was the victim of circumstances.

William Allen White has progressed a long way on the road to liberalism since as a young editor he praised Czar Reed and advocated him for the presidency. In those days he thought that Bryan and the Populists were demagogues who disguised their shallowness in a barrage of words; that the Latin races were inferior and it was the manifest destiny of the Anglo-Saxons to rule; that American greatness was based upon brains, wealth, and the principles of the Republican party. Under Theodore Roosevelt's guidance he became a liberal but although he has held great admiration for La Follette, Norris, and men of their type, he has never gone all the way with them. Particularly is that true at election time. White is a Republican party man and he has never failed to support the party ticket except on the occasion when he followed his ideal out of the party in 1912. His lack of enthusiasm is shown in rather spiritless editorials for those

candidates whose ideas seem too conservative. Between elections he feels free to attack Republican policies and favor some Democratically sponsored innovations, but he has fought the Democratic party too long to feel at home under its banner.

Franklin Roosevelt has brought to pass many of the things that White has long supported, but he believes that Roosevelt has gone too far in his reliance on law to reform American tradition. He also believes that the New Deal is building a class-conscious machine at the expense of a weakening of the self-reliance of a large element of the people.

In a speech entitled the "Challenge to Democracy" delivered before the Economic Club in New York in May 1938, he said:

Playing upon the noble and altruistic ideal which is the mainspring of American democracy, that no man shall starve, we are facing a new situation. For demagogues are trading the votes of the hungry for permanence in office. And when the hungry ask for bread they are wrapping the bread around the stones of moral decay.

White has an abiding confidence in the ultimate good judgment of the great American middle class. With all their prejudices and short-sighted stupidity they are slowly evolving a democracy in which the people's interests are far better protected than they were in the days of McKinley. His doubt of the desirability of driving the middle class more rapidly than it is willing to go is shown by the following quotation from an article called "A Yip from the Dog-House" which appeared in the *New Republic* of December 15, 1937:

The only party that can operate under a mandate backed by dependable force and not relying on reason or the will of God is a middle-class party . . . And yet it was to the middle-class people we neolithic liberals of the first third of the century appealed. We had an iridescent dream of a liberal party which should oppose a conservative party . . . But the two-party system persists because the middle class refuses to think politically in economic terms. It is for property rights, "one land indivisible now and forever." It can be wheedled, coaxed, shamed, evangelized, or scared into justice. That was our job as liberals. But it can not be bluffed or badgered. It won't vote with any party with a real united front for social justice. We were going good from McKinley to Franklin, the all-smartest, but not fast . . . We old-fashioned Progressives who believe that government may be used as an agency of human welfare, and second, that public opinion outside of government, if it congeals solidly, is irresistible in government or in business, still feel that we had something.

For a man whose activities in the every-day world are so great Mr. White has written a surprising amount of fiction. Even before he bought the *Gazette* he had written several short stories. In 1896, his first volume of short stories, *The Real Issue*, was published. Four others followed—*Court of Boyville* in 1899; *Strategems and Spoils* in 1901; *In Our Town* in 1906; and *God's Puppets* in 1916. *In Our Town* was suggested by White's experiences in Emporia; but what has made it so popular is the

fact that it might have been written about any town of its size in the country. Newspapermen have especially enjoyed the chapters that recount happenings in the office of the *Emporia Gazette*.

When *A Certain Rich Man*, Mr. White's first long novel, appeared in 1909 it was hailed by some writers as the greatest American novel. It is still widely read. It was popular because like all of Mr. White's novels, it is about people we know, places we have seen, and events with which we are familiar. Another popular novel by Mr. White is *In the Heart of a Fool*, 1918. A noted critic has said that there is an epic quality in these two novels, which have in them the whole history of an era.

Many books were written on the World War and most of them have been forgotten. William Allen White, however, in his *Martial Adventures of Henry and Me* discussed the issues of that great conflict in such a manner that it constitutes a permanent and valuable contribution to the literature that deals with the problems of war. From the title one might infer that it is a humorous book and there are touches of humor that make it more readable; in fact, it would be hard for Mr. White to write anything that was not illumined by his shrewd wit. The book, however, is serious as well as entertaining. It describes the experiences of White and his friend and fellow editor, Henry J. Allen, in France, Italy, and Great Britain, where they went as representatives of the Red Cross not long after the United States entered the war. As you read the book today, you close it with a new understanding of the horror and futility of war.

The Old Order Changeth and *Masks in a Pageant* are political and historical essays. They are valuable books for a student of politics to read. *The Old Order Changeth* is a review of many important phases of modern legislation—the secret ballot, the initiative, the referendum, the recall, the regulation of public utilities, income-and inheritance-taxes, and prohibition. It is an accurate review and a discriminating analysis of the cause and effect of legislation that has worked the gradual growth of democracy.

Masks in a Pageant the author might have called "Presidents, President-Makers and Near-Presidents I Have Known." It is a frank and illuminating discussion of White's reaction to Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, McKinley, W. H. Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Harding, and Coolidge. He also considers Richard Croker, Mark Hanna, and Thomas C. Platt, whom we might call makers of presidents, and William J. Bryan and Al Smith, who qualify as near-presidents. A fine tribute is paid to Theodore Roosevelt:

Greatheart he was, untouched by the years until he died; always young, ardent, with the merry heart that maketh a glad countenance; always haloed with that divine madness which makes for gorgeous but charming audacity. He stalked through the world, a Greatheart indeed, who made his little day a great epoch.

The book is really a review of the rise and fall of liberalism. It admits freely the reaction against liberalism during the twenties but holds out hope for a new era of progress.

White has also distinguished himself as a biographer. In his *Woodrow Wilson* he is fair, appreciative, but also well balanced. There is full recognition of President Wilson's idealism, his liberalism, his sincere desire for peace and justice, and his unselfish leadership in a great crisis in our history. At the same time the author admits that Wilson had a professorial mind and that his approach to any problem was an academic one. He never escaped from the attitude of the professor in the classroom, handing down *dicta* to a group of students. Mr. White discusses frankly the single-track mind of the war President and his impatience towards advice. He says of Wilson:

His task was hard. He worked against terrible odds, many of which were in his own heart. He achieved much; he left much undone. But his sincerity, his honesty, his consecration to the work before him never were questioned.

White has found Calvin Coolidge a particularly intriguing character. Of him he has written two biographies. The first was written while Coolidge was president. To give a fair estimate of a man's place in history at the height of his career is difficult. Realizing this White wrote *The Puritan in Babylon* several years after Coolidge's death. It is one of the most outstanding accomplishments of White's long literary career. Coolidge is described as a shy and sentimental man with the repressions of a Puritan, cautious, slow to take action, with a keen faculty for letting things alone when they were going well. Coolidge was a "museum piece" who learned to play politics cleverly but honestly and who had an abiding faith in the wisdom of business men and the righteousness of capitalism.

White has been a frequent contributor to magazines, and these articles, dealing as they do with events and with individuals, are really enlarged editorials. A fair-sized volume could be compiled of these articles and another almost as large of articles written about Mr. White.

It does not detract from the value of White's other writings to say that his greatest and best work has been done as an editor. Helen Ogden Mahin of the Department of Journalism at Kansas University once began to compile a few editorials for use in her classes as fine examples of editorial-writing. The undertaking became fascinating to her and the result was a book of almost four hundred pages called *The Editor and His People* published in 1924. It was probably the most interesting collection of newspaper editorials that had ever been published in the country up to that time.

The book was so successful that Russell H. Fitzgibbon compiled a larger collection of White's editorials and published them under the title *Forty*

Years on Main Street in 1937. It contains many of the editorials that appeared in the former volume with others in addition. White has supplied footnote comment in a quizzical vein which explain and sometimes poke fun at his earlier efforts. The progress of the man in his journey toward liberalism may be followed easily by reading editorials on similar subjects and by noticing the dates of their appearance. White is distinctly a Middle-westerner in his method of expression. He writes whimsically, humorously, in a language the people can understand. He is sarcastic but never bitter. His personal attacks are cushioned with good humor and are tempered with charity.

There is an intimate touch in White's editorials which is seldom found in the editorials of the big city papers. In a broad sense the difference between the editorials of a big city daily and the small city paper lies in the fact that the editor of the small city daily discusses his neighbors and their affairs, and even matters in which he and his family are mainly concerned, with a friendly, neighborly frankness. The local and intimate character of the editorials of the small city paper is one reason for their popularity and influence. No paper in the country better illustrates that situation than the *Emporia Gazette*. And yet the paper discusses state, national, and international problems with such striking ability that it commands national attention.

One might wonder that editorials in a small-town newspaper with its small circulation are considered to be the outstanding work of a man who is a national figure in politics and literature. Perhaps that would be hard to explain if only his subscribers had access to his editorial-writing. Probably, however, his editorials are more widely quoted by current events magazines and the metropolitan dailies than those of any small city paper in the country. Thus William Allen White is able to influence many people who have never seen a copy of the *Emporia Gazette*.

One reason White acquired the *Gazette* and has preferred to remain in Emporia is because he is able to be completely independent. He determines the policies of the paper and writes what he pleases. There are no millionaire owners of chain papers to dictate to him. His article in the *American Mercury*, "The Passing of the Free Editor," sets forth the changes in the control of newspapers that have come about in recent years and explains why he prefers being the editor of the *Gazette* to being an editorial-writer on any great daily in the country.

The independent editor, made famous by his courage, his wit, and his versatility, William Allen White is a modern Horace Greeley or "Marse" Henry Watterson, a type which unfortunately seems to be vanishing. A

big man in a small city, he is a true successor to the great editors of the nineteenth century whose readers were more interested in the editorials than in the front page.

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STEPHEN S. WISE

by

JOSEPH RABINOWITCH

IT is a significant commentary on the trend of modern thought, tending constantly away from religious and toward political influence, that the men who control our nation's destinies, who shape its economy, and stir its imagination are secular leaders rather than religious luminaries. For this reason it is all the more astonishing to find among the most influential people of our times a fiery leader of a religious minority which ordinarily concerns itself with its own affairs, leaving matters of national concern strictly to the discretion of the men in power. In the case of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, one of those rare personalities has arisen who goes counter to the general current. In his person are embodied the secret hopes and aspirations of his people. And for this very reason his every act and speech demands a wider horizon, a greater scope of expression than the usual restricted arena of the Jewish pulpit which is the time-honored sphere among lesser Jewish rabbinical personages.

Born in Budapest, Hungary, March 17, 1874, Stephen S. Wise took to the rabbinate an inherited eloquence and an inherent bent for religious tolerance. His father and grandfather before him were rabbis of note. Coming to the United States in 1875 he received his education in New York schools. While at college he specialized in the classics, languages, and philosophy. He pursued his ministerial studies under the tutelage of his father and such learned men as Professor L. Margolis, Dr. Alexander Kohut, and Dr. Henry Gersoni. In 1893 he succeeded Dr. Henry S. Jacobs as rabbi of the B'nai Jeshurun Synagogue in New York. There he laid the foundation for his future distinction as the leading reform rabbi in the country. Also in this period he became identified with the Zionist movement. As founder and first secretary of the Federation of American Zionists he worked indefatigably, building up a consciousness of their tremendous national heritage in the mind of the Jewish people.

In 1900 Wise resigned his New York post to become rabbi of Beth Israel Synagogue in Portland, Oregon, the leading Jewish congregation in the Northwest. This Portland pastorate became the center from which radiated a tremendous amount of activity in the interest of the relatively young community of Oregon Jews. In addition to organizing schools and congregations where none had existed before and cementing a close relationship between state and national bodies, Wise helped in the enactment of

social and political reforms which soon made Oregon one of the chief liberal states in the Union. He drafted the Oregon law against child labor and served on the state commission appointed by the Legislature to secure its enforcement. He was also founder of the state board of charities, the Oregon Prisoners' Aid Association, and the People's Forum.

Rabbi Wise conceives religion to be the right and heritage of the majority, not a snobbish, superficial affectation of the few who can afford it. The synagogue is an instrument of God rather than an organization for social improvement. It is true that he believes the house of the Lord should be a grand edifice demanding the expenditure of man's ingenuity and effort to the fullest extent for its erection, but at the same time he does not lose sight of the fundamental rights of those humble men who are engaged in the actual labor of building. An instance which proved his determined and principled stand in this respect was his plan for a million-dollar synagogue in 1920. At the time he contemplated his drive for funds, he solemnly warned his constituents that he would not countenance any such injustice as was then being meted out to workers in the steel-industry. Praise to the glory of God would indeed ring hollowly through halls built with an unctuous disregard for the sweat of exploited labor. He mortally offended some of his most important contributors with his attitude, and the synagogue remained unbuilt. But thereafter, the pulpit from which he spoke retained a glow of sincerity far fresher and more illuminating than any that could have emanated from the most elaborate rostrum built with means that bespoke an attitude of cynicism toward the very fundamentals of religious ethics.

Because of Rabbi Wise's democratic conception of religion an incident occurred in 1906 which carried him into national prominence, a prominence from which his name has not lapsed into obscurity. The seven years of his residence in the Far West were not easy years. Even there his penchant for truth-telling on public questions brought him into clashes with friend and foe. A picturesque fighter, his role in any organization was to galvanize it. Into every fray he injected the electric quality of his personality. His walk, his voice, his manner commanded rather than pleaded, demanded rather than cajoled. When he fought for a cause or upon some issue, his stature assumed prophetic proportions, his voice thundered prophetic utterances.

Thus it was that as a result of his exploits on the coast he was offered the pulpit of America's greatest and richest congregation, Temple Emanu-El in New York. He refused the call when the board of trustees would not agree explicitly to his stipulation that its pulpit should be wholly free. Instead, he himself issued a call to the common Jewish people to aid him



Acme Photo

STEPHEN S. WISE

in the establishing of such a pulpit as he had in mind, unmuzzled and unafraid. His audacity was rewarded by national clamor. The response, though immediate, was not unvaried. Upon his head was vented the wrath of all those who believed that the pulpit was and should remain merely an eloquent sounding-board for the opinions of the pewholders. But, on the other hand, he attracted a small group of followers in whom his fearless insistence upon religious freedom within the synagogue struck a responsive chord.

Encouraged by this response Wise was determined to come to New York. There in 1907 he founded the Free Synagogue, and dedicated his pastorate to the work of reconstructing the democratic ideals of Israel, broadening the spirit and form of the synagogue, and helping to fulfil the destiny of freedom to which this nation is consecrated. Under his leadership the synagogue became a focal point for all liberal Judaism, and numbered among its congregation some of the most influential members of the Jewish community in New York. One of the leading reform rabbis in the country, he has never deviated from the principle that Jewish tenets and Jewish practice are supple enough to be adaptable to all the contingencies of modern life without detracting one single bit from their spiritual purity and from the unity of their observance. What Rabbi Wise proceeded to do was to democratize the synagogue, remove from it the forbidding and hoary aspect of unbending formalism, relax some of the more outmoded traditions such as the separation of the sexes and the covering of the head, introduce the vernacular in place of Hebrew, discard second-day festivals, and adopt a critical attitude toward the inspiration of the Bible.

Rabbi Wise's career is one of brilliant polemics, sturdy causes, fierce dissensions, protest against the smugness of vested authority, and championing of the under-dog. His interests do not end with the problems of his constituents; they merely begin there. Studying the character of his many undertakings it becomes clear that the individual congregation is a kind of symbol, a world in microcosmos, rich in lessons of experience which an attentive rabbi can apply with understanding to the problems of the world at large. The problems of the Jewish race, mercifully simple in the United States, are many and complicated throughout the rest of the world, and are becoming increasingly so. These problems could not fail to arouse the zeal and energy of a man sensitively attuned to their most delicate nuances, a man who, in addition, has a gift for statecraft. By their very nature these problems have to be dealt with in the capitals of nations rather than in the obscure side streets where they occur, and statesmen lend an ear when Rabbi Wise gives vent to an opinion or a protest. Then there are the problems of general human relationships regardless of

creed and denomination. Here, as a representative Jew, Rabbi Wise has lent his unstinting assistance to government and state whenever called upon to do so.

Thus, we see a whole man, a man whose perspective is shaped by an understanding of the close relationship of things. To Rabbi Wise all human problems are susceptible of solution not in their guise as separate, independent experiences shrouded by the fugitive aspect of events, but rather in their larger significance as symptoms of general social conditions, which must be illuminated from all directions in order to be clarified. In the truest sense does Rabbi Wise understand that John Doe and the president are mutually indispensable, for without one there could not be the other. Hence, his direct dealings, his intercessions with both.

Those elements of character which give strength to Wise's personality and which undermine the hypocrisy of his defamers are his forthrightness and purpose, his scorn of diplomacy when brutal facts must be faced, his appeal to the public conscience when matters which concern the public are at issue. The public is his confidant, not his victim. In its final acceptance or rejection rests the proof of all effort that is not expended for personal profit alone. It is the final judge. For this reason Wise does not rest on fruits of victory. When he fought for woman-suffrage, for prohibition, for the extinction of Tammany Hall, those were not the popular but the politically and socially dangerous things to do. When certain goals were finally achieved, he had long since turned to more advanced grounds of social reform.

Success means little to him. Failure means a more stubborn and a more forceful battle. His fights are always uphill, but never reckless or impetuous, and never blind. However disastrous the consequences, he is prepared for them, and the confidence he has generated in his followers over a period of thirty-odd years never fails him in his time of need. He may weigh consequences, but he deliberately scorns them, once a principle is involved. This is the key to his entire religious attitude. He conceives his calling to be very close in spirit to that of the ancient Hebrew prophets. It is not to his mind the complacent function it has become in the career of most clerics. It is a crusading function. It demands boldness, truth, vision, and even audacity. It calls for the complete integration of life in all its phases, political, social, industrial, and personal. It calls for a continuous and unrelenting war upon evil, injustice, and oppression. Rabbi Wise has summed up the underlying logic of his career as an effort "to see things as they are, and to say them as I see them."

Once the ideal of a free synagogue was realized, Wise was at liberty to perform his function of prophet and adjudicator as he saw fit. He threw him-

self into movements for civic and national welfare. During the World War period he served on the Labor Committee of the Council of National Defense, and engaged in numerous activities to advance the Allies' cause. He was chairman of a delegation of the American Jewish Congress at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. He participated in war relief. He championed Wilson's efforts to effect American adherence to the League of Nations. He urged the cancellation of war debts, and in view of present events he is proved to have taken a most enlightened and prophetic view of the world-situation. During all this time his efforts in behalf of Zionism proceeded unabated. He figured conspicuously in the great Zionist resurgence which followed England's wresting of Palestine from Turkey, and which ended in the establishing of a partial homeland for the Jewish people of the world.

One would think that an individual engaged so enthusiastically in such a varied list of activities would have little time for contemplation either of the cosmos or the inner man. But in Wise's case this is not so. A man of boundless energy, he is capable of repose and meditation as well as swift judgment and action. During his long and colorful career he still has found time to edit magazines and write books. He founded and edited *Opinion*, one the most important periodicals pertaining to Jewish affairs in this country. Among his books are homely treatises on religion contained in the form of sermons in the series of volumes known as the *Free Synagogue Pulpit*, as well as provocative studies in every-day psychology and sociology such as his volume entitled *Child Versus Parent*. In this, one of his most important works, he advances the thesis that comradeship should prevail between children and parents. This carries the idea of the Jewish home beyond its original premise of joint sovereignty implying the blending of patriarchal and matriarchal ideals. Comradeship shuts out the sense of possession, prevents the invasion of personality, averts alike parental tyranny and filial autocracy. All his written works bear the stamp of a personality alert to the latest discoveries in the sciences and the humane arts.

In summing up Rabbi Wise's life it is interesting to note whence wells his strength of purpose. It seems to flow out of his simple faith in man, his confidence in democracy. He feels neither wiser than nor superior to the man in the street. For this reason he is able to fight for him so effectively. To quote another commentator, "He believes with Emerson that 'All men have sublime thoughts; that all men value a few real hours of life; they love to be heard; they love to be caught up into the vision of principles.' " The clue to Rabbi Wise's wisdom and essential optimism is the clue to all wisdom, all optimism, that is, a simple faith in the essential goodness of man. Evil is a force of circumstances and can be dispelled, for this reason it is one's duty and highest endowment to engage in dispelling it.

If goodness must eventually prevail, it is indeed a privilege to fight the forces of evil.

A man with such views need not fear conventions whether of behavior or belief. He was one of the first Jews to pay homage to the greatness of Jesus Christ. He reiterated the view which counselled Jews to accept Christ's historicity, and to regard him as a moral teacher of whom they might well be proud rather than ashamed. This attitude almost created a breach in the conduct of the United Palestine Funds Appeal in 1925. But the force of Wise's reason and eloquence prevailed in this time of distress for Palestinian Jews.

As a Jew and an American rabbi, Wise may be doubly proud. Two great heritages, one of historical wisdom and the other of democratic idealism, have gone into the making of his character. He says, "I have two religions—the religion of Israel and the religion of America." He is an American who is also a Jew. He neither denies his Jewishness nor feels alien in America, and it is this which gains him the tribute of his people, Jew or Gentile alike.

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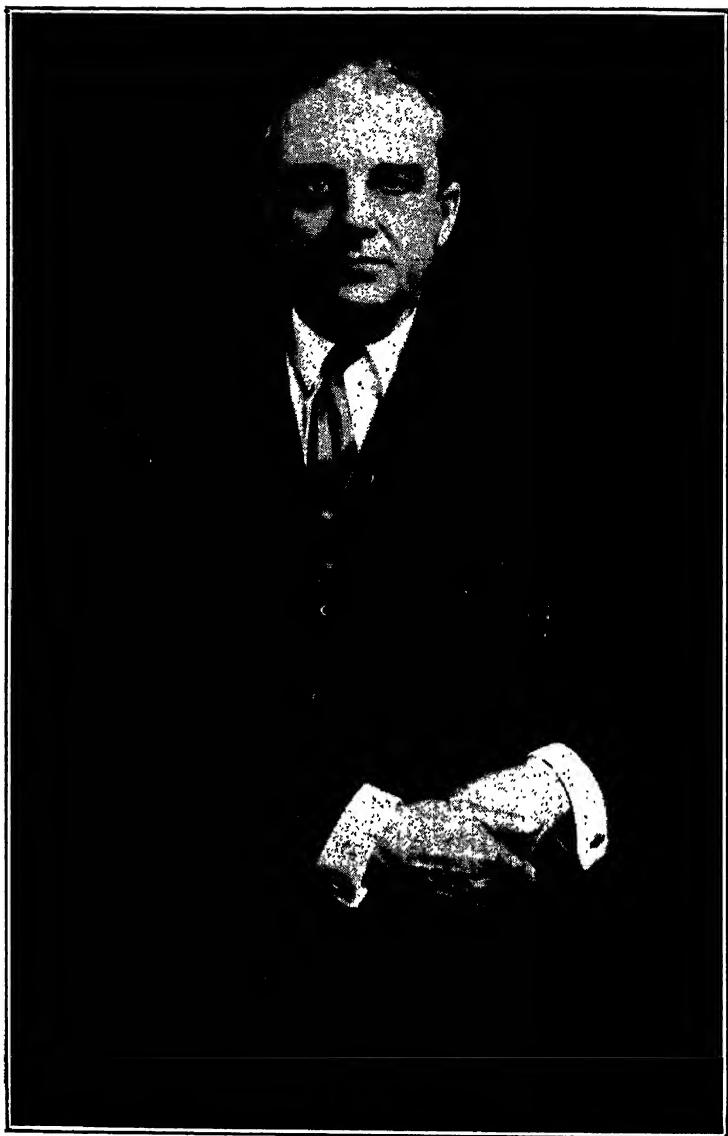
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OWEN D. YOUNG

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by

PAUL FREDERICK BLOOMHARDT

WHEN Cornell University decided in 1890 that Owen D. Young was not old enough to enter college, St. Lawrence University enrolled him and thereby gained its most distinguished alumnus. Although Harvard refused to admit him to its law school in 1894 because he lacked sufficient money, Boston University found him proficient enough to graduate *cum laude* and then welcomed him to its law faculty. Charles H. Tyler delayed ten years before reluctantly admitting him to a law partnership, but six years later the General Electric Company offered him a vice-presidency and in 1922 elevated him to the chairmanship of its board. The World War brought him nothing of fame such as it distributed so generously among hosts of others; yet at least three continents came to acknowledge his contribution in the improvement of international relations.

His career may in part be accounted for by a statement of his in 1925 that he had never undertaken a job for which his experience did not in some way qualify him. His rise was not a series of astonishing feats. From each experience he stepped, qualified, into a larger responsibility and there is little occasion for surprise in seeing him emerge as a leader of international importance. Interest in his story is sustained because until his retirement it has been a record of unbroken progress rather than because of its elements of mystery and chance.

Forty-five years is a long time to spend in qualifying for great undertakings. For Owen Young, however, most of the years between his birth, Oct. 27, 1874, and the beginning of wide public recognition in 1919 are vivid and eventful. Only the hard and lonely years of his early childhood on a remote farm near Van Hornesville, New York, and certain phases of his law practice in Boston bring unpleasant memories. School-days revealed to him the intense pleasure which he has never ceased to find in books. His early education was continued at the near-by East Springfield Academy where he graduated at the head of his class. A visit as a twelve-year-old lad to a court in session at Cooperstown aroused his desire to become a lawyer. Although five generations of the Youngs had been farmers, this Young had no liking for the hard physical labor of work in the fields, preferring books and the play of wits in a lawyer's life. Had he yielded to the influences of his home he would probably have re-

mained on the farm. That he did not do so, is due in large measure to his contacts with a foot-loose farm-hand, George Kesselringer; his early teachers, Menzol McEuen and Mark Hollister; the local Universalist preacher, Caleb Fisher; President Alpheus Baker Hervey of St. Lawrence University; and a neighbor, "Uncle Abe" Tilyou. The weight of their opinion and the evidence that Owen's mind was turned away from farming overcame the objections of his parents to a college education.

At St. Lawrence University he fully justified his parents' self-denial and the expectations of his early friends. College released the latent powers which he possessed. He was an eager reader rather than a brilliant student. Faculty and fellow students witnessed the unfolding of his attractive personality and accorded him a prominent place in fraternity, class, journalistic, and political activities. Possibly no other period of his life has been marked by as rapid a development.

The attraction of law persisted through college years. Since all his life had been passed in provincial up-state New York, advisers counseled that his law course be taken in Boston. Dean Bennett of the Boston University Law School befriended him and helped him to supplement his inadequate funds by tutoring and serving as a library assistant. In spite of the diversion of precious time he completed the course in two years with distinction.

Success in the Massachusetts bar examination brought an offer of a salaried position with Judge Elbridge Burley, but the coveted opportunity faded when his new friend died a few weeks later. Undaunted, he lost no time in accepting the next offer when in 1896 he began at the bottom of the professional ladder to work as a ten-dollar-a-week clerk in the law office of Charles H. Tyler in Boston. Here he remained for sixteen years, the first ten of which may be considered his apprenticeship.

At the same time his excellent record at Boston University brought him an immediate appointment as part-time instructor on its faculty. In the following year he collaborated with Professor Homer Albers in publishing *Exercises in Practice and Pleading*. The enjoyment which he found in teaching indicates at least some degree of success in it. He continued his lectures for seven years until in 1903 a choice had to be made between an offer of the assistant-deanship in the law school and Mr. Tyler's demands for his undivided attention to their law practice. Reluctantly, for teaching had been congenial work for him and a future in it was assured, he turned from it because it required an independent income which he did not at that time possess.

The industry and ability which he brought in 1896 to his work in

Mr. Tyler's office quickly proved that the initial five-hundred-dollar-a-year salary was inadequate. In two years his income had grown sufficiently to enable him to establish a home. Five years before, he and Josephine Edmonds had been fellow students at St. Lawrence where their mutual attraction developed. She had gone to Radcliffe to complete her education when her fiance entered the law school. Four sons and a daughter were born to them. Mrs. Young died in 1935 and two years later he married Mrs. Louise Brown Clark.

Mr. Tyler's substantial legal practice centered chiefly in matters of real estate and public utilities. The years of recovery from the Panic of 1893 involved the transfer of much property and the reorganization of many business concerns. To deal effectively with such problems, Mr. Young found that a sound knowledge of law and a skill in negotiation were more valuable than the ability to plead in court. In this school of experience he acquired the powers of negotiation which, more than anything else, account for his later achievements. The successful negotiator needs to possess full knowledge of facts, resourcefulness in argument, forcefulness in persuasion, and also patience and an even temper. Most valuable of all is the ability to create the impression of his own trustworthiness. Passing years brought all these to him in high degree, and recognition of his ability spread in the business circles of Boston.

The prolonged depression of the middle nineties had wrecked no field more seriously than that of the recently organized public utilities. Bankruptcies were especially numerous among the traction and lighting companies of the West. The solution of their difficulties was vitally conditioned by the new franchises which had to be secured from the rapidly growing communities in which they operated—franchises which would preserve the rights of the municipalities and at the same time be liberal enough to attract and safeguard capital.

Among Mr. Tyler's clients a firm of young engineers, Stone and Webster, had become financially interested in the utilities of the larger centers in Texas. Mr. Young's work during his first four years with Mr. Tyler had so impressed this firm that, although but twenty-six years old, he was sent in 1900 to obtain new contracts with the city councils of Galveston, Houston, and El Paso. Thereafter Stone and Webster's enterprises, which were by this time extending from coast to coast, occupied most of his time. In 1906, largely as a result of their intercession, he was admitted to partnership with Mr. Tyler.

As time passed the large amount of real-estate work grew uncongenial to him, and he cared little for pleading in court. He had built up a sub-

stantial reputation in Boston, and Stone and Webster had desired to draw him from general law practice into their own organization. While successfully advancing their interests in a bitter legal battle with the Bond and Share, a General Electric subsidiary, over a conflict of rights in Dallas, his conduct of the case attracted the attention of General Electric's head, Charles A. Coffin. What Mr. Coffin learned from his friend, Major Henry Lee Higginson, a well-known Boston banker, added to his interest in Mr. Young and in 1912 he surprised him with an invitation to join the General Electric organization as vice-president and general counsel.

At that time the electrical industry in the United States was dominated by the twenty-year-old organization which Mr. Coffin had built up. About one-third of the total number of people which the industry employed was included in its personnel, and about one-fourth of all electrical apparatus came from its plants. Without hesitation the offer was accepted by Mr. Young.

By reason of his wide experience in dealing with the legal problems of utilities and his reputation as an adjuster of difficulties he was permitted largely to find his own place in the organization of the great enterprise. His first task was to study and classify the hundreds of contracts which filled the files. Command of facts was the foundation on which he established his value in the new position. Contracts dealt not only with the sale and installation of manufactured products but also with the control of water-power, with patents, with franchises, and with the employment of labor. In short, he found that they embraced the wide field of public relations and that he might make as important a contribution to research in this field as the General Electric's remarkable group of scientists were making for the industry in the Schenectady laboratories. Of all his problems none loomed larger than those which concerned labor policies and the control of water-power. In the settlement of all disputes he was characteristically beginning to substitute negotiation for recourse to the courts when the World War began.

General Electric's scientists and industrial plants made their own notable contribution to America's success in the war. Mr. Young's part was the relatively obscure one of working with the Priority Board in securing the fuel and materials which were needed for the production of war supplies, of smoothing out the complexities of the labor situation, of financing many threatened public utilities, and of taking over many of the responsibilities of his fellow officials who were being drawn into national service. These duties left him no opportunity of sharing in the more public promotion of war aims and interfered with his desire to enter the military service.

The closing months of the war and the winter of 1918-1919 were a period of industrial unrest. In dealing with striking electrical workers Mr. Young displayed a breadth of understanding which brought him to public notice. Far more widely heralded was his organization of the Radio Corporation of America. During the war the Navy Department had commandeered many of the patented inventions in radio in order to perfect this important branch of communication. At the war's close these patents were returned to their owners, among them the valuable Alexanderson alternator which had come from the General Electric laboratories. The government objected to the sale of the patents into foreign hands, and the public objected to government ownership. The Navy's operation had shown that a consolidation of patent-rights would prevent an interminable series of legal contests over their use and would result in a rapid and satisfactory development of the radio in America. The difficult business of bringing about this consolidation was entrusted to Mr. Young. It involved a maze of delicate negotiation with the American branch of the British Marconi Company, American Telephone and Telegraph, Western Electric, United Fruit, Westinghouse, and the major departments of the government. By the end of the year he had convinced all of them that such a patent pool would best serve their respective interests.

The R.C.A. was in some respects the most significant achievement of Mr. Young's career. The dangers which he had seen twenty years before in concentrated power and corporate wealth had diminished in importance for him. His work for nearly all this time had been with utilities, war production, and the radio—natural monopolies whose development and service to the public was conditioned by vast accumulation of capital, centralized control, and a minimum of political interference. In the solution of problems his characteristic formula was consolidation of warring interests; his method was by negotiation; and he insured against political interference, where possible, by seeking the good-will of the public.

His success with the R.C.A. led him to Paris in 1921 where he invited representatives of the radio industry in Great Britain, France, and Germany to meet with him in one of the first international business conferences after the war. His object was to prevent a disastrous rivalry of these four nations in the radio field of South America. His skill was superior to the strained relations which still existed among the Europeans and the formation of the A.E.F.G. Consortorium with an American chairman followed. It was no surprise, therefore, when the International Chamber of Commerce soon afterwards made him chairman of its Committee on International Arbitration.

His participation in the President's Second Industrial Conference must also be noted. Its efforts to work out an adjustment of the conflicting claims of employers, laborers, and the public occupied the closing months of Woodrow Wilson's administration. From its sessions Mr. Young emerged with the reputation of a liberal. In President Harding's Conference on Unemployment he rendered further service as chairman of its Committee on Business Cycles.

In the meantime he had reached the pinnacle of the electric industry. In 1922 Charles A. Coffin retired from the chairmanship of General Electric's board and at the same time E. W. Rice resigned its presidency. Their successors must be qualified not only to fill their respective offices but also to effect perfect coöperation and understanding with each other. There seems to have been no question about the selection of Owen D. Young and Gerard Swope.

It would be difficult for an outsider to attempt an estimate of the relative credit which each of these men should receive for General Electric's development. Mr. Young was the corporation's spokesman, but the listening public did not fail to associate Mr. Swope with Mr. Young's statements. Together they have inaugurated a labor policy which provides for a works-council, for profit-sharing through a scheme of coöperative investment, and for unemployment-insurance. In response to a sensitive public opinion General Electric has severed its relationship with the Electric Bond and Share. They have succeeded in bringing about a more efficient coördination within its widely scattered organization and greatly increased the range of products manufactured.

Within a year and a half of his elevation the General Electric was called upon to share the chairman of its board with an undertaking of great importance for the world. In Europe the Reparations Commission, a political body which had been established by the Treaty of Versailles, had struggled vainly through four years with the problem of German reparations. The French had occupied the German industrial region of the Ruhr only to meet with the passive resistance of its workmen. The affairs of Europe were rapidly growing chaotic and dangerous. A year was required for general European acceptance of the suggestion in December, 1922, by American Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes, that a nonpolitical body of experts be appointed to study and report on the situation from the economic point of view. The selection of Charles G. Dawes, Owen D. Young, and the late Henry M. Robinson to sit as America's unofficial representatives on the experts' committee met with wide-spread approval at home and abroad. General Dawes became its chairman and in his dynamic way inspired the world's confidence in its deliberations. Mr.

Young's contribution included his valuable services in negotiating with the leaders in German industry to secure their agreement with the Committee's recommendations and their coöperation in carrying them out. Questions of war guilt and the revision of the total reparations amount were not to be taken up. It was found that a solution for the difficult situation would depend upon success in balancing Germany's budget and stabilizing her currency. Their final recommendations included the French evacuation of the Ruhr, the fixing of annual reparations-payments, and a foreign loan to provide a foundation for Germany's fiscal system.

The Dawes Plan was accepted by the European governments and Mr. Young was called by their premiers to put its provisions into operation. In two months, as ad interim agent-general he had seen Germany's credit reëstablished, had transferred the first reparations payment, had watched the first movement of troops from the Ruhr, had become known as "King Owen the First," and had secured the appointment of S. Parker Gilbert as his successor.

For four years the Dawes Plan worked successfully. Mr. Young regarded it in the light of an experiment out of which sounder decisions could in time be reached. By 1928 it was obvious to all that complete stabilization would only follow a final settlement of the total amount which Germany could be expected to pay as reparations. England, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan agreed upon a new committee of experts with which Germany was invited to sit. This was to be distinctly a European effort, and the United States had not even an unofficial part in it. Nevertheless, the assistance of men influential in American finance was desired, and Mr. Young and Mr. J. P. Morgan were invited to serve with the Committee. In addition they requested Mr. Young to become its chairman. Its task was more difficult than that of the Dawes Committee because of the weight of the political issues that were involved. Revolution might follow in Germany or in France as its report might appear to crush the one or to do injustice to the other. The account of its prolonged and delicate deliberations in 1929 can not be included here. All of Mr. Young's skill in conducting negotiations was needed both during and between its sessions. More than once his quick thought and finesse saved it from dissolution and failure.

The final report fixed the total reparations sum at \$9,000,000,000, payable in 59 annual installments, instead of the impossible figure of \$33,000,000,000 which had formerly been named as a result of the political demand to make Germany pay for the war. The report further provided for the establishment of a Bank for International Settlements which should be purely a financial institution to act as trustee in receiving

the German payments and in distributing them among the creditor nations according to an agreed ratio.

In appraising the work of his Committee Mr. Young placed high value on the Bank. He conceded at that time that changing conditions would bring readjustments in the new agreement on reparations, but he expected that future changes would grow out of economic considerations rather than political demands. The work of 1929 brought both honor and age to Owen Young. The press of Europe and America echoed the praises which his colleagues on the Committee bestowed upon him. But the great responsibility, the friction and the irritations which had constantly appeared, wore upon him. When he returned home his friends read in his changed appearance the cost of the strain through which he had passed.

Probably the most serious predicament in which Young and Swope became involved during their rule of General Electric resulted from the loan of two million dollars to Insull's Utility-Investment Corporation shortly before the great Insull collapse. Insull, the public-utilities magnate, was one of the best customers of General Electric, and Mr. Young declared afterward that he had believed that the Insull interests were sound. He had invested \$175,000 of his own money in the Utility-Investment Corporation. The charge was made that Insull used the two million to pay interest on his bonded indebtedness to keep the bondholders quiet a little longer and that he was practically bankrupt at the time the loan was negotiated. It was charged that Young should have known the precariousness of the Insull position and that the loan at least reflected on his good judgment.

At the beginning of the year 1940 Young and Swope resigned after eighteen years of leadership. In 1922 when they came to the head of this corporation, its capital investment was \$93,700,000; during their period of control it increased by about \$80,000,000, and the number of stockholders increased from 29,000 to 210,000, suggesting a greater interest and confidence on the part of investors. On the other hand, as a result of the perfection of mechanical means of eliminating labor, the number of employees decreased by four thousand despite the great increase in business.

Although the profits of the predepression era were drastically reduced in the early thirties, General Electric came through without a bonded-indebtedness and without passing a dividend. A reason for this stability was a change in policy instituted by Swope and Young. When they took control, General Electric was principally engaged in the production of heavy electric apparatus. They decided that the company would be safer with a broader base and devoted much of their attention to the production of refrigerators, washing-machines, radios, and other appliances that bring

General Electric to the attention of the nation's homes and give it hundreds of thousands of additional customers.

In 1932 a federal anti-trust action brought about the separation of General Electric and R.C.A. This was a great disappointment to Young whose interest in his offspring was great. The retirement of Swope and Young was voluntary and resulted from their fear that they might outlive their usefulness without realizing it.

Although Young's statesmanship was of a high order he learned to dislike politics. It is not too difficult to find an explanation for his distrust in his contacts, first with Western city officials from whom he sought franchises, then with the men of New York who bungled his efforts to work out an adjustment of water-power rights, and later with the political situation with which he had to deal in Europe.

Whatever the perspective of passing years may reveal as to his statesmanship in the field of politics, Owen D. Young deserves the appellation of "Industrial Statesman." He was at his best in the popularization of industry, in creating more friendly contacts with the people, and he has performed the obligation of a wealthy and successful man to society.

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